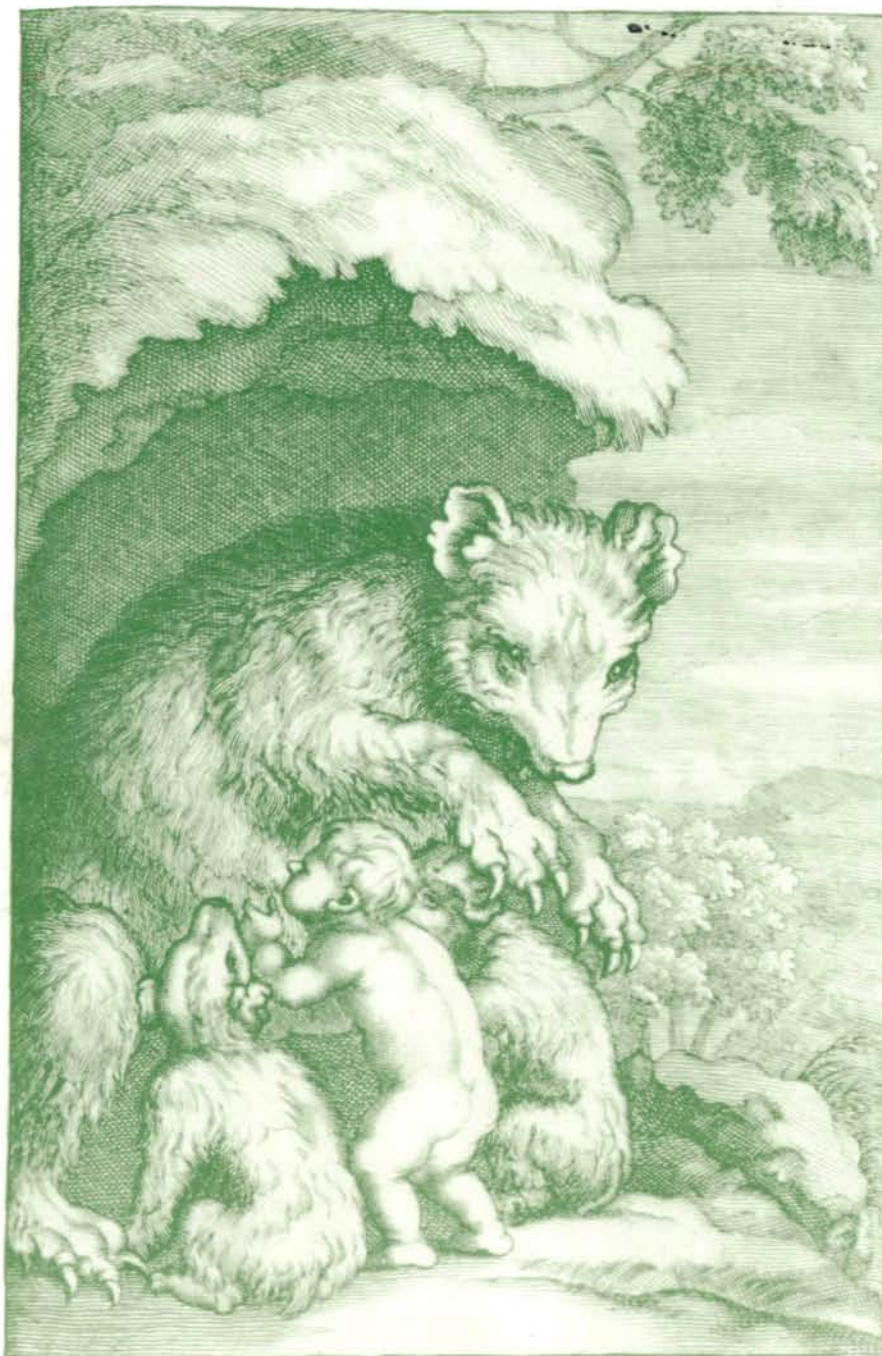


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In This Issue

David A. Hollinger identifies and assesses an event in recent intellectual history: the transition from universalist, “species-centered discourse” to particularist, “ethnos-centered discourse.” Taking examples from a variety of scholarly and popular writings from the last half-century, Hollinger illustrates the increased cognitive, ethical, and political authority being assigned to historically particular communities, a shift that gives new importance to the question of affiliation. If “truth,” “goodness,” and “justice” are largely a matter of the experience and opinions of one’s own tribe, much is at stake in that tribe’s definition of itself in relation to the rest of humanity. Who counts as “we,” and who counts as “they”? Hollinger sketches a “post-ethnic” perspective on epistemic, moral, and civic communities. This perspective seeks to refine and build upon the historical consciousness of recent anti-universalist movements while reawakening some of the older universalism’s suspicion of what Hollinger calls “the will to enclose.”

Laura Engelstein opens the lead essay in our *AHR Forum* with a summary of Michel Foucault’s ideas on the transition from juridical monarchies to the modern “disciplinary” state, in which control is not exercised through law but through regulation, often with the support of science, even though law appears to be the ruling mechanism. She then introduces Russia as a test case for Foucault’s provocative set of analytical categories, asking what insights emerge if his approach is applied to a culture that is related to Western Europe’s but also differs from it in significant ways. In the West, Engelstein finds that scientific disciplines acted within the rule of law, a difference from societies farther east that Foucault did not sufficiently appreciate. In Russia, liberalism and the rule of law did not become established, and three stages of control—the law of monarchical absolutists, police state repression, and scientific disciplines—came together with a force such that science was deployed in furtherance of administrative prosecutions of acts not defined as crimes. Engelstein’s analysis leads her to question the sometimes overt, sometimes unspoken, sometimes ambiguous political assumptions behind Foucault’s project of conceptual and ideological iconoclasm.

Two specialists on West European history respond to Engelstein’s critique. **Rudy Koshar** notes that, although Engelstein raises important questions about Foucault’s relevance to the study of social and political history, she elides what Koshar sees as productive contradictions of Foucault’s account of disciplinary power. He adds that, in using Foucault’s insights on the relationship of law and discipline, she constructs Russia as the illiberal “Other” to an idealized West in much the same way that scholars of German exceptionalism have done in *Sonderweg* models. Koshar also questions Engelstein’s depiction of state repression, pointing out that many scholars of the Nazi dictatorship have overestimated state control, and he argues that consideration ought to be given to the incompleteness of top-down power in the Russian and Soviet states.

Jan Goldstein, while praising Engelstein for having identified the relationship between law and discipline as the conceptual heart of Foucault’s political theory, finds that Engelstein’s reading of Foucault exaggerates the French philosopher’s

anarchism and overlooks the liberal sympathies that exist in tension with his suspicion of liberalism. Goldstein also criticizes Engelstein's stark contrast between Russia and the Western democracies and notes that the regulation of prostitution in nineteenth-century France provides ample evidence of frequent breaches of the rule of law by the administration's disciplinary police. Goldstein closes by sketching out a project in comparative history that might result from the innovative way in which Engelstein has posed questions about the relationship between law and discipline.

Laura Engelstein responds to her critics.

Londa Schiebinger traces the cultural origins of the term *Mammalia*, coined in 1758 by the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus. Historians of science, as well as nearly everyone else, have taken this term for granted as part of Linnaeus's foundational work in classifying the animal kingdom, work that is regarded as the starting point of modern zoological nomenclature. Breaking with ancient precedents, Linnaeus devised the term *Mammalia*, meaning literally "of the breast," to distinguish the class of animals with hair, three ear bones, and a four-chambered heart, including humans, apes, ungulates, sloths, sea cows, elephants, and bats. Schiebinger sees a complex gender politics in the choice of this zoological nomenclature and argues that Linnaeus's use of "mammals" was connected with eighteenth-century campaigns promoting maternal breast-feeding and with the contested role of women in science and society.

Carole Shammas reexamines the historical data on wealth concentration in the United States. She raises questions about the current explanations for changes in wealth distribution, pointing out that the supposed rise in inequality from the colonial period to the mid-nineteenth century can be attributed to changes in demography and legal status. The legal emancipation of women proves to be the single most important factor in producing greater equality in the twentieth-century wealth distribution. Shammas's analysis indicates the absence of any long-term trend in the share of wealth held by the top 1 percent of wealth holders in over 250 years of American history. The share owned by this group underwent short-term fluctuations but not the steady decline previously thought to have occurred. Finally, Shammas calls for a more thorough investigation of the role of government policy in wealth concentration and diffusion, a role that she believes has been underestimated.

The article section closes with two essays on Spike Lee's recent feature film *Malcolm X*. **Nell Irvin Painter** points to the film's several fictions and its exclusion of important figures in the actual life of Malcolm Little/X. In this way, the film closely follows the book *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. According to Painter, the film explains the genius of the Nation of Islam in rehabilitating incarcerated working-class black men but avoids discussion of the organization's apocalyptic vision of racial formation and redemption. Lee's film stays within Malcolm X's racialized ideologies and fails to transcend the recent black nationalist thinking; it

therefore excludes an understanding of the intra-racial divisions that were a leading motif in Malcolm X's life.

Gerald Horne credits Spike Lee with having posed a powerful alternative rendering of postwar black history to challenge the established central narrative of the "civil rights movement." Horne laments nevertheless that neither of these constructions comes to grips with an important but neglected chapter of African-American history: the fate of the black Left represented by W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Ben Davis, Claudia Jones, and many others. The repression of the black Left in connection with the Cold War, Horne contends, undermined internationalism among African Americans and provided fertile ground for the growth of narrow black nationalisms that were regarded by the power elites as less threatening.

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How Wide the Circle of the "We"? American Intellectuals and the Problem of the Ethnos since World War II

DAVID A. HOLLINGER

*SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN MALE. SEXUAL BEHAVIOR IN THE HUMAN FEMALE.*¹ The titles imply an inquiry species-wide in scope. The authors were indeed professional zoologists. But the "Kinsey Reports" were based on interviews with a highly particular zoological sample: men and women in mid-twentieth-century North America, overwhelmingly the cultural products of the United States. The deflation of the universalist pretensions of these studies began almost immediately upon publication of the first of the two volumes in 1948.² It was the destiny of the Kinsey Reports to become artifacts in an animated and enduring discourse not about humankind but about a particular society and its culture. Librarians were obliged to catalogue them in the science section; at home, however, individuals found good reasons to shelve these fascinating tomes next to David Riesman's book *The Lonely Crowd*, Gunnar Myrdal's *American Dilemma*, and Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land*. What started out as zoology ended up as American Studies.

Dr. Kinsey and his staff shared with a multitude of their American contemporaries a destiny against which intellectuals of our own time struggle conspicuously. This destiny is to have confused the local with the universal: to have made claims about or claims on behalf of all humankind for which the salient referent was later said to be but a fragment of that elusive whole. In the name of the rights and needs of the entire species, the United States tried to advance through war and diplomacy what we are now told were the historically particular interests of the North Atlantic bourgeoisie. In the name of the epistemological unity of all humankind, philosophers vindicated a scientific practice generated and sustained by what may have been the peculiar preoccupations of European and American

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¹ Alfred C. Kinsey, et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia, 1948); and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia, 1953).

² See, for example, Lionel Trilling's review in the April 1948 issue of *Partisan Review*, reprinted in Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society* (New York, 1950), esp. 222. Kinsey himself acknowledged that he and his staff had studied North Americans, and of certain social categories, but he retained his sweeping titles and his zoological persona.

white males. In the name of a mystical "humanity," the prophetic Hoosier Wendell Willkie proclaimed *One World* in which farmers near Kiev deserved our sympathy and respect because they were just like farmers near Kokomo, Indiana.³ In the name of *The Family of Man*, Edward Steichen and the Museum of Modern Art exhibited a series of photographs displaying what we now recognize as a sensibility common to male American liberal intellectuals of the period.⁴ In the name of an essential "human nature," Freudians and behaviorists offered prescriptions designed for the entire population of the globe. In the name of species-wide fraternity, advocates of Esperanto sought through a distinctly European synthetic language to mitigate the divisive effects of linguistic diversity throughout the world. In the name of an ostensibly universal capacity for spiritual experience, religious ecumenists sought to neutralize sectarian conflict through the claim that "we all believe in the same God," which turned out, of course, to be the God of liberal Protestantism.

To resist the extravagant universalism discernable in the scientific, social scientific, humanistic, religious, and political discourse of the generation represented by the Kinsey Reports is to belong to the sprawling cohort that this essay refers to as "we." We situation-conscious intellectuals realize that Kinsey's generation was far from the first to conflate the local with the universal, but the legacy of this mid-twentieth-century American generation has presented a special challenge for us. Not only have our Kinseys and Willkies and Hans Reichenbachs been close at hand; their universalism was often directed against certain particularisms we still take to be evil. These particularisms include white supremacy and other forms of racism and ethnic prejudice; they include, also, nationalist chauvinism, religious bigotry and obscurantism, a host of provincial taboos, and the several authoritarian warrants for belief associated with the names of Lysenko and Goebbels. It was to break down such enclosures that American intellectuals of the mid-century decades claimed to look to the species as a whole and reasserted Enlightenment notions of knowledge and rights. Hence one might expect, logically, that resistance to the universalist enthusiasms of the mid-century generation would take the form of a yet more insistent and rigorous universalism, according to which the covertly particularist biases of our Kinseys and Willkies and Reichenbachs would be eliminated. If that generation confused the local with the universal, let the next generation, with its greater cultural self-awareness, look beyond the local to the genuinely universal.

Some have tried to do just that in their science and scholarship. They have represented more critically the fields of experience in which their objects of study can be found while continuing to strive for insights that can apply to enlarged domains and can be justified by standards recognized in many cultures. Some have also sought to refine the old universalism in relation to "human rights" abroad and to "civil rights" at home. American protests against South Africa's apartheid system have often been couched in universalist terms. But alongside

³ Wendell L. Willkie, *One World* (New York, 1943).

⁴ Edward Steichen, *The Family of Man* (New York, 1955). This enduring classic was brought out in a thirtieth anniversary edition in 1985.

these efforts to serve universalist ideals there have appeared during the past several decades a multitude of initiatives of a very different sort.⁵

Species-centered discourse itself has become suspect. If the universalism of the World War II era served to deracinate and to efface the varieties of humankind through the use of too parochial a construction of our common humanity, and if this universalism served further to mask a cultural imperialism by which the NATO powers spread throughout the world their own peculiar standards for truth, justice, and spiritual perfection, then universalism itself, we are told, is too dangerous an ideal. Let us emphasize instead the integrity of all the varieties of humankind, let us encourage every culture to find its own distinctive voice, let us enable the repressed "other" to command our attention through new canons and curricula, and thereby to destroy the cultural hierarchy created by Western prejudice. So, we beat the drums for alterity and wonder whether the defense of Salman Rushdie's freedom of speech is not another bourgeois conceit, the salient functions of which are to prevent Muslims from worshiping in peace and to enable Western intellectuals to feel superior to the still-benighted East. But the critique of universalism has not been limited to persons moved by the claims of alterity. Defenders of the mainstream social democratic traditions of the West have mounted some of the most widely discussed critiques of the old universalism. Alasdair MacIntyre, Robert Bellah, and Richard Rorty tell us, in their contrasting idioms, that Enlightenment universalism itself has been a noble dream for which we are now too sophisticated.⁶

The science we believe and practice derives its warrant, we are sometimes told, not from its presumed capacity for verification across the lines of all the world's cultures, but from the authority of the distinctive social entities. Thomas S. Kuhn and his followers have helped us to recognize: sharply bounded professional communities characterized by rigorous procedures for the acculturation of their members. The obligations we owe to one another and the rights we claim for ourselves derive not from our common membership in a species; our new moral philosophers tell us that these obligations and rights derive from the ordinance of the traditions of our singular tribe. The covert ethnocentrism we now discern within the species-centered discourse of the World War II generation stands not as invitation to develop a yet more rigorous universalism but rather as proof of the impossibility of escaping ethnocentrism. The very impulse to produce "meta-narratives" and to develop "totalizing" perspectives is, in itself, to be overcome. Our mission, apparently, is not to purge the old universalism of its corruptions

⁵ The trend toward what Harold R. Isaacs called "retribalization" within and beyond American society began to be noted in the early 1970s. Isaacs was one of the first observers to comment systematically on this phenomenon in global perspective; see his *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), first published in 1975. At almost the same moment, a resolute defender of the older universalism produced an ambitious popular book in relation to a thirteen-part series of programs for public television: Jacob Bronowski's vigorously and explicitly species-centered *Ascent of Man* (Boston, 1973). Soon, the book and the series were all but forgotten. The unself-conscious masculinity of Bronowski's sense of the species and its history renders *The Ascent of Man* an especially poignant example of a mode of thought placed sharply on the defensive immediately after Bronowski wrote.

⁶ Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1981); Robert N. Bellah, et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (Berkeley, Calif., 1985); Richard Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (New York, 1989).

but to renounce it as fatally flawed and to perfect instead the local and the particular, to live within the confines of the unique civic, moral, and epistemic communities into which we are born, to devote ourselves to our ethnos.

This radically historicist understanding of obligations, rights, and knowledge is what Rorty now defends as "ethnocentrism," a label perhaps not shrewdly chosen but one that has the merit of dramatizing for us the ideological distance our new cognoscenti have traveled from the world of Kinsey, Willkie, and Reichenbach.⁷ That distance consists chiefly in the growing acceptance since the 1960s and 1970s of our own historicity. By "historicity," I mean simply the contingent, temporally, and socially situated character of our beliefs and values, of our institutions and practices.⁸ When we accept our own historical particularity, we shy away from essentialist constructions of human nature, from transcendentalist arguments about it, and from timeless rules for justifying claims about it. We eschew the Archimedean perspective, and we instead inquire outward from our experience. We practice immanent, rather than transcendental, critique. We confront the insight that truths and rights and obligations become available to us—and thus, it is apparently easy to conclude, come into existence for us—through the operation of historically contingent communities of human beings. The science that was once a source of authority, capable of justifying or discrediting social reform, has become for some an appropriate object of reform authorized by other, social-political authorities.⁹

Antecedents of this historicism are easy to find, in nineteenth-century German hermeneutics, for example, in the turn-of-the-century American pragmatists, and in the cultural relativism associated with Boasian anthropology. But one work of the post-1945 era that commandingly represents this new historicist movement is Kuhn's classic of 1962, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*.¹⁰ Although this book was addressed to science, and specifically to the most mathematically developed and technical of the sciences, its apparent demonstration of the dependence of scientific truth on the historically specific practice of distinctively organized human communities gave unprecedented credibility to the historicist perspective as applied elsewhere. If even the most persuasively verified claims of astronomers and physicists were in large part cultural products, what could be said about the

⁷ Richard Rorty, "Solidarity or Objectivity," in John Rajchman and Cornel West, eds., *Post-Analytic Philosophy* (New York, 1985), 3–19.

⁸ In using the word "historicism" to denote this recognition of historicity, I follow a modern convention adopted by historians and most social scientists and humanistic scholars. Some philosophers and literary scholars still resist this usage and hold instead to the older, German idealist sense of the term as conveying a belief in an absolute meaning to history, reflecting an absolute will; see, for instance, Jonathan Ree, "The Vanity of Historicism," *New Literary History*, 20 (Autumn 1991): 961–83, who treats "historicity" of the sort I invoke as the precise opposite of "historicism."

⁹ An unusually elegant statement of the historicity of science and the possibilities for reforming it is Paul Feyerabend, "Realism and the Historicity of Knowledge," *Journal of Philosophy*, 86 (1989): 393–406. See esp. 404–06, where Feyerabend describes scientists as "sculptors of reality" capable even of peopling the world once again with gods, depending on the character of the energies invested in scientific inquiry.

¹⁰ Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962). I have emphasized the role of this book in consolidating a tradition of historicist thinking; see my "T. S. Kuhn's Theory of Science and Its Implications for History," *AHR*, 78 (1973): 370–93; and my "Free Enterprise and Free Inquiry: The Emergence of Laissez-Faire Communitarianism in the Ideology of Science in the United States," *New Literary History*, 21 (1990): 897–919.

claims of social scientists and humanistic scholars, of moral philosophers, metaphysicians, and political theorists, and others whose ability to rise above opinion and prejudice had always been precarious and contested?

There were still distinctions to be made, of course: one could posit a spectrum of claims running from the relative universality of warrant to the relative locality of warrant, with the periodic table of elements at one end and the value of a good suntan at the other; but in the wake of the transformation for which Kuhn's name has become an emblem, this whole spectrum shifted toward the local, and it became more plausible to view the Bill of Rights as just another tribal code than as a manifestation in one polity of claims advanced on behalf of all humankind. This rather anthropological way of looking at our own culture was resoundingly proclaimed by the era's most eloquent and influential anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, who urged that we see "ourselves amongst others, as a local example of the forms human life has locally taken, a case among cases, a world among worlds."¹¹ Eric R. Wolf may have been right to remind us that "the peoples who have asserted a privileged relation with history and the peoples to whom history has been denied encounter a common destiny," but can our knowledge of that "common destiny" be anything other than "local"?¹² Even Geertz's localism came to seem relatively solicitous of global perspectives when several self-reflexive anthropologists displayed yet more vividly and theorized yet more earnestly the situated character of their own ethnographic practice, rendering themselves all the more distant from the epistemic arrogance associated with European colonialism.¹³ By the 1980s, even the great Kantian John Rawls had sidled cautiously toward the historicists, leaving leadership of the resistance in the hands of dwindling cadres of Straussians and Jesuits.¹⁴ And if, indeed, the old-time Diltheyans fell forward on their faces as opposition to the reign of hermeneutics virtually ceased,¹⁵ they were run over from behind by the poststructuralists.

Whatever else poststructuralism has contributed, it has helped to constitute the more general phenomenon known as postmodernism. Some formulations of the touted transition from modernism to postmodernism run roughly parallel to the transition from species-centered discourse to ethnos-centered discourse. Modernism and postmodernism are, of course, highly contested terms, conveying a number of different meanings in the contemporary debate, but "postmodernism" is frequently invoked to condemn "the Enlightenment project" and to confer attention and dignity on the local, the fragmentary, and the particular. Amid the welter of constructions and counterconstructions of the modern and the post-modern, the species is very often to the modern what the ethnos is to the

¹¹ Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York, 1983), 16.

¹² Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982), 391.

¹³ Perhaps the most widely discussed single manifestation of this impulse among anthropologists is James Clifford and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986).

¹⁴ John Rawls, "Justice as Fairness: Political Not Metaphysical," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 14 (1985): 223–52; and Rawls, "The Idea of an Overlapping Consensus," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 7 (1987): 1–25.

¹⁵ This phrase was contributed by Charles Taylor, "Understanding in Human Science," *Review of Metaphysics*, 34 (1980): 26.

postmodern.¹⁶ This "ethnicization" of all discourse through the "decentering" strategies of postmodernism is thus a culmination of the process by which the term "ethnic" has lost its connotations of marginality—originally, "ethnic" meant "outsider," "pagan," or "gentile"¹⁷—and has come to stand for situatedness within virtually any bounded community, regardless of its relation to other communities.

Meanwhile, a chorus of both academic and popular political voices identified ethno-racial communities as vital sites for the formation, articulation, and sustenance of cultural values, social identities, and political power. Texts once celebrated for their apparent ability to speak to and for all people came to be valued as representatives of distinct social constituencies defined largely by the author's ethno-racial identity and gender. "Diversity" replaced "unity" in the slogans of those concerned to promote mutual respect and equality among the varieties of humankind found within the United States. The once-popular notion that there might be an American "character" or even "culture" was widely discredited as a nationalist equivalent of diversity-denying universalism. The *ethnos* came to be defined against not only the species but the closest thing to its national equivalent, the American nation. The figure of the "melting pot," encumbered with assimilationist connotations, lost favor to the "salad bowl," the "mosaic," and the garden of plants each with its own autochthonous "roots." The United States came increasingly to be represented as a complex patchwork of distinctive communities, sometimes said to be nation-like, each one a unique product of unique historical forces and circumstances. An ideological and constitutional tradition protecting the rights of individuals was asked to reform itself in order to protect instead the rights of groups. The name of Herder was rarely invoked by those who promoted or appreciated the new ethnic particularism, but Herder more than Marx or Mill or Jefferson or Condorcet was the relevant ideological precursor.

It is possible to exaggerate the intensity, scope, and singularity of this cluster of historicist and particularist enthusiasms of the last three decades and to perform the same exaggerations on behalf of the panorama of universalist initiatives of the previous era. But the differences within each of these two clusters ought to be obvious enough to render the juxtapositions all the more valuable indicators of an event in recent intellectual history: the diminution of species-centered discourse and the enlargement of *ethnos*-centered discourse. This "event" transcends the United States, which can be construed as one of many national sites for its production. Considered as part of the intellectual history of the United States since World War II, moreover, this event is but a fraction of that history. Yet signs of its occurrence can be discovered in enough spaces within the discourse of American intellectuals to render the event worthy of historical and critical assessment. Rather than speculate about what, in the dynamics of the postwar period, might be the several causes of this change in the center of intellectual

¹⁶ Among the many commentaries on the modern/postmodern divide that can serve to confirm this view of it—although none explicitly advance the species-to-*ethnos* formulation—are Scott Lash and Jonathan Friedman, eds., *Modernity and Identity* (Oxford, 1992); Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, *Postmodern Theory: Critical Interrogations* (New York, 1991); and David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford, 1989).

¹⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary*, "ethnic."

gravity for many American intellectuals, I want simply to call attention to this transformation, to address the importance of issues in *affiliation* that attend upon it, and to sketch a critical response to it.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AFFILIATION is implied by the new prominence of the notion of community in discussions of truths, meanings, rights, and goods. In the post-Kuhnian era, argumentation about knowledge is, much more than it used to be, argumentation about epistemic communities. Stanley Fish, treating communities of readers as analogues to Kuhn's communities of scientists, proposed that the meaning of texts was a matter decided by a profession of literary critics, who also decided what was and was not a "text" to begin with.¹⁸ Michael Walzer organized his "radically particularist" *Spheres of Justice* around the issue of membership in a "community"; and, in working out his analysis, Walzer explicitly eschewed any effort to look outside the Platonic "cave" of his own tribe.¹⁹ Rorty, addressing both epistemic and moral communities, argued that communal "solidarity" can perform the services for which people once turned naïvely to the ideal of "objectivity." In an exchange with Geertz a few years ago, Rorty sketched a pluralist vision of the world as an expanse of private, exclusive clubs, interacting with as much civility as they could but each defined, animated, and sustained by a vivid sense of the difference between "we" and "they." When it comes to justifying a truth claim, whom do we have to persuade? Whose testimony do we need to take into account? Why, the members of our own club, of our own epistemic community. When it comes to justifying rights and obligations, whom do we have to persuade? Whose opinions and sensibilities do we need to take into account? The members of our own club, our own moral community. Rorty predicted that "wet liberals" would cavil at his suggestion that "the exclusivity of the private club might be a crucial feature of an ideal world order," but such "wet liberals" continue to be the victims of lingering Enlightenment universalist illusions outgrown by dry liberals like Rorty himself.²⁰

Along with the new prominence of community comes a new centrality for the old question of membership. *The less one's raw humanity is said to count for anything, the more important become one's affiliations.* The more epistemic and moral authority is ascribed to historically particular communities, the more it matters just who is and is not one of "us." The more detached truth and goodness become from the testimony and tastes of any population outside our own tribe or club, the more is at stake when that tribe or club defines itself in relation to other human beings. How wide the circle of the "we"?

This may be *the* great question in an age of anti-universalist historicism.²¹ The

¹⁸ Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

¹⁹ Michael Walzer, *Spheres of Justice: A Defense of Pluralism and Equality* (New York, 1983), xiv.

²⁰ Richard Rorty, "On Ethnocentrism," *Michigan Quarterly Review*, 25 (1986): 533. See also Clifford Geertz, "The Uses of Diversity," *Michigan Quarterly Review*, 25 (1986): 105–23.

²¹ Although he does not use this language, I take Zygmunt Bauman to be making much the same point in his *Legislators and Interpreters: On Modernity, Post-Modernity, and Intellectuals* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987), esp. 5. See also S. P. Mohanty, "Us and Them: On the Philosophical Bases of Political

frequency with which it is asked with a fresh sense of urgency, even by such sophisticated discussants as Bernard Williams, helps to distinguish our own historical moment.²² Many old, nonhistoricist questions translate into the terms of this newly prominent question. Consider, for example, two old chestnuts especially favored by intellectuals of the 1930s and 1940s, subjectivity versus objectivity and relativism versus absolutism. Subjectivity was most often depicted as an individual, psychological state and objectivity as access to the domain of the external world. Can history be objective, can ethics be objective, is science really objective, they asked, while contrasting the values and preconceptions of the individual subject to an objective reality? What has happened since then is a collectivization of the subjective, dissolving the binary opposition of subjective-objective into a population of minds grouped by the cultures and subcultures whose epistemes or paradigms or codes largely create these minds as thinking subjects. To be sure, subjectivity was sometimes back then defined in terms of deference to tribal norms rather than in terms of individual idiosyncrasy, but the trend is unmistakable. Peter Novick has caught the difference in his recent study of the objectivity question among professional historians, noting the transition in relativism from Carl Becker's "Everyman His Own Historian" in 1932 to "Every Group Its Own Historian" since the 1960s.²³ In the meantime, within the swelling ranks of the historicists, those counted as defenders of "objectivity" (now usually in quotation marks) turn out to be defenders of large-scale consensus, as with Kuhn, who recently formulated his disagreement with Rorty by purposefully conflating objectivity with Rorty's ideal of solidarity: "Like solidarity, objectivity extends only over the world of the tribe, but what it extends over is no less firm and real for that," Kuhn insisted. But Kuhn's tribe is implicitly large—he says he can imagine no life without the "single character" for which he takes both "objectivity" and "solidarity" to be names—while Rorty's club is small.²⁴

Or so it sometimes seems. Several of Rorty's recent writings deserve special attention here because in them are more visible than perhaps anywhere else the challenges and dilemmas of the newly prominent problem of the ethnos.²⁵ This

Criticism," *Yale Journal of Criticism*, 2 (1989): 1–31; and Jeffrey C. Alexander, "Bringing Democracy Back In: Universalistic Solidarity and the Civil Sphere," in Charles C. Lemert, ed., *Intellectuals and Politics: Social Theory in a Changing World* (London, 1991), 157–76.

²² See, for example, Bernard Williams, "Left-Wing Wittgenstein, Right-Wing Marx," *Common Knowledge*, 1 (1992): 42; and Susan Wolf, "Comment," in Amy Gutmann, ed., *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition": An Essay by Charles Taylor* (Princeton, N.J., 1992), 85.

²³ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (New York, 1988), 469–71; Carl Becker's famous essay was reprinted in a book of the same title, *Everyman His Own Historian: Essays on History and Politics* (New York, 1935), 232–55. Becker addressed both personal and tribal contexts for the exercise of the historical imagination. While Novick's phrase, "Every Group Its Own Historian," neatly catches the trend to which I refer, I want to acknowledge that this phrase risks leaving the mistaken impression that exclusivist ideologies have characterized the bulk of scholarly work in ethno-racial and gender studies during the last generation. Many scholars who identify with the subject matter of these studies have welcomed other scholars of both genders and of all ethno-racial affiliations to join in the study of "their" group.

²⁴ Thomas S. Kuhn, "Rhetoric and Liberation," paper given at the University of Iowa, March 28, 1984, as cited by Thomas L. Haskell, "The Curious Persistence of Rights Talk in the 'Age of Interpretation,'" *Journal of American History*, 74 (1987): 1011.

²⁵ For other critical discussions of Rorty's "ethnocentrism," see Giles Gunn, "Rorty's *Novum Organum*," *Raritan*, 10 (1990): 80–103, esp. 99–100; Alexander Nehamas, "A Touch of the Poet,"

problem can be cast in Rortian terms: "solidarity with whom?" In the mid-1980s, when he first began to call by the name of "ethnocentrism" his insistence that we need not orient ourselves to the species, Rorty stressed how limited was the interchange he envisioned between the various clans that divide people from one another.²⁶ In subsequent years, however, he has gradually moved toward a more and more inclusive notion of the *ethnos*. In 1989, in *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, Rorty allowed that it would be fine to try to "extend our sense of 'we' to people whom we have previously thought of as 'they,'" and then, on the final page of the book, he more decisively extended the circle of the "we": what we must build, he declared, is "an ever larger and more variegated *ethnos*," for a crucial feature of our *ethnos* is, after all, its traditional "distrust" of "ethnocentrism." So, "we" build outward, from "our" starting point, which is a community of "heirs to the historical contingencies which have created more and more cosmopolitan, more and more democratic political institutions."²⁷

Hence Rorty wants to mobilize all the liberal, cosmopolitan instincts that have been directed against ethnocentrism by John Dewey, Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, and their kind, but so fearful is Rorty of universalist claims that he takes pains to characterize this venerable anti-ethnocentrism as a tribal peculiarity of ours and thus as part of the *ethnos* about which Rorty proposes to be ethnocentric. Rorty assures us that the circle can never be expected to embrace all humankind, but he manages to put in place a particularist cover for chastened gestures toward universalism. Rorty is often accused of authorizing a smug and parochial abdication of responsibility toward our fellow humans; in responding to this accusation, Rorty reverts repeatedly to this same device, the characterization of chastened universalist gestures he wants to support as merely our own particular particularism. The liberal "ideals of procedural justice and human equality" are

Raritan, 10 (1990): 104–25, esp. 113–14, 119, 123; and Thomas McCarthy, "Private Irony and Public Decency: Richard Rorty's New Pragmatism," *Critical Inquiry*, 16 (Winter 1990): 355–70. McCarthy's piece is the basis for a later, relevant exchange: Richard Rorty, "Truth and Freedom: A Reply to Thomas McCarthy," *Critical Inquiry*, 16 (Spring 1990): 633–43, and Thomas McCarthy, "Ironist Theory as Vocation: A Response to Rorty's Reply," *Critical Inquiry*, 16 (Spring 1990): 644–55.

²⁶ As late as 1985, Rorty ("Solidarity or Objectivity," 13) explained that "to be ethnocentric is to divide the human race into the people to whom one must justify one's beliefs and the others. The first group, one's *ethnos*—comprises those who share enough of one's beliefs to make fruitful conversation possible." Rorty soon changed his tune, slightly: to advocate ethnocentric behavior "may sound suspicious," Rorty allowed rather defensively in 1987, but only "if we identify ethnocentrism with pig-headed refusal to talk to representatives of other communities." Rorty still did not say *talk with* such people, or *learn from* them, but he was moving in that direction. Adopting a much softer definition of ethnocentrism than the one of two years before, Rorty explained that to be "ethnocentric" is "simply to work by our own lights," which are in any event the only ones we have. For these remarks of 1987, see Rorty, "Science as Solidarity," in John S. Nelson, et al., *The Rhetoric of the Human Sciences: Language and Argument in Scholarship and Public Affairs* (Madison, Wis., 1987), 43. See also, in 1987, Richard Rorty, "Thugs and Theorists," *Political Theory*, 15 (1987): 565, 575. This essay responds to a searching critique by Richard Bernstein, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward: Richard Rorty on Liberal Democracy and Philosophy," *Political Theory*, 15 (1987): 538–63, in which Bernstein (esp. 553–54) challenged Rorty to address more critically what he means by "we."

²⁷ Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, 196, 198. In his most recent writings, Rorty has continued the trajectory of making openness, rather closure, what he means by "ethnocentrism": in the introduction to *Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth* (New York, 1991), Rorty defends "an *ethnos* which prides itself on its suspicion of ethnocentrism"; p. 2.

probably "the best hope of the species," he maintains, even if these ideals are "parochial, recent, eccentric . . . local, and culture-bound."²⁸

In one of his most vivid discussions of the problem, Rorty takes up the hypothetical case of "a child found wandering in the woods, the remnant of a slaughtered nation whose temples have been razed and whose books have been burned." Such a lost child is said to have, on Rorty's principles, no claim to "human dignity" because the moral community that sustained this notion in his or her case no longer exists. But, says Rorty, if the lost child is fortunate enough to be found by "us," by representatives of our ethnos, we will take the child into our community, there "to be reclothed with dignity." Why? Because this child is indeed human, and our ethnos carries the universalist aspirations of the Judeo-Christian tradition, "gratefully invoked," writes Rorty candidly, "by free-loading atheists like myself."²⁹

What I find most revealing about Rorty's chosen example of the child without a community is that Rorty's chastened universalism with a particularist cover can express itself the most spontaneously when its object is not part of a living, viable community. One might look, instead, at the more challenging problem represented by the Masai women.³⁰ If these women are but breeding stock and, when barren of sons, are treated by their warrior masters as inferior to cattle, who are we to criticize? It is part of Masai culture, after all. And we probably should not even talk about it, as such talk might flatter Western prejudice and might lead us to forget how much violence and injustice are suffered by women in the United States and Western Europe. But if the Masai peoples eventually die off amid the economic, political, and ecological transformation of East Africa, we could, on ethnocentric principles, rescue the last surviving Masai woman as she crawls starving across the Ogaden. The price of her emancipation would then be the death of her culture, which we are restrained from countenancing by our principled anti-universalism and our healthy suspicion of Western imperialism.

Some feminists would be less timid about the matter and might even dare to be judgmental. Whether or not a program has been devised that might actually help the Masai women, or the victims of "genital mutilation" in several other societies, the value of a critical perspective on the plight of women world-wide is affirmed by some feminists. Hence some varieties of feminism sustain an element of species-centered discourse, a willingness to address the interests of women everywhere.³¹ Many of the feminists who take an interest in the Masai women and in the victims of genital mutilation are also historicists, sensitive to the particularity of the cultures with which women as well as men must deal and reluctant to dismiss as "false consciousness" the insistence by some Saudi and Sudanese women that Western feminists have no authority to instruct them on their rights,

²⁸ Rorty, "On Ethnocentrism," 532.

²⁹ Richard Rorty, "Postmodernist Bourgeois Liberalism," *Journal of Philosophy*, 80 (1983): 588.

³⁰ Sarah Akhtar, "Masai Women Should Benefit from Changed Way of Life," *New York Times*, November 11, 1989. This letter called the degradation of Masai women to the attention of those who "seem to have fallen victim to the common fallacy that all underdeveloped and indigenous cultures are superior to the attempts by governmental forces to change them."

³¹ See, for example, the column by Ruth Rosen, "Women's Rights Are the Same as Human Rights," *Los Angeles Times*, April 8, 1991, B5, arguing that "we must stop trivializing sexual crimes" in other societies "by calling them customs."

needs, and duties. Feminism, like moral philosophy, philosophy of science, and a host of other intellectual enterprises, confronts in an age of historicism the question of the boundaries of the ethnos.³²

Even in Rorty's view, it is membership in our species that endows with human dignity the Masai women, the lost child, or anyone else, but only because this biological and species-ist basis for dignity happens to be recognized by our particular Western ethnos. Does this make our culture superior to others? Only in our eyes, it would seem. But when our eyes are directed at "our own," we do, according to Rorty, have special responsibilities. It is in discussing these responsibilities in contemporary America that Rorty makes his strongest, yet most pragmatic, witness against the old, unchastened universalism:

Consider . . . the attitude of contemporary American liberals to the unending hopelessness and misery of the lives of young blacks in American cities. Do we say that these people must be helped because they are our fellow human beings? We may, but it is much more persuasive, morally as well as politically, to describe them as our fellow *Americans*—to insist that it is outrageous that an *American* should live without hope . . . our sense of solidarity is strongest when those with whom solidarity is expressed are thought of as "one of us," where "us" means something smaller and more local than the human race.³³

Here, Rorty draws the ethnocentric circle to correspond with American citizenship. He does so for a specific and admirable purpose: he hopes that some humans might be more effectively inspired to act to diminish the suffering of others. Yet the suffering that Rorty wants to diminish has been created and perpetuated by the feeling among many white Americans that blacks are not really part of "us" anyway. Distinctions between Americans of different "racial" and "ethnic" groups yield formidable we-they dynamics of their own. Indeed, such dynamics gave rise in the first place to the concept of "ethnocentrism," which Rorty now wishes to appropriate for two benign purposes: the flagging of the recognition of our own historical particularity and the inspiring, Rorty hopes, of a measure of generosity greater than that previously called forth by appeals to the common humanity of all sufferers.

That such appeals to a grand "humanity" have failed to prevent a multitude of cruelties is easy to demonstrate, but Rorty seems less concerned to measure the practical efficacy of these old universalist appeals (can we be so sure that they have counted for so little in the history of human generosity?³⁴) than to warn against the Kantian rationalism with which he persistently associates them. Kant made morality a matter of rational deduction from general principles, Rorty complains, and made "feelings of pity and benevolence . . . seem dubious, second-rate

³² For a helpful discussion, see Myra Jehlen, "Archimedes and the Paradox of Feminist Criticism," *Signs*, 6 (1981): 575–601; and, responding to Jehlen, Mohanty, "Us and Them," 28–29. See also Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington, Ind., 1991).

³³ Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, 191.

³⁴ For a provocative study of the rise of humanitarianism that can be regarded as a case study in the expansion of "the circle of the we" under changing economic and technological circumstances, see Thomas L. Haskell, "Capitalism and the Origins of the Humanitarian Sensibility," pts. 1 and 2, *AHR*, 90 (April–June 1985): 339–61, 547–66. See also the closely related essay, Thomas W. Laqueur, "Bodies, Details, and Humanitarian Narrative," in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History: Essays* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), 176–204.

motives for not being cruel." But these motives are altogether praiseworthy, according to Rorty, who spends much of *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* arguing that novelists, ethnographers, essayists, and other "non-philosophical" intellectuals can do a lot more for the cause of human solidarity than can the Kantian thinkers who try to identify a "human essence" and to establish a "rational obligation" in relation to it. Rorty's "ethnocentrism" is directed more sharply against rationalist and essentialist constructions of human nature than against any appeals to the solidarity of a historically real population. The extremity of Rorty's ethnocentrism turns out to be a disagreement with other philosophers over the terms on which human solidarity should be affirmed. As soon as the Kantians are disposed of, Rorty's vision of human solidarity takes on what most American intellectuals of the last half-century would recognize immediately as a decidedly anti-ethnocentric cast: this solidarity, says Rorty, should be understood as "the ability to think of people wildly different from ourselves as included in the range of 'us.'"³⁵ The circle of the "we" thus embraces diversity; it is not a uniformitarian construct, predicating equality on sameness.

Even Rorty, then, has come around to insisting that full recognition of the historically particular character of our discourses should not be taken as a license for what Geertz lampooned as "parochialism without tears,"³⁶ the giving up on the venerable cosmopolitan project of looking sympathetically beyond one's immediate surroundings. Rorty's effort to detach the concept of ethnocentrism from its conventional meaning has succeeded chiefly as a sophisticated irony, challenging people with lingering universalist tendencies to recognize the historical particularity of their own anti-ethnocentrism. But even if "ethnocentrism" has served Rorty poorly, the dead ends and contradictions displayed by his forthright, admirably risk-taking deployment of this concept against the conceits of his colleagues are highly instructive. These dead ends and contradictions can help to inspire a postparticularist, or, as I would prefer to say, "postethnic,"³⁷ disposition toward issues of affiliation in a variety of contexts. This disposition is not "an answer" to the problem of the ethnocentric circle; rather, it is a willingness to engage that problem while remaining suspicious of the will to enclose.

THE PERSPECTIVE I WANT TO CALL "postethnic" differs decisively from the many "posts" of our time that serve to repudiate, rather than to build on and critically refine, the contributions of what is taken to be the previous moment in a discourse.³⁸ A postethnic perspective—as I try to develop it here—takes the claims of the ethnos more seriously than do recent, widely discussed critiques of

³⁵ Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, 192.

³⁶ Geertz, "Uses of Diversity," 122.

³⁷ The term "postethnic" is used by Werner Sollors with reference to some recent studies of American literature; see Sollors' trenchant essay, "A Critique of Pure Pluralism," in Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *Reconstructing American Literary History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 270.

³⁸ Hence the postethnic might be construed as bearing to the ethnic the same relation that post-Marxism bears to Marxism in the well-known formulation of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe: "But if our intellectual project in this book is *post-Marxist*, it is evidently *also post-Marxist*." See Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London, 1985), 4.

epistemic particularism by Ernest Gellner and of civic particularism by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.³⁹ It builds on several insights congenial to the basic historicism Rorty shares with Geertz, Kuhn, Walzer, and a number of other creative participants in the repudiation of universalism.

Historicists should be quick to acknowledge that the communities providing moral and cognitive standards come into being under a great variety of circumstances, are perpetuated for many distinctive ends, and are driven by very different distributions of power. No sooner do we ask, "How wide the circle of the we?" than we ought to ask, "What identifies the we?" and "How deep the structure of power within it?" and "How is the authority to set its boundaries distributed?" These questions are invoked even in the hopeful verse of the old progressive poet remembered for having demanded the inclusion of "the man with the hoe," Edwin Markham:

He drew a circle that shut me out—
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
But Love and I had the wit to win:
We drew a circle that took him in.⁴⁰

Our communities are various in their structure and function: not all entail the same mix of voluntary and coerced affiliation, nor do all require the same measure of internal agreement, the same sorts of demands on the individual member, or the same degree of clarity in external boundaries.⁴¹ Deciding who is "in" and who is "out" is a rather different matter depending on whether the salient "we" is understood to consist of Chicanos or of Texans, of particle physicists or of scientists, of Presbyterians or of Christians, of Skull and Bones or of what Rorty calls "the conversation of the West." Recognition of the vitality of the ethnos need not—as metaphorical references to "tribes" and "clubs" can imply—demand the dividing up of the world into an expanse of internally homogeneous and analogically structured units. We are better able to resist such reification⁴² if we attend carefully to the overlapping character of many of these communities, to their internal diversity, and to their differing size, scope, and

³⁹ Ernest Gellner, *Postmodernism, Reason and Religion* (New York, 1992); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* (New York, 1992).

⁴⁰ Edwin Markham, "The Outwitted," in Charles L. Wallis, ed., *Poems of Edwin Markham* (New York, 1950), 18.

⁴¹ An example of obliviousness to these distinctions is the influential account of the "we" developed by Wilfrid Sellars. Sellars assumed that all moral and epistemic "we's" were communities of consent, inhabited by individuals who had chosen to pursue a common inquiry. His analysis was so far removed from actual, historical communities that he felt comfortable describing as "mankind generally" the community relevant to his analysis, even if such a community existed only in the mind of an individual, and even if evidence for its existence there was simply the willingness of an individual to discuss with another such a question as "what ought to be done." See Wilfrid Sellars, *Science and Metaphysics: Variations on Kantian Themes* (London, 1968), 220, 225.

⁴² This reification of particulars has been criticized in one of the most ambitious and vividly etched historical critiques of contemporary culture, Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity*, 116–17: "Postmodernism has us accepting the reifications and partitionings, actually celebrating the activity of masking and cover-up, all the fetishisms of locality, place, or social grouping, while denying that kind of meta-theory which can grasp the political-economic processes (money flows, international divisions of labour, financial markets, and the like) that are becoming ever more universalizing in their depth, intensity, reach and power over daily life."

purpose.⁴³ What it means to "situate" oneself—or a person or text being addressed—is not always as easy as our now ritualistic calls for the "situating" of everything are sometimes taken to imply. In an era of global "creolization"⁴⁴ and of deterritorialized communities, just what conditions are "local" can be less than obvious.

Beginning with exactly these historicist sensitivities, a postethnic perspective goes on to recognize that most individuals are involved in many of these communities simultaneously and that the carrying out of any person's own life-project entails a shifting division of labor between the several "we's" of which the individual is a part. How much weight is assigned to the fact that one is Pennsylvania Dutch or Navaho, relative to the weight assigned to the fact that one is also an American, a molecular biologist, a woman, and a Baptist? It is this process of consciously and critically locating oneself amid these layers of "we's" that most distinguishes the postethnic from the unreconstructed universalist. The latter wants to build life-projects outside of, rather than through, particular communities. The willingness of the postethnic to treat ethnic identity as a problem rather than a given also helps to distinguish the postethnic from the unreconstructed ethnocentrist, for whom ethnic identity is a more straightforward proposition, a matter of affirming and developing something frankly parochial.⁴⁵

A postethnic perspective also tries to remain alert to features of any given ethnos common to one or more other ethnoi that see each other as opposed. When communities are construed as "localities" to which a norm, an aspiration, or a condition may be "historically particular," it remains true that these localities can be sites for the display of traits and conditions also found in other localities. Kiev and Kokomo have less in common than Willkie supposed, but that need not mean we have no basis for theorizing about, and acting on, needs and interests found to be shared by some inhabitants of these two sites. The "hero" reappearing behind "a thousand faces" may have been less singular than Joseph Campbell thought,⁴⁶ but inquiry into continuities across cultures still promises to help identify features of human life that are prominently and extensively developed within populations

⁴³ The need for attention to these features of moral communities has been argued compellingly by Martha Nussbaum, "Recoiling from Reason," *New York Review of Books*, December 7, 1989, 36–41; and by Jeffrey Stout, *Ethics after Babel: The Languages of Morals and Their Discontents* (Boston, 1988).

⁴⁴ Ulf Hannerz, "The World in Creolisation," *Africa*, 57 (1987): 546–59. See also many of the essays in the important collection, Mike Featherstone, ed., *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization, and Modernity* (Newbury Park, Calif., 1990), first published as vol. 7, June 1990, of *Theory, Culture and Society*.

⁴⁵ For explorations of the problematic character of ethno-racial identity, see Michael M. J. Fischer, "Ethnicity and the Postmodern Arts of Memory," in Clifford and Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture*, 194–233, esp. 195; Anthony Appiah, "'But Would That Still Be Me?' Notes on Gender, 'Race,' Ethnicity, as Sources of 'Identity,'" *Journal of Philosophy*, 87 (October 1990): 493–89; and Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York, 1986). Sollors' work has done more to redirect American discussions of ethnic identity than any other single contribution since the classic work of Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963). See also the valuable collection, Sollors, ed., *The Invention of Ethnicity* (New York, 1989), especially Sollors' own introduction (ix–xx).

⁴⁶ Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton, N.J., 1949). This book is one of the great artifacts of the universalist enthusiasm of the mid-century era. See Campbell's comments on human similarity and difference in his preface, viii.

open to historical or contemporary scrutiny. Our choice of projects in philosophical anthropology need not be limited to a search for "cultural universals" on the one hand and on the other a celebration of sheer difference.

If the observations in the three previous paragraphs have a truistic ring, they can serve all the better to remind us of the strength of the resources on which one might draw while scrutinizing the enclosures licensed by our new respect for boundaries and while specifying contexts in which even species-centered discourse might be critically and cautiously renewed. One such context is surely the geo-physical health of the planet. Analyses of the globe's ecological trajectories render the notion of a species-wide interest strikingly authentic and help to neutralize the old suspicion that such universalist notions must always be a mask for some smaller, more particular interest. Disagreements between rich and poor nations about how to balance development with environmental protection complicate but do not invalidate the insight expressed in the environmentalist slogan "One Earth, One Humanity, One Destiny." Humankind as a non-mystical category can survive our recognition of its varieties.⁴⁷ It can survive not only as an object of critically grounded, scientific study. It can also continue to serve, imperfectly, to be sure, as a principle relevant to the operation of epistemic communities: it can serve these communities as a brake on the creation of a complacently "ethnic" *Wissenschaft*.

Professional communities in the natural sciences have proven able to warrant their major claims successfully in many locales and to acculturate persons born and raised in a multitude of tribes and clubs throughout the world. Yet many of us in the humanities and in the humanistically oriented social sciences are now so proficient in detecting parochialism and prejudice in even the natural sciences, and so conscious of the status of these sciences as historically specific, discursive practices, that we risk losing sight of the relative success of these sciences in making their ideas work, experimentally, and in incorporating within their "we" a great variety of men—and more recently, women—with diverse ethno-racial and national-cultural affiliations. All perspectives may be partial, but some are more partial than others. A postethnic orientation toward epistemic communities recognizes, rather than trivializes, the remarkable successes of the modern natural sciences but takes these successes as problems for theory and as challenges for politics rather than as proof that traditional and existing scientific communities have pushed the epistemic "we" as far as it can go. There may be a good bit more pushing to be done, and the resulting knowledge may serve more of the species than has been served by the knowledge we already have.

When we conclude that an idea "works" scientifically, in the context of what specific aims do we reach this conclusion? And when we observe that professional communities have managed to acculturate a demographically diverse population of men and women, just what elements in that human diversity are silenced in the

⁴⁷ It is sometimes suggested that the species itself is an unstable category, like "race." If recognition of differential gene frequencies in certain populations of human organisms threatens to break down *homo sapiens*, however, it does not follow that "humankind" must lose its validity as a referent for science and social theory. The question of where "humanity" ends and something else begins is the subject of a collection of excellent papers, James J. Sheehan and Morton Sosna, eds., *The Boundaries of Humanity: Humans, Animals, Machines* (Stanford, Calif., 1991).

interests of perpetuating the success of existing research programs, and how might these elements be given greater voice in the hope of generating and vindicating new and alternative research programs? These questions are being formulated and pursued by Ian Hacking, Mary Hesse, Evelyn Fox Keller, Nancy Cartwright, Peter Galison, and a host of other historians and philosophers of science who recognize the "situated" character of inquiry but who resist facile constructions of the relevant "situations" in terms of gross and self-enclosed social-cognitive units.⁴⁸ The work of these scholars sustains the hope that the knowledge sought by science can still—in this age of historicism—be construed as ideally "public," subject to verification by anyone comparably equipped, trained, and positioned.⁴⁹ Hence a postethnic perspective on epistemic communities seeks to test more systematically the limits of the epistemic "we" and to stretch its circle as wide as the capacities of nature and its knowers will allow.

An inclination toward such "stretching" is also what a postethnic perspective brings to moral communities, where its starting point might be Walzer's patently universalist attribution to all human beings of certain minimal "rights," the rights "not to be robbed of life or liberty."⁵⁰ The point of underscoring this element of species-consciousness in the fiercely particularist Walzer is not to reconvene a debate over whether there are "universal values"—historicists can quickly grant that Walzer's ascription of basic rights to all persons is an expression of Walzer's ethnos, and Kantians can worry about how this ascription might be justified and elaborated—but to call attention to the potential for practical dialogue across the lines that separate "us" from "them." Trying to "reason" with members of other tribes, trying to persuade them to recognize common interests and even trying to convince them that they might be better off by adopting our ways, is an ideal easily mocked. But a rejuvenated version of this old ideal is now being advanced with force and conviction by Jürgen Habermas and Jeffrey Stout and others, whose project of building a community through intersubjective reason would seem aimed exactly at the goal that even Rorty has now acknowledged as his own: the expansion of "our" democratic-egalitarian ethnos through immanent critique.⁵¹

⁴⁸ The best brief account of the issues raised by feminist analysis of science is Evelyn Fox Keller, "Gender and Science: 1990," in *Great Ideas Today 1990* (Chicago, 1990), 69–93. A helpful discussion of the epistemological orientation of recent historiography of science is Jan Golinski, "The Theory of Practice and the Practice of Theory: Sociological Approaches in the History of Science," *Isis*, 81 (1990): 492–505. See also Joseph Rouse, "The Politics of Postmodern Philosophy of Science," *Philosophy of Science*, 58 (1991): 607–27, esp. 624–25.

⁴⁹ For feminist discussions relevant to this aspiration, see Helen E. Longino, *Science as Social Knowledge: Values and Objectivity in Scientific Inquiry* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); Sandra Harding, "After the Neutrality Ideal: Science, Politics, and 'Strong Objectivity,'" *Social Research*, 59 (1992): 567–87; and Frances E. Mascia-Lees, Patricia Sharpe, and Colleen Ballerino Cohen, "The Postmodernist Turn in Anthropology: Cautions From a Feminist Perspective," *Signs*, 15 (1989): 7–33. See also Lynn Hankinson Nelson, *Who Knows: From Quine to a Feminist Empiricism* (Philadelphia, 1990).

⁵⁰ Walzer, *Spheres of Justice*, xiv–xv. Walzer stopped short of trying to parlay these basic rights into a more extensive vision of justice "applicable everywhere." Walzer's discriminations are relevant here because he managed to justify a locally focused moral philosophy without cutting off his connections to a wider human community. His *Spheres of Justice* is animated by a belief that "our own" society is capable of becoming "a society of equals." Hence Walzer offered not another diatribe against universalism but a relatively down-to-earth, historically self-conscious effort to bring out of his own society the egalitarian potential with which that society has been endowed by its ethnos.

⁵¹ Rorty often complains that Habermas too often goes "transcendental," but Richard Bernstein and Martin Jay insist that Habermas's project, especially as recently formulated, is compatible with

What this project of "building a community through intersubjective reason" might entail has been indicated by Stout in his account of a hypothetical argument with a fascist thug. Stout grants that no arguments will work when the secret police come in the night to kill you or take you away, but he invites us to envision himself and the fascist policeman "stranded in a cave together (with food and without weapons) for a year." The two will, of course, have different values, and the thug's environment will surely have "engrained in him deeply vicious habits likely to lessen the effects of any arguments" Stout might offer. Yet Stout proposes to practice "immanent criticism," hoping to find "a contradiction that might convince the fascist to change his mind."⁵²

I can try to exploit whatever vocabularies and patterns of reasoning we have in common, using them toward the end of bringing him around. If I am successful, though, it will probably be because he has observed me long enough to be taken, despite himself, by the way I live, to find his loves gradually shifting, irrespective of argument, in the direction of mine, to become, through unconscious modeling more than argumentative persuasion, a less vicious person. Then, and only then, are arguments likely to make a difference. He might, of course, be too far gone, too bitter or hateful or narrow-minded to reach. It is, moreover, quite conceivable that a whole society could suffer moral atrophy in this way.

Whatever the ideal dynamics of the expansion of moral "we," the hypothetical character of Stout's conversation with the fascist thug can remind us of the need to address nonhypothetical, historically realistic possibilities for community building in relation to democratic-egalitarian values. Among these possibilities is the distinctive socio-political entity in which universalist and particularist impulses often reach the compromises and operating arrangements by which daily civic life actually takes place in a field of power: the nation.

The durability of nationalism in the face of a multitude of internationalizing forces may suggest how deep is the human need for an ethnos of accessible proportions and how portentous are the affiliations people choose or are coerced into accepting. Not all nationalisms are alike. Some are more uncompromisingly ethnocentric, in the older, pre-Rortian sense of the term. The United States is one of several nations possessing a trans-ethnic national consciousness, but it is the most historically conspicuous. "America is still a radically unfinished society," Walzer has recently reminded us in tones reminiscent of Randolph Bourne's characterization of a dynamic, "trans-national" America welcoming and transforming many varieties of humankind.⁵³ But Bourne spoke against the torrent of

the historicist perspective Rorty has done so much to advance. See Richard J. Bernstein, *Beyond Objectivism and Relativism: Science, Hermeneutics, and Praxis* (Philadelphia, 1983), esp. 183; and Martin Jay, review of Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, in *History and Theory*, 28 (1989): 94–112. It is indeed Habermas's "universalism" that Rorty continues to point to as the greatest point of disagreement between them; see Rorty's clarification of his relation to Habermas in *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, 61–69, esp. 67–68. The character of Habermas's "universalism" is considered carefully in a book that has much influenced my own understanding of Habermas's project: Stephen K. White, *The Recent Work of Jürgen Habermas: Reason, Justice, and Modernity* (Cambridge, 1988).

⁵² Stout, *Ethics after Babel*, 258–59.

⁵³ Michael Walzer, "What Does It Mean to Be an 'American?'" *Social Research*, 57 (1990): 614. Although Walzer commented extensively on Horace Kallen's development of the idea of "cultural pluralism," Walzer's own position would seem to be closer to Bourne's interactionist ideal for

nativist Anglo-Saxonism that eventually curtailed immigration in the 1920s, while Walzer speaks in the atmosphere of an increasingly widespread acceptance of cultural diversity as a national virtue. The United States is unusual in the extent to which its ideological spokespersons accept, and defend, the nation's negotiated, contingent character within a broad canopy of Enlightenment-derived, universalist abstractions. This universalist component in the traditional ideology of the American nation⁵⁴ is a resource potentially of value to anyone troubled by the ease with which ethnicity turns to hatred in settings as different from one another as Baku, Bensonhurst, and Bosnia.⁵⁵

This universalist self-image has recently become less fraudulent in the wake of what is sometimes called the "de-WASPIing" of America. Unprecedented demographic diversity—marked most dramatically by the numbers and varieties of Asian and Latin-American immigrants and their offspring now part of American society—has diminished yet further the privileged connection between American nationality and Anglo-Protestant ancestry challenged earlier by Catholics, Jews, other European ethnics, and by the African-American descendants of slaves. A society so constituted, and in possession of a strongly universalist mythology of the nation, confronts a striking circumstance: its national community—the "we" that corresponds to American citizenship—*mediates more directly than most other national communities do* between the species and those varieties of humankind defined in terms of ethno-racial affiliations.⁵⁶ A "Chinese ethnic" can, of course, be a citizen of France or of Great Britain, or even of Israel or Japan, but I hope it is fair to observe that in all these cases, he or she will encounter a national community with a manifestly more ethnocentric social history and public culture than that of the contemporary United States. Moreover, when this "Chinese ethnic," or a "white southerner," or any other American rooted in any one, particular enclave within

American ethnic groups than to Kallen's tendency to encourage in each group a greater measure of internal solidarity. See the treatment of Kallen in John Higham, "Ethnic Pluralism in Modern American Thought," in Higham's *Send These To Me: Immigrants in Urban America*, 2d edn., revised (Baltimore, Md., 1984), 198–232, esp. 205–10.

⁵⁴ See John Higham, "Hanging Together: Divergent Unities in American History," *Journal of American History*, 61 (1974): 10–19; and Philip Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 31–58. Important clarifications concerning this ideological tradition have been offered by Rogers M. Smith, "The 'American Creed' and American Identity: The Limits of Liberal Citizenship in the United States," *Western Political Quarterly*, 41 (1988): 225–51.

⁵⁵ The vehemence of particularist initiatives in post-1989 Europe has generated in some European intellectuals a neo-universalist reaction that extends even to the celebration—in what might be called an "American style"—of hybridization. "I'm a passionate supporter of all that can insure that tomorrow people on this continent will be hybrids," said the French philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy, for whom "Europe," rather than "France" or "humanity," serves as the salient "we." Levy described his ideal Europe as a "machine to break, complicate, reduce, and put into perspective all identities and national groups" but lamented that such a Europe is generally rejected in favor of more narrowly particularist identities. "The great modern and murderous delirium in Europe is the folly of ethnic identity," Bernard-Henri Levy, quoted in "An Alarum for the New Europe Is Sounded from a Paris Salon," *New York Times*, December 13, 1992, IV, 9.

⁵⁶ This point is not to be confused with the more extravagant claim that multicultural America is "isomorphic with the world," wisely disputed in the name of the world's prodigious diversity by George Yúdice, "We Are Not the World," *Social Text*, nos. 31–32 (1992): 202–16. Nor do I intend here to slight, in an "American exceptionalist" fashion, the fact that some nations other than the United States—Brazil is a convenient example—perform this "mediating" role.

the United States manages to identify with the American people as a whole, that American takes a tiny but ideologically significant step toward fraternal solidarity with the species.

To recognize this feature of American nationality is neither to deny that some other nations are comparably multi-ethnic nor to minimize the reality of ethno-racial prejudice, discrimination, and violence within American society. Nor is it to reinscribe Melville's romantic manifesto, "we Americans bear the ark of the liberties of the world."⁵⁷ One can easily enumerate the frauds and failures of the American effort to "share" American liberties with the world and guarantee these liberties to those of our own citizens lacking the privilege of Anglo-Protestant ancestry. Indeed, so conscious are "we"—an alterity-preoccupied, deeply anti-imperialist generation of American intellectuals—of American arrogance, and so justifiably appalled at the uncritical enthusiasm for American military power displayed during the Persian Gulf War of 1991, that we tend to avoid earnest discussions of American nationality out of fear that the topic itself can yield only chauvinism.⁵⁸ But it is not chauvinism to insist that the ideological resources of the United States are too useful to democratic egalitarians to be conceded to the Far Right while the rest of us devote our public energies to more narrowly particularist or more broadly universalist projects.⁵⁹ A postethnic perspective invites critical engagement with the United States as a distinctive locus of social identity mediating between the human species and its varieties, and as a vital arena for political struggles the outcome of which determine the domestic and global use of a unique concentration of power.

Such an engagement with the American nation need not preclude other engagements, including affiliations of varying intensity and duration defined by material or imagined consanguinity. A virtue of the term *postethnic* is to distinguish the perspective on American nationality sketched here from any reversion to a *pre-ethnic* perspective on that nationality, according to which the general problem of the *ethnos* is dismissed rather than critically addressed and the specific issue of ethno-racial identity is suppressed by a monolithic, "100 percent" notion of American citizenship. A postethnic perspective recognizes the psychological value and political function of groups of affiliation, but it resists

⁵⁷ Herman Melville, *White-Jacket, or, The World in a Man-of-War* (1850; New York, 1966), 158.

⁵⁸ A refreshing exception to this rule of avoidance is Mitchell Cohen, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," *Dissent* (Fall 1992): 478–83, which defends a perspective on American nationality similar to the one I sketch here.

⁵⁹ The value of locating primary solidarity in citizenship within a democratic nation-state is an implication of much recent work by philosophers, historians, and political economists. The philosopher Thomas Nagel's *Equality and Partiality* (New York, 1991) cautiously argues (178) that the inherently dangerous but indispensable instinct for "solidarity" is better acted on in relation to such a nation-state than in relation to "racial, linguistic, or religious identification" on the one hand or "the world" on the other. The historian Roman Szporluk's *Communism and Nationalism: Karl Marx versus Friedrich List* (New York, 1988) concludes (240) that nationalism can be consistent with an affirmation "as fundamental values" of "the rights of the individual and humanity's community of fate." The political economist Robert B. Reich's *Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism* (New York, 1991) provides a careful justification for a nation-centered answer to the question—generated by his analysis of the world capitalist economy—that forms the title of its final chapter: "Who Is 'Us?'" (301–15). Reich's perspective can be instructively contrasted to the capitalism-conquers-all vision of postnationality advanced by a champion of the international business elite, Kenichi Ohmae, in *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy* (London, 1990).

a rigidification of exactly those ascribed distinctions between persons that various universalists and cosmopolitans have so long sought to diminish.⁶⁰ Angela Davis exemplified this spirit of resistance when she asked that the "ropes" attached to the "anchors" locating individuals in primary communities be long enough to enable people "to move into other communities."⁶¹ Welcome as is the cultivation of "difference" against the conformist imperative for "sameness" too often felt in American society, that very imperative for sameness can all too easily be reinscribed, in yet more restrictive terms, within the cultures of smaller, particular communities. Postethnicity projects a more diverse basis for diversity than a multiplicity of ethnocentrism promises to provide.

A postethnic perspective recognizes that the development of group identity takes place in the context of class position and that ethno-racial identity has often turned out, historically, to be a step toward, rather than away from, more complete participation in American life. The ethnic particularism of recent years amounts, in part, to another episode in the traditional politics of ethno-racial identity in America, by which persons outside the traditionally Anglo-Protestant majority have alternately asserted or diminished one special identity or another, depending on the apparent potential of that special identity to advance or retard one's fortunes in the society at large. A truly postethnic America would be one in which the ethno-racial component in identity would loom less large than it now does and in which affiliation by shared descent would be more voluntary than prescribed. Although many middle-class white Americans can now be said to be postethnic in this sense,⁶² the United States as a whole is a long way from achieving this ideal. This ideal for the American civic community is, indeed, just that, an ideal, embodying the hope that the United States can be more than a site for a variety of diasporas and of projects in colonization and conquest.⁶³

Civic, moral, and epistemic communities differ so much that only the most general of observations can derive from any effort, like this one, to address all

⁶⁰ For a helpful discussion of what role these social distinctions should and should not play in the constitutional order of the United States, see Robert C. Post, "Cultural Heterogeneity and the Law: Pornography, Blasphemy, and the First Amendment," *California Law Review*, 76 (March 1988), esp. 320. Although Post addressed a highly specific issue in contemporary constitutional doctrine—the appropriateness of restriction of pornography in the context of the First Amendment—he developed along the way a lucid, general account of "pluralist," "assimilationist," and "individualist" principles in the American constitutional and political tradition. One of the many virtues of Post's analysis is his awareness of the potentially different implications of "pluralism" for groups defined by gender, as opposed to those defined by race and ethnicity, and to those defined by voluntary religious affiliation. For an argument in a direction different from Post's, see Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), which posits "group differences" as the basis for a reformed civic culture. Young acknowledged (260) that group difference "is the source of some of the most violent conflict and repression in the world today," but she tried to develop a political theory responsive to this danger as well as to the diversifying promise of strengthened groups in American life.

⁶¹ Angela Davis, "Rope," *New York Times*, May 24, 1992, IV, 11. See also Cohen, "Rooted Cosmopolitanism," and Bruce Robbins, "Comparative Cosmopolitanism," in *Social Text*, nos. 31–32 (Spring 1992): 169–86.

⁶² The ability of "white ethnics" to "choose" their ethnicity has been widely noted; see, for instance, Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990).

⁶³ In "Postethnic America," *Contention*, 2 (1992): 79–96, I defend this ideal in the context of the American multiculturalist debate and express my pessimism that this goal can be achieved in the foreseeable future. I try also to distinguish between "universalism," "multiculturalism," "cultural pluralism," and "cosmopolitanism."

three within a single set of terms. But applicable equally to all three is Fernand Braudel's dictum that from "the question of boundaries" all other questions flow: "To draw a boundary around anything is to define, analyse, and reconstruct it."⁶⁴ If the truth in this aphorism is old, our own time is surely one in which we take special pride in the depth and range of our awareness of this truth. Our generation is perhaps unprecedented in the brilliance with which it creates good arguments for enclosures and exposes the naïveté of efforts to avoid circle-drawing. To recognize this virtue in ourselves may render us more critical in its exercise and may better enable us to facilitate the "Edwin Markham effect," according to which persons who have been excluded end up helping to redraw the circles that enclose. The entry of women into the leadership of civic, moral, and epistemic communities is a salient example of this effect now in process, with an extent and significance still to be determined. But not all exclusions are bad, the conventional wisdom of our time will be quick to remind us, and we are all left with the responsibility for deciding where to try to draw circles, with whom, and around what.

⁶⁴ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1 (New York, 1972), 18. This passage was first called to my attention by James J. Sheehan.

Combined Underdevelopment: Discipline and the Law in
Imperial and Soviet Russia

LAURA ENGELSTEIN

AS A POLITICAL ACTIVIST, MICHEL FOUCAULT SPOKE OUT against oppressive political regimes and allied himself, as in the case of Poland, with people who fought for political liberty and freedom of expression. Having insisted, in essays and interviews, that he appreciated the importance of the institutional context that distinguished so-called totalitarian systems from liberal states, he did not make that distinction the focus of his scholarly work but concentrated instead on the mechanisms of control characteristic of all governments in the modern era.¹ As Sheldon Wolin has written, invoking a contrast the philosopher himself would not have employed, Foucault "was not directly concerned with great tyranny but with smaller ones."² In fact, Foucault's theoretical interest was captured not by the problem of postliberal politics but by the origins of liberalism itself, and his condemnation of certain kinds of state systems (Communist regimes, in particular) did not fit comfortably with his insistence that constitutional forms and legal structures do not determine the workings of power in the modern world.

Indeed, the thrust of Foucault's critical energy was directed at identifying the "minor" tyrannies brought into being by the bourgeois order that replaced the "major" tyranny of Old Regime states with the promise of civic freedom. He argued that the fundamental social category central to the bourgeois polity—that of the autonomous individual—has not in fact operated as the precondition for liberty and happiness but as a mechanism of domination, the agent and object of discipline exercised by society upon itself. Where monarchies once imposed order by brute force, through the coercive instruments of the state, Foucault observed,

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¹ Michel Foucault, *Remarks on Marx: Conversations with Duccio Trombadori*, R. James Goldstein and James Cascaito, trans. (New York, 1991), 167–72. On the nature of modern government, see Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds. (Chicago, 1991), 87–104. On Foucault's life and political involvements, see Didier Eribon, *Michel Foucault*, Betsy Wing, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).

² Sheldon S. Wolin, "On the Theory and Practice of Power," in *After Foucault: Humanistic Knowledge, Postmodern Challenges*, Jonathan Arac, ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), 190–91. For a similar complaint, see Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Michel Foucault," in *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, David Couzens Hoy, ed. (Oxford, 1986), 63.

liberal capitalist societies exercise control through the gathering and production of information, the surveillance associated with these scientific projects, the imposition of categories derived from such investigation, and by inculcating mechanisms of self-censorship and self-restraint that compel people to police themselves. By exposing the disciplinary function of subjectivity (the vaunted condition of individual freedom), rationality (prized as an instrument of subjective autonomy), and sexuality (in more recent times hailed as the domain of personal liberation), Foucault unmasked the ideological nature of bourgeois claims to have improved on the overt compulsions and unabashed hierarchies of the absolutist state.³

The "great tyranny" that did interest Foucault was not the modern "police state" of Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia but the monarchical system of early modern Europe, which finally gave way to the deceptive liberties of the modern era. During this transition, the state ceased to display its might in exemplary theatrical spectacles of publicly inflicted bodily pain when punishing crime. Instead, it created institutions for the concealment and regimentation of offenders, who were kept alive and physically intact but out of public sight and under expert supervision. In regulating sex, the state likewise abandoned public rituals of shame or retribution, delegating the exercise of control to the more insidious offices of the trained professions.⁴ The "new mechanism of power" that characterized the modern era took the form of "highly specific procedural techniques, completely novel instruments, quite different apparatuses" from those of the Old Regime and "absolutely incompatible with the relations of sovereignty" associated with absolute rule.⁵

The transition from compulsion to discipline, in Foucault's scheme, coincided with the turn from precapitalist to capitalist social organization, from the absolutist to the constitutional state. The contrast is more, however, than a chronological blueprint. It also represents two different (though not mutually exclusive) principles of social order. The Old Regime state, which Foucault sometimes termed "the juridical monarchy," came into being as a unified center of authority, having established its domination over the competing claims of powerful and multiple rivals. The national monarchs thus identified themselves with the reign of lawfulness, the triumph over anarchy. "Western monarchies," Foucault wrote, "were constructed as systems of law, they expressed themselves through theories of law, and they made their mechanisms of power work in the form of law."⁶ But they also arrogated to themselves the right to supersede any law, and their critics came increasingly to identify them in their own right with the arbitrary disregard of formal constraints. In Foucault's view, "A tradition dating

³ For helpful characterizations of this transition, see Walzer, "Politics of Michel Foucault," 54, 59; Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2d edn. (Chicago, 1983), chap. 6; Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1989), chap. 1.

⁴ Leading ideas of Michel Foucault found in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York, 1977); and Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, Volume 1, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1978).

⁵ "Two Lectures," in Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, Colin Gordon, ed. (New York, 1980), 104.

⁶ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 87; see also Foucault, "Two Lectures," 94.

back to the eighteenth or nineteenth century has accustomed us to place absolute monarchic power on the side of the unlawful: arbitrariness, abuse, caprice, willfulness, privileges and exceptions, the traditional continuance of accomplished facts.”⁷

Insofar as this critique applied the standard of the law against which to measure the practices of the Old Regime, it used the monarchy’s own ideology against it and failed to represent a new and different concept of justice. Like the monarchies they replaced, bourgeois liberal regimes also used the law to legitimate their claims to political authority, but antiliberal critics went further than their eighteenth-century predecessors in arguing not merely that bourgeois states violated the legality they claimed to uphold but that legality itself was deceptive. The law, they said, was not the antidote to coercion but a covert system of domination in its own right. Such critics claimed “not only that real power escaped the rules of jurisprudence, but that the legal system itself was merely a way of exerting violence, of appropriating that violence for the benefit of the few, and of exploiting the dissymmetries and injustices of domination under cover of general law.” But this critique, Foucault argued, “is still carried out on the assumption that, ideally and by nature, power must be exercised in accordance with a fundamental lawfulness.”⁸

What is inadequate about this critique, in Foucault’s view, is that law no longer operates as the organizing principle for the exercise and constitution of power in modern societies, despite its continuing pretensions to the contrary. The judicial system, he wrote,

is utterly incongruous with the new methods of power whose operation is not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalization, not by punishment but by control, methods that are employed on all levels and in forms that go beyond the state and its apparatus. We have been engaged for centuries in a type of society in which the juridical is increasingly incapable of coding power, of serving as its system of representation. Our historical gradient carries us further and further away from a reign of law that had already begun to recede into the past at a time when the French Revolution and the accompanying age of constitutions and codes seemed to destine it for a future that was at hand.

Operating through the power/knowledge nexus, dispersed (in Foucault’s elusive metaphor) throughout the social fabric, the “new mechanisms of power” do not emanate from the institutions of the state or formally constituted authorities and are “probably irreducible to the representation of law.”⁹

This paradigm may or may not adequately describe a transition that occurred in European nations. Even Foucault qualified his claims in ways that cloud the opposition between the two ideal types of power. In the first place, he explained, the regulatory mechanisms characteristic of the modern era find their origin in the custodial functions of the monarchical regime, deriving “at least in part, [from] those [mechanisms] that, beginning in the eighteenth century, took charge of men’s existence, men as living bodies.”¹⁰ Indeed, the absolutist *Polizeistaat* did

⁷ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 87.

⁸ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 88.

⁹ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 89.

¹⁰ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 89

not merely punish or coerce but also intruded, examined, fostered, and shaped the economic, social, and demographic body politic. One might illustrate this awkward combination with the example of Russia's Catherine the Great, who sanctioned the slitting of criminals' nostrils and the branding of their flesh, while at the same time sponsoring foundling homes and public hospitals. The bourgeois disciplinary regime, as Foucault recognized, did not represent the complete negation of the absolutist state but, rather, perpetuated certain principles of premodern "enlightened" stewardship.¹¹

In the second place, while Foucault maintained that the new techniques were "absolutely incompatible with the relations of sovereignty" central to old regimes,¹² or at the very least "probably irreducible to the representation of law" that legitimated state power, he also admitted that many of the juridical forms associated with the absolutist regime "have persisted to the present."¹³ Having sometimes argued that discipline virtually replaces law as the effective mechanism of power in the modern period, at others he depicted the liberal regime as an alliance between the two distinctive—and in principle irreconcilable—forms of power. "The system of right, the domain of the law," he wrote at one point, "are permanent agents of these relations of domination, these polymorphous techniques of subjugation" associated with the disciplinary regime.¹⁴ The theory of sovereignty and the formal structures of the law have, he suggested, bolstered the disciplinary mechanisms in two ways (both pejorative): first, they provide ideological cover for the kinds of coercion and subjugation inherent in the dispersed techniques of power that have superseded the strong arm of the absolutist state; and, second, they are the enabling condition for discipline itself, allowing for a "democratization of sovereignty," which has shifted the hub of power in modern times from the centralized state to a public sphere whose operations are "fundamentally determined by and grounded in mechanisms of disciplinary coercion."¹⁵

Indeed, it would seem, the modern period is characterized not so much by its contrast with the preceding one but by its deployment of old principles to new ends. "The powers of modern society," Foucault wrote, "are exercised through, on the basis of, and by virtue of, this very heterogeneity between a public right of sovereignty and a polymorphous disciplinary mechanism."¹⁶ Yet the alliance is not without conflict. Rather than a clean break with the past, the bourgeois regime constitutes a parasitic encroachment on it: as the techniques and discourses "to which the disciplines give rise invade the area of right . . . the procedures of normalization come to be ever more constantly engaged in the colonization of

¹¹ For more on the continuity between absolutist "police" and modern discipline, see Foucault, "Governmentality," 96, 101, 104. For a historical analysis of the *Polizeistaat*, see Marc Raeff, *The Well-Ordered Police State: Social and Institutional Change through Law in the Germanies and Russia, 1600–1800* (New Haven, Conn., 1983).

¹² Foucault, "Two Lectures," 104.

¹³ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 89.

¹⁴ Foucault, "Two Lectures," 96.

¹⁵ Foucault, "Two Lectures," 105. More along these lines in Foucault, "Governmentality."

¹⁶ Foucault, "Two Lectures," 106.

those of law . . . [and] come into ever greater conflict with the juridical systems of sovereignty."¹⁷

There is some question as to how Foucault himself stood in relation to the power systems he anatomized.¹⁸ On the one hand, he straddled the two critical traditions he himself identified: the one that takes the law to task for violating its own principles (here providing ideological cover for the operation of normalizing regimes), as well as the one that denounces law in its own terms as a mask for domination (insofar as law without discipline—the absolutist regime—provided no better alternative). In the end, Foucault could not find an uncontaminated standpoint:

Against these usurpations by the disciplinary mechanisms, . . . we find that there is no solid recourse available to us today, . . . except that which lies precisely in the return to a theory of right organized around sovereignty and articulated upon its ancient principle . . . But I believe that we find ourselves here in a kind of blind alley: it is not through recourse to sovereignty against discipline that the effects of disciplinary power can be limited, because sovereignty and disciplinary mechanisms are two absolutely integral constituents of the general mechanism of power in our society.

This situation left him with the wistful reflection that what was needed was "a new form of right, one which must indeed be anti-disciplinarian, but at the same time liberated from the principle of sovereignty."¹⁹ That is, not only do principles of legality not provide a way out of the modern dilemma but the law actually abets the modern polity's violation of the promise of freedom. It is not therefore true, in Foucault's scheme, whatever its internal contradictions, that law is the standard from which to judge the derelictions of the bourgeois disciplinary regime, because, however opposite in principle, the law is compromised as well.²⁰

But, no matter how complicated Foucault ultimately made the picture of modernity, he retained the distinction between old regimes, in which power emanated from the state, and the liberal, bourgeois society, in which power operates through "normalizing" mechanisms based on "scientific knowledge" and is implemented through disciplinary practices widely dispersed in the social body. Moreover, the chronological vector is never entirely lost: whatever the overlaps and collusions, Western nations have allegedly proceeded from absolutist monarchies, through *Polizeistaat* enlightened despotisms, to liberal states that delegate power through social self-regulation and control their citizens through the operational fiction of individual autonomy.

To cast an oblique light on Foucault's historical scheme as well as on his implicit (and not so implicit) political judgments, let us take the case of a nation that both contemporaries and historians have considered an example of cultural and

¹⁷ Foucault, "Two Lectures," 107.

¹⁸ On Foucault's contradictory critique of liberal politics and the question of his own value system, see Fraser, *Unruly Practices*, chaps. 1–3.

¹⁹ Foucault, "Two Lectures," 107–08.

²⁰ To complicate matters further, Foucault on occasion spoke as though power could be "limited" and liberty protected (though of course not guaranteed) only within the framework of the law; see passages from "Inutile de se soulever?" *Le monde* (May 11, 1979), quoted in Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction," *The Foucault Effect*, 47–48.

political backwardness or, at best, of “combined development.”²¹ In the Russian empire, the Old Regime survived almost unmodified into the era in which the modern mechanisms of social control and social self-discipline derived from Western practices had already emerged. Here, the “reign of law” had not “already begun to recede,” as Foucault said of the European nineteenth century, but had not yet arrived. Rather, the tsar appropriated the institutional appurtenances of a rule-of-law state (legal codes, independent judiciary, trial by jury), while continuing to exercise absolute sovereignty through the mechanisms of a virtually unimpeded administrative state. Indeed, the Russian example represents the superimposition of the three models of power, chronologically separated (however imperfectly) in Foucault’s scheme: the so-called juridical monarchy, the *Polizeistaat*, and the modern disciplinary regime. Furthermore, both the defense and the critique of the law, which Foucault identified roughly with the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—the one holding the monarchy to the standard of its own stated claims and the other attacking the law as intrinsically obfuscatory—also coincided in time in the utterances of tsarism’s liberal and radical critics. And both of these positions coexisted with the articulated interests of trained professionals, representing the social authority of science.

The example of Russia is also instructive as a test case for Foucault’s discursive hypothesis, which locates the authority and coercive power of the disciplinary mechanisms in the production of knowledge and the implementation of scientifically legitimated norms. Although Western culture penetrated the empire’s official and civic elites, and the model of Western institutions to a large extent shaped the contours of state and social organization, the regime of “power/knowledge” never came into its own in the Russian context. Thus the modern discursive mechanisms did not produce the same effects they purportedly did in the West. Nor, for that matter, did the ideology of the law. To quote the legal scholar Bogdan Kistiakovskii, writing in 1909: “No one, single idea of individual freedom, of the rule of law, of the constitutional state, is the same for all nations and all times, just as no social and economic organization, capitalist or otherwise, is identical in all countries. All legal ideas acquire their own peculiar coloration and inflection in the consciousness of each separate people.”²² To examine the Russian case is to remind ourselves not to mistake Foucault’s paradigm for a universal model, for some “discursively” disguised reworking of modernization theory. More to the point, it is to question whether Foucault’s understanding even of the European case adequately addresses the political issues at stake.

Using the Russian example, I argue that law and discipline are indeed interdependent principles, but not in the pejorative sense Foucault had in mind, and that Foucault’s hostility toward order (whether juridical or disciplinary) has dangerous political implications, some of which were played out on the Russian stage. It is the voice of Russian liberalism that most eloquently expresses the

²¹ This is Leon Trotsky’s term to describe how “backward” countries might skip over stages traversed by advanced nations in order to arrive at the socialist goal without enduring the requisite intervening development. It implies the coexistence of elements associated with separate time periods in the Western sequence.

²² B. Kistiakovskii, “V zashchitu prava (Intelligentsiia i pravosoznanie),” in *Vekhii: Sbornik statei o russkoi intelligentsii*, 2d edn. (Moscow, 1909), 130.

difficulty of negotiating the mutual relation between state and society, between law and discipline, and the urgency of that attempt. The case of the Russian empire and its Soviet successor illustrates the civic costs of failing to achieve the invidious bourgeois solution.

In exploring this counterexample of Foucault's historical hypothesis, the present essay will proceed along two lines. First, it will situate Foucault's analysis and critique of law and social order within the nineteenth-century intellectual tradition reflected in Russian discussions of the same theme. Second, it will locate the discontinuity effected by modernity not in the transition from law to discipline (if evident only, in some of Foucault's renditions, in the residual incompatibility of their continued coexistence) but from administration to law as the context for disciplinary technology. In short, I will argue that the contribution of liberalism is not to displace an intrinsically ideological legality with the normative power of an equally inequitable and unfree disciplinary regime²³ but to replace the alliance between discipline and the administrative state with a configuration that frames the operation of discipline within the confines of the law. In the Russian-Soviet case, by contrast, the absolutist regime was succeeded by an administrative order that rejected legality and harnessed the professional disciplines to its own repressive ends, rather than a disciplinary society limited and controlled by the authority of the law.

IT IS OFTEN REMARKED THAT RUSSIAN INTELLECTUALS PRODUCED a critique of capitalism and bourgeois culture before either had a chance to develop on Russian soil. Alexander Herzen's disillusionment with European politics and his hope that Russia might somehow negotiate the transition from traditional exploitation to future utopia without the painful middle passage provide the classic example of such precocious dissatisfaction. The revolutions of 1905 and even 1917 occurred before the theoretically appointed hour, as Marxists were uneasily aware. In relation to the law, Russians likewise generated an anticipatory critique of institutions not yet imbued with the authority of an established order. While independent liberals and government reformers struggled to build and validate a rule-of-law state, radicals and conservatives joined in denigrating a legality that had yet to take root in social psychology or institutional practice.

For all its resemblance to old regimes elsewhere, tsarism did not produce a similar legal tradition. Unlike the monarchs of Western Europe, Russian rulers had not come to predominance by resolving the clash of competing particular powers but had from the beginning constituted themselves as the source of all power in the land. They had never assumed an adjudicative but always an administrative function, creating the social hierarchy from on high, as a dependency of the state. The tsarist regime's persistent antipathy to the constraints of

²³ Fraser, *Unruly Practices*, argues that Foucault's judgment against both law and discipline ultimately relies on the humanistic (indeed, liberal) values of autonomy, dignity, and rights that he professed to reject as elements of the power regime he criticized. If one accepts her view, then my argument is closer to Foucault's position (or at least to some elements in his often contradictory exposition) than I have been suggesting.

law was obvious to contemporaries and is a commonplace of historians. Eager for the attributes of modernity but unwilling to pay the political price, the nineteenth-century tsars played with judicial reform while consistently violating the meaning of lawful rule. The reforms created institutions that in theory, and to a degree in practice, circumscribed the emperor's absolute freedom to act or, at the very least, created new tensions in the system; these reforms reflected the emergence of legal-minded modernizers both within the bureaucracy and in educated society who pressed to transform the monarchy from within.²⁴

Even its flirtation with reform displayed the autocracy's quintessential character, the very features that most angered its critics: arbitrariness and self-contradiction. Thus Alexander I employed European experts to reorganize the existing laws into a systematic compendium yet would not accept general principles, conceptual distinctions, or any winnowing of the chaotic body of historic edicts that could challenge the autocrat's untrammelled might.²⁵ Russian legal commentators complained that the resulting codes were "medieval" in their deliberately fragmentary conception, a jumble of specific cases designed to inhibit the discretion of the courts.²⁶ During the reign of Nicholas I (who, despite his conservatism, continued to sponsor the project of codification), the bureaucrats taxed with revising the codes necessarily relied on Western precedent but carefully denied the influence of alien models, pretending their work was merely to assemble the national tradition, not inject principled modifications into the existing corpus.²⁷ Moreover, the tension between tradition and change worked both ways. On the one hand, allegedly progressive tsars, such as Alexander II, who instituted the judicial reforms of 1864, later inhibited the formulation and application of the law. On the other, the vigorously reactionary Alexander III, who showed utter contempt for proper procedure and presided over a reign of "extraordinary legislation," at the same time failed to curtail the ongoing project of legal reform initiated by liberal bureaucrats in his father's time.

²⁴ On the judicial reforms of 1864, see Richard S. Wortman, *The Development of a Russian Legal Consciousness* (Chicago, 1976); on the impact of the new institutions and the strength of the post-Reform legal ethos, see Jörg Baberowski, "Das Justizwesen im späten Zarenreich 1864–1914: Zum Problem von Rechtsstaatlichkeit, politischer Justiz und Rückständigkeit in Russland," *Zeitschrift für neuere Rechtsgeschichte*, 3–4 (1991): 156–72 (my thanks to Richard Wortman for this reference); on the liberalism of legal reformers, see William G. Wagner, "The Trojan Mare: Women's Rights and Civil Rights in Late Imperial Russia," in *Civil Rights in Imperial Russia*, Olga Crisp and Linda Edmondson, eds. (Oxford, 1989). On the pro-law intellectual tradition among Russian liberals, see Andrzej Walicki, *Legal Philosophies of Russian Liberalism* (Oxford, 1987).

²⁵ See complaints in the introduction to Ludwig Heinrich von Jakob, *Entwurf eines Criminal-Gesetzbuches für das russische Reich: Mit Anmerkungen über die bestehenden russischen Criminalgesetze; Nebst einem Anhang, welcher enthält: kritische Bemerkungen über den von der Gesetzgebungs-Commission zu St. Petersburg herausgegebenen Criminal-Codex* (Halle, 1818).

²⁶ V. D. Spasovich, quoted in N. S. Tagantsev, *Russkoe ugolovnoe pravo: Lektsii*, 2d edn., rev. (St. Petersburg, 1902), 222.

²⁷ See D. N. Bludov, "Obshchaia ob"iasnitel'naia zapiska," in *Proekt ulozheniia o nakazaniiaakh ugovnykh i ispravitel'nykh, vnesennyi v 1844 godu v Gosudarstvennyi Sovet, s podrobnym oznacheniem osnovanii kazhdogo iz vnesennykh v sei proekt postanovlenii* (St. Petersburg, 1871), viii, xxx–xxxiv. All eighteenth and nineteenth-century lawmakers in Russia and the West borrowed from each other's laws. The vector of influence usually pointed from west to east, but the Russian draft criminal code of 1903 was cited by European authorities as a model of contemporary jurisprudence. See N. S. Timasheff, "The Impact of the Penal Law of Imperial Russia on Soviet Penal Law," *American Slavic and East European Review*, 10 (1953): 443.

The radical intelligentsia was resolutely antilegal, the mirror image of this relentlessly inconsistent autocratic state. The radicals' hostility to legal principles distinguished them from those contemporaries who saw Russia's future in the strengthening of legality, the creation of a rule-of-law state (the *Rechtsstaat*), and the inculcation of respect for the law as a cultural value. It was this conflict within the educated elite that surfaced in a trenchant essay by Bogdan Kistiakovskii included in a famous 1909 volume called *Landmarks* (*Vekhi*). That provocative collection of articles represented a reaction against the 1905 Revolution on the part of thinkers we might now call neoconservatives: former radicals and socially cautious liberals in some cases repudiating their own activist past and distancing themselves from the ideological posture of their cultural kind. In his contribution, Kistiakovskii deplored the intelligentsia's failure to recognize the importance of formal legal guarantees securing personal rights and inviolability as necessary to the maintenance of social discipline (*sotsial'naia distsiplina*). Rather, Kistiakovskii insisted, the protection of individual liberty and integrity was central to a civic order based on the guarantees of the law, indeed, that individual freedom was the defining feature of the rule of law.²⁸

Although the absolutist monarchy did not assure such protection, few of the regime's most outspoken enemies included it in their demands. Radicals as well as critical conservatives were skeptical of both the principle of individualism and the value of formal judicial institutions. In the 1840s, the Slavophiles denigrated the Roman law tradition of the West and the individualism of bourgeois societies as related defects of modern social organization that allegedly had disrupted the communal integrity of former times. They saw in the Russian peasant commune the opposite principle of spiritual and collective solidarity, a retroactive utopia (which they sometimes imagined as contemporary) associated with a premodern wholeness, in which individual persons did not conflict with or separate from the group. The later Populists persisted in this distrust of the West, identifying the great social evil with the capitalist form of production and exalting the folk principles of the peasant commune as the basis for a future socialist transcendence. The Marxists, by contrast, celebrated the historic mission of capitalism, disdained agrarian utopianism, and expressed theoretical, though qualified, respect for the contributions of bourgeois political culture. But they, too, Kistiakovskii complained, reviled the law as an instrument of coercion, a tool of class domination. The historic failure of law to realize its promise of universality was no reason, he argued, to dispense with the promise altogether. As a constitutional liberal sympathetic to socialism's moral claims, he granted that law might not guarantee social justice but insisted that social justice could not be achieved without a basis in law.²⁹

Kistiakovskii's analysis of the legal consciousness and principle of social order manifested by the radicals in their own political practice is particularly relevant to my concerns. Instead of respecting the law as a system of externally guaranteed

²⁸ Kistiakovskii, "V zashchitu prava," 125, 132, 135, 137. On Kistiakovskii and *Vekhi*, see Walicki, *Legal Philosophies*, 374–403.

²⁹ Kistiakovskii, "V zashchitu prava," 137, 144. On Marxist attitudes toward legality, see Walicki, *Legal Philosophies*, 82–104.

but widely internalized norms, Kistiakovskii observed, the Marxists instituted a system of order based on the imposition of rules and regulations. Their rigidly enforced party strictures, in his view, demonstrated the same style of bureaucratic management exemplified in the tsarist administrative state.³⁰ "We [Russians]," Kistiakovskii wrote, "need external discipline precisely because we lack internal discipline. In this regard, once again, we understand the law not as a matter of legal conviction [*pravovoe ubezhdenie*] but as a form of coercive regulation [*prinuditel'noe pravilo*]. And this conception once again testifies to the low level of our legal consciousness."³¹

It was precisely the regime of the individual subject, enshrined and protected in the law, exalted by the liberal Kistiakovskii, that Russian radicals disdained. The subsumption of the individual within the class, and of class in a future classlessness, made this concept of law seem irrelevant to the revolutionary project. As Lenin was later to declare in *State and Revolution* (1917), the ideal of socialist government was one that merely administered. In a society without class conflict, only the distribution of goods and services and the assignment of tasks would be left to the public authorities, no longer impelled to keep order by coercive means. The law, as Lenin realized (and Foucault often seems to have forgotten), is not only or primarily about repression but also about the resolution or adjudication of conflict. Lenin consistently postulated that a conflict-free society might safely dispense with the law. In the event, the law disappeared and conflict remained. Repression of an administrative character resulted.

Like Russia's nineteenth-century intellectuals, Foucault was all too aware of the defects of the bourgeois regime, its false promises, its covert constraints, and so could not celebrate the advance it represented over the burdens of absolutism. Yet, unlike them, he focused his ire not on the law, a principle of limitation (repression, he called it) that had presumably ceded preeminence on the historical stage, but on the insidious mechanisms of control, functioning as cultural proliferation or incitement, that had displaced it. Foucault was exercised by the very mechanisms that instill the "internal discipline" Kistiakovskii thought essential to the maintenance of order, indeed, to the operation of the law itself. Where Foucault emphasized the coming to predominance of "discourse" (power/knowledge) over prohibition as the regulatory principle of modern life, Kistiakovskii emphasized their mutual dependence. Insofar as Foucault, too, recognized a complicity between the two principles of order, it was a negative one, in which the façade of legality concealed the inequities of discipline, rather than discipline enabling the realization of the law.

In the Russian situation, the two groups to defend the principle of legality were, on the one side, certain bureaucrats and official servitors (the authors of judicial reform within the Ministry of Justice or the men who served as justices of the peace after 1864), and on the other, professionals outside government like Kistiakovskii himself. The professionals outside government were in the position of having to defend both law and discipline at the same time, to insist on the interdependence, rather than the opposition, between institutional and dispersed

³⁰ Kistiakovskii, "V zashchitu prava," 144.

³¹ Kistiakovskii, "V zashchitu prava," 148.

authority. Insofar as they engaged in the business of social discipline, these professionals were the natural heirs to the autocratic *Polizeistaat* tradition, yet they actively opposed the official incarnation of *Polizeistaat* administrative rule in the interests of a civic autonomy protected by the rule of law (the *Rechtsstaat* principle).

Whereas in Europe the preconditions for and continuing context of disciplinary authority were established by the law-abiding state (in however imperfect a guise), in Russia, both the reign of law and the ascendance of bourgeois discipline remained largely hypothetical. Jealous of its monopoly on tutelage, the autocracy obstructed attempts by the cultural elite to exercise its own kind of influence on the social body. The efforts of pedagogues, engineers, and other members of the professional intelligentsia to educate workers and provide social services were impeded by bureaucratic interference no less than the endeavors of physicians to raise the level of public hygiene.³² Far from understanding that the delegation of disciplinary authority would have strengthened its own regulatory hand while winning the loyalty of the modern professional class, the tsarist regime was reluctant to evolve in the direction taken by old regimes in the West. It was as unwilling to allow alternative sources of custodial influence as it was jealous of the intrinsic power of the law.

The regime's reluctance to disperse the mechanisms of social discipline weakened, however, in the last years of imperial rule, as the growing complexity of the modern sector and the spread of education and technology strengthened the professional cohort and multiplied the kinds of social problems with which such mechanisms contend. Thus, at the turn of the century, the police entertained an experiment in state-sponsored labor unions, which enlisted the help of liberal professionals, while the Revolution of 1905 netted the long-desired opening of a (restricted) parliamentary arena and the guarantee of minimal civil rights. For their part, the elite also lost some of their defiance. Before 1905, the possibility of popular mobilization, whether desired or feared in educated circles depending on the particular ideological cast, was in all cases less of a certainty than the burden of repression from above. With the revolution, however, this potential became a reality. In response, many moderates (including the *Vekhi* group) who had sympathized with the Left lost their enthusiasm for political extremes or articulated long-held but previously muted doubts.

At the same time, trained practitioners began to lose some of their hostility to state intercession and discovered a new enthusiasm for technologies of public intervention. While some populist-minded physicians, for example, continued to oppose bureaucratic strategies for health delivery and public hygiene in the name of independent, localized deployment of professional expertise, many of their colleagues joined hands with the central bureaucracy in the name of efficiency and modern technique. Those who decided that professional authority could be strengthened in league with, rather than opposition to, the state included more

³² See Reginald E. Zelnik, "The Russian Working Class in Comparative Perspective, 1870–1914," paper presented at the Conference on Germany and Russia in the Twentieth Century, Philadelphia, September 19–22, 1991; and Nancy Mandelker Frieden, *Russian Physicians in an Era of Reform and Revolution, 1856–1905* (Princeton, N.J., 1981).

than a few Bolsheviks by political conviction.³³ The old *Polizeistaat* principle, which never trafficked in the pretensions of legality but functioned in a crudely regulatory mode often in conflict with the operation of the law, was acquiring a new plausibility in professional circles on the eve of World War I.

This principle seems to have beguiled the Bolshevik professionals who also helped found the postrevolutionary disciplinary regime. For what evolved after October 1917 was an alliance between the old tutelary state and the new disciplinary mechanisms but without the legal protections that Russian liberals had earlier considered essential to the disciplinary project itself and that *Rechtsstaat* reformers had tried to insinuate into the autocratic context.³⁴ The alliance was reinforced during the Stalin years, when a reconstituted technological elite was recruited as the system's social and ideological mainstay.³⁵ Ultimately, however, the experts were thoroughly subordinated to the interests of the state, and the scientific standards once evoked to legitimate Marxist claims to truth now depended on Marxism for their own legitimation. The absence of a legal context evidently proved fatal to the disciplinary authority inherent in professional expertise.

The pervasive disdain for the law that had permeated the outlook of the radical intelligentsia came into its own as public policy after 1917. At first elevated to an official philosophy, the critique of the law as an instrument of class domination justified the operation of courts in the absence of written rules and the application of principles of "class justice" that violated the basic liberal postulates of lawful rule.³⁶ As in the tsarist regime, in which juridical status had determined one's relation to the law and one's vulnerability to punishment, so attributes of social position (in this case, socioeconomic or ideologically constructed) affected one's susceptibility to repression. When the legal institutions of the new regime achieved a greater degree of institutionalization, after the publication of the first Soviet criminal code in 1922, certain liberal principles of jurisprudence were still ignored. For example, crimes were punishable retroactively and by analogy: a person might be penalized for an act that had not been illegal at the time it occurred, and acts not defined as criminal in the statutes might be prosecuted on

³³ See the argument in John F. Hutchinson, *Politics and Public Health in Revolutionary Russia, 1890–1918* (Baltimore, Md., 1990), and Hutchinson, "Who Killed Cock Robin?: An Inquiry into the Death of Zemstvo Medicine," in *Health and Society in Revolutionary Russia*, Susan Gross Solomon and John F. Hutchinson, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1990).

³⁴ I take my distance here from two opposing interpretations of the relationship between the tsarist and Soviet regimes. Richard Pipes has argued that the Bolshevik state perpetuated the repressive characteristics of the late autocracy: see, for example, his *Legalised Lawlessness: Soviet Revolutionary Justice* (London, 1986) (my thanks to Natalie Zemon Davis for this reference). Jörg Baberowski counters by arguing that tsarism was "well on the way" to a *Rechtsstaat* when the revolution interrupted this development and eliminated the progressive legal personnel responsible for the change; "Das Justizwesen," 158, 162, 170. While I agree with Pipes that the Soviet system reflected certain institutional and cultural continuities with the tsarist one and that Soviet pretensions to legality were hollow, I see the autocracy as less monolithic than he does, though not as deeply transformed as Baberowski maintains it was.

³⁵ This point emerges in John F. Hutchinson's study of the origins of Soviet medicine. On the Stalinist period, see Kendall E. Bailes, *Technology and Society under Lenin and Stalin: Origins of the Soviet Technical Intelligentsia, 1917–1941* (Princeton, N.J., 1978).

³⁶ On the articulated hostility to the law in the 1920s, in preference for technical administration, see Robert Sharlet, "Pashukanis and the Withering Away of the Law in the USSR," in *Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1928–1931*, Sheila Fitzpatrick, ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1978), 176–80.

the grounds that they resembled others that were. Moreover, as in the tsarist regime, the business of repression was conducted both judicially and extrajudicially, through the administrative arm of the state.³⁷

A nice example of the perils of discipline operating in the absence of the law, taken from the early postrevolutionary years, is the case of a trial of male homosexuals, staged in Petrograd in 1922.³⁸ The men in question had come to the attention of the authorities when the political police (Cheka) raided an apartment in which they held periodic gatherings. Suspicious that the meetings might have some politically subversive end, the intruders found no counterrevolutionary conspirators but instead a group of men dressed as heterosexual pairs, some in male and others in female attire. The lot was arrested and put on trial for public indecency. No other charge could be brought, in the first place because the participants had not been apprehended in the course of sexual activity and in the second place because there was no criminal law against the act of anal intercourse between consenting adult men (the old definition of sodomy in the abrogated tsarist criminal code),³⁹ in which they might be presumed to have engaged.

The charge of public indecency was thus an improvised way of bringing the men to criminal account, although it did not suit the circumstances (the men were not comporting themselves in public) and did not conform to any offense in the law. The significance of this charge was different, as the justification reported in the legal press makes clear: the prosecution of these men, it was said, formed part of a campaign to clean up public morals conducted in the interests of the nation's biological welfare. The effort at moral surveillance, which acquired special urgency in the confused early years of the New Economic Policy,⁴⁰ smacked of the old *Polizeistaat* rationale for the state's intervention in sexual affairs. It recalled the language and purpose of the tsarist criminal code, framed during the reign of Nicholas I and lasting in substance until 1917, which included the sexual offenses, among them sodomy, under violations of "public morality" (*obshchestvennaia nraustvennost'*) and more generally of "public orderliness and decorum" (*obshchestvennoe blagoustroistvo i blagochinie*). In so doing, the code underscored the

³⁷ By administrative, I mean not just the ordinary police but the penal system run by the political police; see Peter H. Solomon, Jr., "Soviet Penal Policy, 1917–1934: A Reinterpretation," *Slavic Review*, 39 (1980): 200–03. Elsewhere, Solomon argued that the Soviet legal system at first encompassed a range of infractions formerly processed by administrative procedure under tsarist rule and only in 1925, as a response to overloading in the courts, diverted many petty cases to nonjudicial institutions; "Criminalization and Decriminalization in Soviet Criminal Policy, 1917–1941," *Law and Society Review*, 16 (1981–82): 10, 13. The operation of the administrative alternative was so arbitrary and ineffective, however, that the relevant (petty) crimes were reassigned to the regular courts in the late 1930s; *ibid.*, 26–27, 35–37. But even before 1925, when all crime was in principle handled by the regular courts, the political police ran its own (administrative) penal system for serious transgressions: "Soviet Penal Policy," 197, 200–01. In 1936, the regime reasserted the importance of the law as an instrument of governance, rejecting the prevalent hostility to the formal aspects of the law (see Sharlet, "Pashukanis," 187), but this shift did not mean that "bourgeois" notions of legality (due process, equality before the law, fair and consistent punishment) were adopted or that recourse to administrative repression was abandoned.

³⁸ G. R., "Protsessy gomoseksualistov," *Ezhenedel'nik sovetskoi iustitsii*, no. 33 (1922): 16–17.

³⁹ See Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), chap. 2; also Engelstein, "Soviet Policy toward Male Homosexuality: Its Origins and Historical Roots," *Journal of Homosexuality* (forthcoming).

⁴⁰ See Eric Naiman, "The Case of Chubarov Alley: Collective Rape, Utopian Desire, and the Mentality of NEP," *Russian History*, 17 (1990): 7.

analogy between the role of the statutory law in enforcing sexual norms (classed as a matter of public decorum rather than interpersonal conflict) and the function of the police, which maintained standards of propriety through administrative rather than judicial means.

Objecting to the use of judicial institutions to impose the kind of discipline properly left to the police, liberal reformers had fashioned a new criminal code (completed in 1903 but never enacted), which recast sexual offenses as violations of a person's right to physical and psychic integrity. In decriminalizing sodomy, early Soviet lawmakers had taken the reformers' principles further than they themselves had been willing to go. (The 1903 code continued to penalize sodomy, despite objections from within the progressive legal community.) Yet the new regime's hostility to legality itself opened the door to mechanisms of control rooted in the same administrative tradition that Old Regime reformers had opposed. These mechanisms were buttressed, however, by the authority of "bourgeois" science. In the absence not only of particular statutes but of any guarantee of due process, Soviet courts used professional experts to justify repressive measures not specified in laws or decrees. Thus the prosecution in the 1922 trial summoned the eminent psychiatrist Vladimir Bekhterev, a prominent member of the prerevolutionary professional elite, who willingly pronounced on the social harm attendant on the free practice of homosexual sex and recommended the application of penal sanctions. By dubbing the defendants an organically defective breed, he translated the issue of political control (the policing of public gatherings) into a scientific, medical prophylaxis (the policing of contagious pathologies).⁴¹ Bekhterev provided the expert testimony, quintessentially in the "disciplinary" mode, that helped condemn the men for behavior not included in the criminal code, which is to say, not against the law.

Both the role of the political police and of Bekhterev's public hygiene argument underscore the extent to which sexual regulation continued to fall within the province of the administrative state. It was precisely this third term in the social control equation, the old-style administrative state, that in Russia never evolved into the bourgeois disciplinary order. Rather, it survived the failure of liberalism to serve as the basis of the Soviet regime, updated and fortified by modern technology and a more aggressive ideology of public intrusion. In the early days of the New Economic Policy, the weight of scientific opinion, heir to the disciplinary authority of the bourgeois professions, reinforced the official project of social control and social engineering. Later, as Stalin consolidated his hold on power, science itself fell under the domination of political orthodoxy; then homosexuality became the disease of fascism and counterrevolution, rather than the medical pathology some experts had earlier seen it to be.⁴²

The case of abortion again shows how prerevolutionary professional discourse set the terms of early Soviet practice and, like the case of homosexuality, also demonstrates the social consequences of discipline forming an alliance with the administrative state in the absence of legal protection. In the few years before the

⁴¹ Indeed, as reliance on legality weakened, psychiatry assumed a more central role in Soviet legal proceedings; Sharlet, "Pashukanis," 179.

⁴² See Engelstein, "Soviet Policy toward Male Homosexuality."

outbreak of World War I, jurists and physicians hotly debated the question of abortion law, which under the tsarist code penalized the medical practitioners as well as the pregnant women. The arguments articulated in the debate defined three possible positions on the question. While all agreed that the existing statute needed reform, many insisted that abortion must remain a crime. The majority, however, favored decriminalization. Abortion, they opined, could not be effectively controlled through legal repression (penal sanctions) but should be regulated by professional discretion. Far from being punished for providing abortions, they asserted, physicians should be empowered by the state to allocate and administer them. The third position, held by only a handful of participants, rejected both these policies in favor of the pregnant woman's absolute right of personal self-determination.⁴³

In political terms, those taking the first position (for the continued relevance of the criminal law) tended to be stringent liberals, those assuming the second sat further to the left, even though few identified themselves in openly partisan terms. Self-declared feminists could be found in all three camps, while women (the few who entered the debate) clustered around the third pole. The October Revolution institutionalized the second, "disciplinary" model. Abortion was decriminalized in 1920, but absolute prohibition was not replaced with the positive right to abortion. Instead, women were obliged to apply to clinics, where physicians were authorized to decide who would have access to professional intervention. The test case in the prerevolutionary debate had been the educated, privileged woman who wished to limit family size, supposedly for reasons of comfort or vanity. Champions of women's sexual self-determination defended the right to abort even for women such as these, while enemies of that principle used this group as a negative symbol of selfish individualism. As it turned out, no woman in the 1920s could argue successfully that she was entitled to the procedure on purely idiosyncratic grounds. Only material need or serious medical deficiency qualified an applicant for help.⁴⁴ In 1936, Stalin recriminalized abortion, thus returning to the tsarist *status quo ante*. Referring to this change, commissar of justice Nikolai Krylenko remarked, "A basic mistake is made in every case by those women who consider 'freedom of abortion' as one of their civil rights."⁴⁵

⁴³ For the issues in the debate, see *Otchet desiatogo obshchego sobraniia russkoi gruppy mezhdunarodnogo soiuza kriminalistov, 13–16 fevralia 1914 g. v Petrograde* (Petrograd, 1916); for further documentation and discussion, see Laura Engelstein, "Abortion and the Civic Order: The Legal and Medical Debates, 1911–1914," in *Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation*, Barbara Alpern Engel, Barbara Evans Clements, and Christine D. Worobec, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991).

⁴⁴ On abortion in the 1920s, see Wendy Goldman, "Women, Abortion, and the State, 1917–36," in *Russia's Women*; also Susan Gross Solomon, "The Demographic Argument in Soviet Debates over the Legalization of Abortion in the 1920s," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, 33 (1992): 59–82. As in the case of Bekhterev, continuity was provided on a personal as well as ideological level. M. N. Gernet, who articulated the middle, "disciplinary" position in the pre-war debates, survived into the Soviet period as a distinguished legal sociologist.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Goldman, "Women, Abortion, and the State," 265.

WHAT CONCLUSIONS CAN BE DRAWN FROM THE RUSSIAN-SOVIET CASE that are relevant to evaluating the paradigms supplied by Foucault in deciphering the modalities of power in the modern world? In what sense can he help us understand the "great tyrannies" of our age? I would suggest that it was his own cultural context that caused him to neglect what was most radical about the very regime whose seductive comforts he deplored. For all his iconoclasm, Foucault, it must be remembered, lived not in Russia but in France, where he had the luxury to denounce the insidious intrusions of the disciplinary professions and the entangling effects of bourgeois liberation. France is a country in which the juridical monarchy did indeed give rise to the rule of law as well as to its critique, in which Old Regime legalism produced the bourgeois legal regime, which buttresses the vaunted subject that the disciplinary project also invokes and deploys.

In Russia, by contrast, liberalism failed, and the custodial state survived by enlisting and absorbing the agencies of social self-formation it inherited in embryonic form. In contrast to the imperfect world of capitalist liberalism, which both extends and violates the promise of rights, the Soviet regime long offered discipline without rights. This was not merely the old *Polizeistaat* under new ideological auspices—the return of Catherine the Terrible—but its refurbishment with new tactics, by which society was enlisted to do its own policing but in which the discursive authority of the professional disciplines, speaking in the name of "science," functioned only as a dependency of the state. The very meaning of "discipline," as invoked by Foucault in the bourgeois context to signify social self-regulation through the dissemination of scientifically validated norms and professional practices, resulting in the politically useful subterfuge of individual sovereignty, loses its sense in the Soviet context, although it is certainly true that control in Soviet society was not merely exercised by state institutions "from the top down." Without the guarantees promised by the law, even if not always successfully provided, authority, it would seem, cannot reside in society. Without a measure of autonomy, without even the appearance of autonomy, as in the Soviet case, there has historically been no tension between subjectivity and submission. The Soviet regime, often used to symbolize the essence of modern tyranny, has, more accurately, provided an example of illusory modernity, an administrative state that mobilizes disciplines not free in either fact or pretense. In the Soviet aftermath, the "deceptive" visions of civic modernity still remain an alluring dream. Russia is a society that has yet to generate the luxury of a Michel Foucault to push it to consider the enticements of paradox.

Foucault and Social History: Comments on
"Combined Underdevelopment"

RUDY KOSHAR

HISTORIANS CITE MICHEL FOUCAULT OFTEN, to damn or to praise him, but in comparison with other disciplines, they have done little to give his thought a systematic hearing.¹ This is especially true for social and political history. These are fields that have much to gain from considering Foucault, given his interest in madness, bodies, prisons, schools, the professions, power, language, sexuality, and many other topics over a lifetime of prodigious scholarship. Laura Engelstein argues that Foucault is not very useful for writing Russian and Soviet history. Nonetheless, her tightly reasoned essay illuminates significant problems and possibilities in the use of Foucault, and it therefore may serve to further social history's still incomplete encounter with his work.

As an outsider to the field of Russian and Soviet history, I will not comment on Engelstein's substantive historical narrative, which capably weaves together empirical detail and theory. Instead, I will consider her use of Foucault and the logic of her argument with reference to my field of German history, which, as I will point out below, often works as "the Other" to histories of "the West" in the same way that Russia does in Engelstein's account. Specifically, I want to discuss three topics: her representation of Foucault's discourse, her unargued comparative model, and her treatment of disciplinary power in "major" tyrannies.

For Engelstein, Foucault's account of the relationship between law and discipline in Western modernity is fundamentally inapplicable to Russia. As she states, Foucault argued that liberalism in the West replaced the "intrinsically ideological legality" of juridical monarchies with the "normative power of an equally inequitable and unfree disciplinary regime." Even though the French Revolution and nineteenth-century constitutions seemed to place law at the center of modern political life, legality had already been superseded, in Foucault's estimation, by more covert forms of power through which bourgeois society learned to police itself in a way that was irreducible to the state or the law. Engelstein questions Foucault's argument of the general historical significance of this development as

¹ For a good discussion of historians and Foucault, see Allan Megill, "The Reception of Foucault by Historians," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 48 (January–March 1987): 117–41. In contrast to other areas of social historical scholarship, some feminist historians have explicitly engaged Foucault's work. See, for example, Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988).

well as his negative assessment of it. The key discontinuity of modernity was not the transition from law to discipline, writes Engelstein, but "from administration to law as the context for disciplinary technology."² Moreover, bourgeois legality established imperfect but nonetheless significant controls on the workings of disciplinary power, and thus law should be seen as a flawed but progressive force whose influence in modern society is neither uniformly repressive nor marginal but often adjudicative and always central. In Russia, there was no bourgeois legality to be overcome because it had never been established, argues Engelstein. Instead, an absolutist regime had been succeeded by the Soviet administrative order; both regimes rejected legality, manipulating disciplinary power for repressive purposes.

Foucault's thought, she argues, was dependent on the cultural context in which he wrote. Only in a society in which bourgeois legality had already provided a frame for the workings of discipline could a thinker portray notions of bourgeois individualism and autonomy as subterfuges that masked deeper forms of covert control and social order. In the absence of this achievement, Russia must be seen as a society that can still not afford a Foucault, just as the writing of Russian history must be seen as a field that can still not afford his narrative of superseded legality and domination of bourgeois disciplinary power.

It is certainly useful to "cast an oblique light" on Foucault's historical scheme and its political implications by using Russia and the Soviet Union as a "counterexample."³ Engelstein does so impressively, contrasting her historical material with Foucault's vision of bourgeois modernity. However, this critical approach is not always as damaging to Foucault's perspective as one might assume. Engelstein uses to good effect the French scholar's chronology of the development of power from juridical monarchy to *Polizeistaat* to self-regulating disciplinary society. Russia superimposed these three "models of power," argues Engelstein, creating historically unique conditions that Foucault cannot account for. But Foucault's own blurring of temporal and conceptual boundaries between these models, a blurring Engelstein skillfully outlines, suggests that the argument of superimposition can be used to support Foucault just as easily as it can be used to challenge him. A similar point could be made about the author's use of the terms law, discipline, and administration— notions that could not be put together in quite the way Engelstein does without beginning with, or at least relying very much on, Foucault's specific usage. Moreover, Engelstein's assertion that the Russian case reminds us that Foucault's paradigm is not a universal model is fully consistent with the philosopher's many arguments against totalization, total history, and holism;⁴ indeed, it is fully consistent with his insistence that he had no model.

² Laura Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment: Discipline and the Law in Imperial and Soviet Russia," *AHR*, 98 (April 1993): 344.

³ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 342, 344.

⁴ Jana Sawicki argued that although Foucault resorted to holistic rhetoric in some of his work, he was a particularist. See Sawicki, "Feminism and the Power of Foucauldian Discourse," in *After Foucault: Humanistic Knowledge, Postmodern Challenges*, Jonathan Arac, ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), 169. On the other hand, many scholars have insisted that Foucault's emphasis on power was

And, finally, the French thinker's stress on the ubiquity of power as such is one of the things that makes his work relevant to the Soviet case. This is worth considering even if Foucault saw the locus of power in disciplinary society rather than the state, where Engelstein locates it. In these and other instances, the continuity between Foucault's thought and Engelstein's historical narrative is stronger than we might assume, given the author's critical tone.

Such general points suggest that, to be fair to Foucault, Engelstein might have offered a fuller account of his stated aims. I am not arguing against idiosyncratic and original readings of Foucault. Historians would do well to consider more creative and critical "misuses" of his writings. If Foucault gave scholarship "an importantly wrong account of local discipline," as Michael Walzer claimed,⁵ then Foucault's important wrongs can be manipulated in suggestive and evocative ways, even to undermine Foucault as Engelstein does. Nonetheless, such "work-like" readings should in my opinion begin with a direct assessment of the way in which his intentions, to the extent we can know them, are being supplemented or contorted.⁶

In such worklike readings, one should begin by accentuating Foucault's concern with how certain things could be talked about in the first place. Writing about Foucault's concept of governmentality, Colin Gordon maintained that "Foucault's topic is quite as much about critique, problematizations, invention and imagination, about the changing shape of the thinkable, as it is about the 'actually existing.'"⁷ This distance between his writing and "the real" reminds us that there is a qualitative difference between "applying" Foucault to specific historical examples, as Engelstein does, and considering Foucault with reference to these examples in a way that would put pressure on accepted models and definitions. I miss an appreciation of this difference in Engelstein's discussion. Overlooking it blocks a consideration of how Foucault's writing challenges (often only implicitly) accepted analytical language on an array of issues, not the least of which are definitions of "state" and "society."

If, on the other hand, one wants to consider Foucault's view of the "actually existing," then this, too, calls for certain qualifications. Foucault was interested not in comparative analysis of specific national patterns of politics but in a general history of the covert, intimate, and ineluctable workings of power/knowledge in contemporary societies. "In thinking of the mechanisms of power," he said in 1974, "I am thinking . . . of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself

the basis of a theoretical enterprise that was just as totalizing as the theories he attacked. For an especially hostile assessment of Foucault on this issue, see Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (Harmondsworth, Eng., 1988), 34–35.

⁵ Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Michel Foucault," in *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, David Couzens Hoy, ed. (London, 1986), 53.

⁶ According to Dominick LaCapra, "the 'worklike' supplements empirical reality by adding to and subtracting from it." LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts," in *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 30. In this case, the empirical reality to which I refer is Foucault's *oeuvre*.

⁷ Colin Gordon, "Governmental Rationality: An Introduction," in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds. (Chicago, 1991), 7–8.

into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives.”⁸ His emphasis on the minute technologies of power derived from an interest in relatively stable, bourgeois societies, which in effect meant France for Foucault. In this regard, Engelstein’s point about the context in which Foucault wrote is surely apposite. Like Gramsci’s theoretical work on hegemony, a discourse to which Foucault has been tied by one of his sympathetic critics,⁹ this emphasis works best, if it is conceded it works at all, not for moments of crisis but rather when discussing the gray seriality of everyday life. And it works most effectively if it is deployed to consider the “how” of everyday power rather than the “why.” More specifically, Foucault was interested in how capillary power often operated in similar ways across societies that had dissimilar state institutions. In the same 1974 interview mentioned above, for example, he noted that even though the English monarchy had been “displaced within the system of political representations rather than eliminated” as in France, this did not prevent “the same capillary modification of power” from occurring in both societies. “Hence one can’t say,” he concluded, “that the change at the capillary level of power is absolutely tied to institutional changes at the level of the centralized forms of the State.”¹⁰ Although it is not true that Foucault was uninterested in the state, he was most concerned in his later career with what he called “governmentality,” a way of thinking about governmental practice that operated between force and consent, between or throughout state and society. Whether one thinks of this as a sin of omission or commission, or as a sin at all, it is important to mention that Foucault conceded he avoided developing a theory of the state. But his allergy had a point: he was reacting to the essentialization of the state by the Marxist Left and overemphasis on institutions rather than practices by political theorists.¹¹ He was willing to be “wrong” if the result was to destabilize existing paradigms. It is certainly convincing to argue that French political culture enabled Foucault to make such criticisms. But in my opinion, this insight does not disqualify but rather situates his thought when considering concrete historical cases.

Foucault’s strategic iconoclasm is particularly clear when considering methods. Engelstein does not mention Foucault’s “methodology,” although this is one of the richest areas of debate for historians. Foucault was ultimately uninterested in the reliability of historicist schema. He was interested in how one studies “true/false discourses” based on power relations that reached into the present. He wanted to create narratives of when and how discursive regimes had created the very notions of truth and falsehood we consider to be natural. Borrowing from Nietzsche but adding his own interpretations, Foucault used a genealogical method (or anti-method) that looked not for origins or causes but for beginnings and ruptures.¹² The device he used most effectively was juxtaposition, which

⁸ Michel Foucault, “Prison Talk,” *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, Colin Gordon, ed. (New York, 1980), 39.

⁹ Barry Smart, “The Politics of Truth and the Problem of Hegemony,” in Hoy, *Foucault: A Critical Reader*, 157–73.

¹⁰ Foucault, “Prison Talk,” 39.

¹¹ Gordon, “Governmental Rationality,” 4.

¹² See Patricia O’Brien, “Michel Foucault’s History of Culture,” in *The New Cultural History*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1989), esp. 36–38.

allowed him to highlight differences between historical phenomena without reproducing what he saw as the teleological and progressive assumptions of positivist history. He eschewed the idea of causal narrative in favor of a view of history that was marked by difference without cause, although he did not avoid historical narrative; he wanted to show how past ruptures created new continuities with a toxic present.

Now, given the fact that Foucault consistently remarked on the centrality of such issues in his work, the most effective way (at least initially) of considering his relevance would be to work through the implications of his anti-method rather than his theory, which he continually denied having. Would a truly genealogical analysis of the beginnings and eventual superimposition of juridical, *Polizeistaat*, and disciplinary modes of power in Russian and Soviet history undermine key assumptions in current Russian historiography? It is possible, of course, to contest the utility of Foucault's methodological iconoclasm from a historical as well as a theoretical vantage point. But, even so, and regardless of what the shape or substance of genealogical analysis might be, creative scholarly misuse of Foucault demands an acknowledgment of precisely how something is being misused. Foucault's individualistic anti-methodological terrorism can hardly be fully emulated by any historian; but, in bringing Foucault into the mainstream of historical debate, the historian also has the responsibility to state what is being given up, straightened out, or elided. In Engelstein's case, what is left out is the antidisciplinary radicalism, the capability of producing unorthodox new narratives, the uncomfortable surprises and arguable "truths" of genealogical analysis.

ENGELSTEIN NOT ONLY DOUBTS FOUCAULT'S APPLICABILITY to Russia but also questions his understanding of power relations in European history. She accepts Foucault's argument of the interdependence of law and discipline but asserts that this interdependence is not a bad thing in societies that gained liberal hegemony. In the Russian case, liberal hegemony was absent, argues Engelstein, and the result was that liberalism's framing of discipline through law (and therefore through state power) never occurred.

Aside from the issue of the accuracy of this argument for the Russian case, we must ask whether this historical assessment is based on an idealization of Western legality. To remain at a more abstract level for the moment, if law frames discipline when bourgeois liberalism is hegemonic, is it not also true that law has served to widen the space in which discipline operates? If the metaphor of law's framing function is to be used, it is legitimate to ask how the stretching of the frame undercuts the ability of law to control and limit disciplinary authority. In short, must we assume that the relationship of frame and content is primarily one in which the frame limits and controls? Finally, the chronology embedded in Engelstein's argument of liberal hegemony leaves no room for the possibility that the liberal achievement the author praises may in fact be reversed or weakened and hence that, over time, the situation of societies in which liberal hegemony

occurred may not be all that different, or at least not different in the way we might assume, than the situation of societies in which the positive interdependence of law and discipline did not occur.

The idealization of Western models is a key conceptual problem in the field of modern German history. Here, the disciplinary authority of the *Sonderweg* model in all its variations has led many historians to argue that Germany was an example of failed development because it modernized without displacing aristocratic power, preindustrial social structures, and pre-liberal values.¹³ Here, too, the argument was that a bourgeois society based on Western notions of legality and sovereignty was never achieved and that German society was unable to overcome the power of an atavistic administrative state that mobilized disciplinary power (although this terminology was not used by historians) for its own interests. But the model of "bourgeois revolution" used to make this argument has turned out to be in need of so much qualification—not only for Central but also for Western Europe—that a reconsideration of the model as well as of German history has taken place. The outcome for German history is that historians, even those who continue to adhere to notions of Germany's special path to and through modernity, are now more willing to consider the society that Germany got rather than the one it failed to get.

The society it got turned out to be one in which the forces of a distinctly Central European bourgeois liberalism were much stronger in the economy, in local politics, in law, in voluntary associations, and in culture than we might have presumed on the basis of earlier arguments. The professions were not pawns of "neofeudal or bureaucratic atavisms," but they were not fully hegemonic, either.¹⁴ Contestation over power in the state was now seen to be a good deal more open-ended than earlier *Sonderweg* models suggested. This open-endedness derived from the fact that the forces of nationalist authoritarianism and premodern administrative tyranny were not as strongly ensconced in power as many historians assumed, which in turn meant that these forces were unable to manipulate popular politics as readily as earlier arguments maintained. When Nazism triumphed in 1933, it did so not primarily under the banner of premodern values manipulated by elites but under that of mass racist modernism. Germany's problem was not a lack of modernity but rather the combination of rapid modernization and a "worst-case scenario" in which multiple postwar crises converged to cripple the Weimar Republic.¹⁵

¹³ For a key critical attack on the *Sonderweg* thesis, see David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (New York, 1984), which remains influential. Defenders of the *Sonderweg* thesis have qualified their views but continue to hold to the core argument of bourgeois weakness and incoherence relative to the aristocracy. See Jürgen Kocka, "Bürgertum und bürgerliche Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert: Europäische Entwicklung und deutsche Eigenarten," in *Bürgertum im 19. Jahrhundert: Deutschland im europäischen Vergleich*, Jürgen Kocka, ed., 3 vols. (Munich, 1988), 1: 11–76.

¹⁴ Konrad H. Jarausch and Geoffrey Cocks made this point to formulate an alternative to both the defenders and critics of the *Sonderweg* thesis. See their "Introduction," in *German Professions, 1800–1950*, Jarausch and Cocks, eds. (New York, 1990), 6.

¹⁵ Detlev J. K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, Richard Deveson, trans. (New York, 1992), 281.

Germany, once thought to be a no less profound "Other" to Western modes of development than Russia was, has turned out to be somewhat more like Western society (or, rather, like a heightened and intensified version of that society) than was previously assumed but also somewhere "between" the conceptual opposites of West and non-West that once defined scholarship on that country. Among other things, this shift in perspective has led some historians to question the viability of previous comparative models, suggesting that in the case of German liberalism in the period of unification, to take one recent example, Italy rather than Britain or the United States would be the most useful referent.¹⁶

Although Engelstein is careful to note that Foucault's paradigm "may or may not" correspond with European history, she nonetheless contrasts Russian society with a model of Western liberalism that, unsurprisingly, always finds Russia wanting.¹⁷ Her historical narrative depends on a register of deficits in which "bourgeois culture," "the monarchs of Western Europe," or simply "Europe" is the yardstick. Russian society, she writes, produced criticism of capitalism and bourgeois culture "before either had a chance to develop on Russian soil." Radical and conservative critics of Russian politics "joined in denigrating a legality that had yet to take root in social psychology or institutional practice." "For all its resemblance to old regimes elsewhere," she argues, "tsarism did not produce a similar legal tradition." "The absence of a legal context" in the Soviet system proved fatal to the disciplinary authority of professionals. The "old-style administrative state . . . never evolved into the bourgeois disciplinary order."¹⁸

What I am questioning here is the logic of a procedure that begins with what is left out and that lacks a more self-reflexive consideration not only of the Western model being used to find Russian history inadequate but of the specifically Russian "achievement." By what criteria is the reader being asked to consider Russia's difference with an "actually existing" West? Would a searching interrogation of the comparative models used to write Russian history lead to the kind of conceptual shift that has taken place in German history? If the Western comparison was dropped entirely and replaced with something else, what would be the result for the history of state-society relations from Imperial to Soviet Russia? Engelstein is aware of the dangers of idealization or caricature; she mentions how imperfectly "Europe" established the law-abiding state.¹⁹ Yet this insight is not elaborated or exploited in a way in which the nuances of the comparison could be embraced and developed rather than conflated or suppressed. Moreover, Engelstein does not ask if, regardless of the implications of Foucault's inconsistent criticism of Communist systems, other comparative models might do more to illuminate the achieved features as well as the deficits of Russian peculiarity.

¹⁶ See Geoff Eley, "Liberalism, Europe, and the Bourgeoisie 1860–1914," in *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century*, David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, eds. (London, 1991), 313.

¹⁷ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 340.

¹⁸ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 344, 348, 349, 351.

¹⁹ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 348.

ENGELSTEIN BASES HER CRITIQUE partly on the insights of Sheldon Wolin and Michael Walzer, who have argued that Foucault's one-sided focus on social power led him to underestimate the importance and specificity of "major" tyrannies such as Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.²⁰ Engelstein maintains that in the Russian case this fundamental asymmetry in Foucault's thinking makes it difficult to see that the development of disciplinary technologies in Russian society did not have the same autonomy they had "elsewhere" but were instead completely manipulated by Russian autocracy and the Soviet dictatorship. This, in turn, makes it difficult if not impossible to distinguish between the nature of power in the Russian/Soviet state and bourgeois democracies.

It is possible to make a parallel argument to the one Engelstein constructs for the other great tyranny, the Nazi state. Here, too, disciplinary power appeared to have been completely subjugated to a total state. Here, too, the "very meaning of 'discipline,' as invoked by Foucault," to use Engelstein's language, appears to lose its particular coherence in a society where everything seemed to have been controlled from above.²¹ And here, too, the state appeared to be a necessary consequence of a long history of bourgeois impotence and illiberalism.

Yet recent research has suggested that the operation of discipline in Nazi society had more autonomy than one normally assumes. In a recent significant study, Konrad Jarausch has demonstrated that in World War II the professions were "deprofessionalized" because they lost many privileges and were mobilized for an inhuman war of genocide. From 1933 to 1939, however, "doctors gained greater dominance over patients, psychologists and psychotherapists 'established professional and institutional status,' and engineers obtained more social esteem and influence." Although Jarausch wrote that these changes and other gains in the status of the professions were "fragile," in my opinion they point to a self-mobilization that is irreducible to unlimited state power or state manipulation.²² Indeed, in matters such as Nazi racial policy, various professional groups applauded and supplemented regime initiatives partly on the basis of a consensus that had developed before the Nazis came to power, although many of them did not see (and could not have seen) that Nazi racism would lead to genocide.²³

Nazi Germany was not a unitary state imposing its will on society from above. Instead, a contradictory process occurred in which a "governmentalization" (*Verstaatlichung*) of society interacted with a "societization" of the state (*Vergesellschaftung*).²⁴ Disciplinary power, consisting of the minor but intimate and self-regulating tyrannies of everyday life, still operated under the cover of a state that

²⁰ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 338, n. 2. Sheldon Wolin distinguished between major and minor tyrannies, or rather between "great tyranny" and "smaller ones." See his "Theory and Practice of Power," in *After Foucault*, 190–91. Michael Walzer referred to Foucault's fascination with "micro-fascism" rather than with "authoritarian or totalitarian politics." See his "Politics of Michel Foucault," 63.

²¹ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 353.

²² Konrad H. Jarausch, *The Unfree Professions: German Lawyers, Teachers, and Engineers, 1900–1950* (New York, 1990), 199.

²³ Detlev J. K. Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life*, Richard Deveson, trans. (London, 1987), chap. 12.

²⁴ Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Gerhard Paul, *Herrschaft und Alltag: Ein Industrieviertel im Dritten Reich* (Bonn, 1991), 81.

presumably controlled everything. But under Nazism, disciplinary power was not used to cement a false individual freedom, as Foucault argues for the West. Instead, discipline facilitated the individual's choice to lose him or herself in a racist-national "consensus," just as nationalist rebels in German films of the early 1930s chose to deliver themselves to the national community.²⁵ Moreover, the self-mobilized power of disciplinary authority in combination with the fascist state furthered a "delegalization" of German society that had been underway since the Weimar Republic. "Minor" tyrannies under Nazism, including professionalized forms of daily fascism linked to individual self-regulation, were more than important to the workings of the Nazi regime; they were crucial to its ability to gain and maintain mass support until well into World War II. The one form of power presupposed and interacted with the other in ways that turn arguments of total state-political control in twentieth-century tyrannies, fascist or Communist, into rather coarsely grained narratives.

Engelstein concedes that, in the Soviet context, control in society was not exercised only from the top down. This statement is consistent with her argument that Russia superimposed the three models of power, the juridical, the *Polizeistaat*, and the disciplinary. But it is inconsistent with her historical examples. If the three models were really superimposed, then logically there should have been more balance between them—and thus a greater power for the disciplinary mode vis-à-vis the others—than Engelstein's empirical cases lead one to assume. Either the metaphor of superimposition is inadequate or it must be bolstered with a more generous assessment of the social mobilization and "relative autonomy" of discipline in "totalitarian" states. As Wolin has remarked, Foucault assumed that "all power formations are incomplete," although he offered no way out of the discursive formations that imprisoned modern people.²⁶ This problem is usually discussed when considering the possibility of resistance in Foucault's universe, but it can also be taken up with reference to relationships between the three models of power. Without a fuller consideration of the amount of "play" between discipline and the state, without more detailed attention to the incompleteness of power, Engelstein's top-down argument becomes a mirror image of Foucault's reaction to state-centered theories.

LAURA ENGELSTEIN DESERVES CREDIT for raising these and other crucial issues in a powerfully argued and important essay. Yet from the vantage point of recent debates in my field of specialization, her "oblique light," though always suggestive, obscures more than it illuminates about comparative models of European history and the nature of power in twentieth-century tyrannies. After reading her critique, moreover, one wonders why social and political historians should bother with Foucault at all if the point is merely to find ways in which his problematic thought fails to measure up to specific historical examples. Engelstein takes the reader far away from Walzer's statement that Foucault was importantly wrong—a

²⁵ Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton, N.J., 1947), 259–63.

²⁶ Wolin, "Theory and Practice of Power," 181.

viewpoint that I take to be as much about the possibilities of Foucauldian analysis as about its many problems—and in effect concludes by saying the French thinker was just plain wrong. It seems to me there is much more to be gained from Foucault than that. Social history's encounter with Foucault should be based on a more generous and flexible viewpoint. The richness and complexity of his thought demand a willingness to experiment and an open-mindedness that the work of other, less adventurous intellectuals does not encourage.

Framing Discipline with Law: Problems and Promises of
the Liberal State

JAN GOLDSTEIN

AMONG THE VIRTUES OF LAURA ENGELSTEIN's wide-ranging essay is its concision: a great deal of ground is covered in a very small compass. In fewer pages than are occupied by the usual journal article, Engelstein specifies Michel Foucault's position on both the logical and chronological relationships obtaining between law and discipline; provides a new conceptualization of Russian and Soviet history based on Foucauldian categories, whose standard, Western sequence she reshuffles to fit non-Western circumstances; criticizes Foucault's own critique of liberalism; and offers a capsule, post-Foucauldian definition of liberalism as "replac[ing] the alliance between discipline and the administrative state with a configuration that frames the operation of discipline within the confines of the law."¹ It is a bold, adventurous, often dazzling, and always immensely thought-provoking performance—one whose style is (ironically) worthy of Foucault himself. As in a representative piece of Foucault's prose, the strands of Engelstein's argument are densely interwoven and can be teased apart only with difficulty.

In these comments, I would like to separate out some of those strands for purposes of analysis and to suggest both what I regard as the debatable aspects of the argument and where, in my view, its most important contributions lie. Given my ignorance of things Russian-Soviet, I will accept Engelstein's assertions about her Russian-Soviet material on faith and will instead turn my critical attention to her first, third, and fourth points. The first point devolves on purely textual matters—that is, on what one takes to be a persuasive reading of Foucault. The third and fourth points, which concern the critique of Foucault's critique of liberalism, are, by contrast, amenable to empirical testing. Indeed, Engelstein seeks to demonstrate them by means of two brief cases from the Russian-Soviet setting, one concerning homosexuality and the other abortion.² Here my approach will be to bring in empirical data from other countries—especially France

¹ Laura Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment: Discipline and the Law in Imperial and Soviet Russia," *AHR*, 98 (April 1993): 344.

² The exact nature of her claim shifts between illustration and demonstration; see Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 350: "A nice *example* of the perils of discipline operating in the absence of the law . . . is . . . a trial of male homosexuals"; and 351: "The case of abortion . . . *demonstrates* the social consequences of discipline forming an alliance with the administrative state in the absence of legal protection," my italics.

but also, peripherally, Britain—in an effort to assess whether Engelstein's cases really support her generalizations.

First, then, textual matters. Although Engelstein's characterization of Foucault's position on the law-discipline relationship is in some respects painstakingly nuanced, in other respects it is oversimplified, largely purged of the ambivalence and confusion with which the position is actually riddled. To be sure, ambivalence and confusion are not usually considered laudable intellectual traits or ones that can be invoked to rescue a thinker from attack. But in this instance, they do have a distinctly redeeming value. Recognizing them in Foucault would almost certainly have led Engelstein to temper her unflattering portrait of him as a kind of political naïf, a person so lacking in perspective on his immediate "cultural context"—which Engelstein defines as the "luxury" of the French rule-of-law state and the other "seductive comforts" of Western democracy—that he stridently exaggerated its defects while overlooking the harsh political circumstances of daily life elsewhere in the world.³

Engelstein derived her picture of Foucault as categorically unappreciative of the benefits of law from two texts: the end of a chapter midway through *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1, and a lecture that Foucault delivered in January 1976.⁴ Hence her reading of those texts merits scrutiny. She cites *The History of Sexuality* chapter as if Foucault's purpose in it were plainly and simply to set out his views of the nature of juridical monarchy and of the constitutional state that followed from it. In fact, he sets out those views as part of his project to offer an "analytics of power" and in response to the highly specific rhetorical question he has just posed: why do we Westerners tend to view power as exclusively repressive (and thus "poor in resources," "monotonous in . . . tactics"), instead of acknowledging as well, à la Nietzsche, its productive and creative capacities? To answer that question, Foucault first links the concept of repression on which we are supposedly fixated to the prohibitions enshrined in the law; he then points out that Western habits of thought automatically identify law-cum-repression with power because our political institutions have, since the time of the medieval monarchy, consistently represented themselves as enforcing the rule of law. In other words, insofar as we encounter that which we recognize as power, it functions by repressing in the name of law.⁵

Foucault's central point in these passages is not to expose the rule of law as a cover for power. Certainly, he does describe it in that fashion, speaking of power's need to make itself "tolerable" and "acceptable" by "mask[ing] a substantial part of itself" so that "its success [becomes] proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms."⁶ Yet the intended force of these passages is not one of sensationalistic exposé. Rather, it is to argue that the centuries-old longevity, and hence

³ See Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 353, for the phrases quoted.

⁴ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1: *An Introduction* (French edn., 1976), Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1978), pt. 4, chap. 1; and the second lecture in "Two Lectures" in Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, Colin Gordon, ed. (New York, 1980), 92–108.

⁵ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 82, 85–87. Foucault did not mention Nietzsche by name here, but, given the importance of the German philosopher to his work on power, the allusion is obvious.

⁶ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 86; see also 88, where he used the term "covering up" (*recouvrement* in the French original).

seeming naturalness, of our identification of power with repression ("In political thought and analysis, we still have not cut off the head of the king"⁷) explains our strangely persistent inability to perceive the *productive*, disciplinary power operating all around us. Foucault's language of cover-up is meant not so much as an inflammatory accusation of the law as it is an explanation of the (supposedly impoverished) Western understanding of power.

Following Nancy Fraser's lucid discussion of Foucault, we might view this language as the result of his tendency to insinuate normative judgments into his writings despite his stated goal of bracketing normative issues and giving a value-neutral account of the workings of power.⁸ Yet it is solely Foucault's views in an inflammatory register that Engelstein reports. Thus when she notes with some exasperation that he "seems to have forgotten" that the law "is not only or primarily about repression but also about the resolution or adjudication of conflict,"⁹ it is hard not to fault her for disregarding in the same pages of *The History of Sexuality* that she has quoted and paraphrased at length his basic premise that the monarchical state turned to rule of law in the first place because it "rose up on the basis of a multiplicity of prior powers," was "[f]aced with a myriad of clashing forces," and hence had much to gain by presenting itself as an "agenc[y] of regulation, arbitration and demarcation."¹⁰ I am not saying that the passages to which Engelstein refers are not there but only that passages of different (and from Engelstein's viewpoint, preferable) meaning are also there and that multiple meanings are sometimes embedded in the same passage. Foucault is confused and/or plurivocal. Engelstein reduces him to univocality and then criticizes that single voice.

A roughly comparable observation can be made about her reading of the second of the "Two Lectures." While accurately representing the substance of individual passages, she tends to pin down Foucault's meaning too neatly without paying sufficient attention to the ambiguities introduced by the more elusive matter of tone. For I think that it is clear from this text—or if not clear, at least arguable—that, faced with the two great paradigms of power, Foucault (violating, once again, his general commitment to a value-neutral description of power) does not regard them as equivalent evils but rather sees law as less odious than discipline.¹¹ Engelstein quotes him on the "colonization" of the procedures of law by those of discipline under the bourgeois regime; and, articulating Foucault's implicit metaphor, she characterizes this phenomenon as a "parasitic encroach-

⁷ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 88–89.

⁸ Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory* (Minneapolis, 1989), chap. 1, esp. 18, 20–21, 26–28.

⁹ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 347.

¹⁰ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 86–87. Engelstein is entirely correct in pointing out that in this text, which is geared to challenging Freud's "repressive hypothesis," Foucault emphasized the repressive dimension of law far more than its adjudicative dimension.

¹¹ It should also be noted that, on non-normative grounds, Foucault may have found discipline preferable to law. For he stressed that, of the two, the disciplinary mode of power is the markedly productive one. It brought forth the human sciences, that great profusion of knowledge claims which Foucault certainly declined to endorse but which he nonetheless called, with grudging admiration, an "epistemological 'thaw'"; see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York, 1977), 187.

ment.”¹² Yet she does not make the further inference that, by casting discipline in the role of colonizer/parasite and law in the role of nutritive host, Foucault is tacitly expressing a preference for the law. And, glossing the end of the lecture, Engelstein depicts Foucault as offering no solution but only a “wistful reflection,” because he regards both law and discipline as “contaminated.” Yet an equally plausible reading of the same passage is that Foucault—who mentions with an air of futility the civil rights protests of a French organization of the 1970s—rejects a recourse to law against discipline not so much because law is normatively contaminated as because it is, in practical terms, inefficacious, any emancipatory potential in its formal structure having been sapped and subverted by the disciplinary parasite.¹³

Foucault’s implicit dictum that law is less odious than discipline, more promising for an emancipatory project even if ultimately disappointing, can be found in clearest form in texts that Engelstein does not examine. For example, in *Discipline and Punish*, where Foucault first developed his concept of discipline, we learn that the disciplinary mechanisms “constituted the other, dark side [*l’autre versant, obscur*]” of the “formally egalitarian juridical framework” and “parliamentary, representative regime” that were the hallmarks of bourgeois political dominance.¹⁴ Here, more strongly than in the “Two Lectures,” the implication is that law, instead of being in some manner essentially corrupt, is, rather—and less pejoratively—inefficacious. Unable to constrain behavior on the huge demographic scale characteristic of modern societies, it needs external support in what, for Foucault, is the necessarily “corporal” matter of exercising power.¹⁵ Foucault’s choice of words when he formulates the law-discipline opposition in this text—the “dark” concealment of discipline versus the conspicuous brightness of law, the “non-egalitarian and asymmetrical” operation of disciplinary micro-powers versus the “egalitarian” legal macro-power—makes his preference evident.¹⁶ That preference is underscored by his insistence that discipline is more than an “infra-law”—more, that is, than a mode of training that extends the general demands of law to “the infinitesimal level of individual lives,” molding individuals to the law. It is also a “counter-law,” whose basic premises violate those of the law even, paradoxically, as they enable the maintenance of the constitutional state.¹⁷

Indeed, it is likely that Engelstein’s characterization of Foucault’s view of the law is lopsided and incomplete in part because she has relied on *The History of Sexuality*,

¹² Engelstein, “Combined Underdevelopment,” 341; Foucault, “Two Lectures,” 107.

¹³ Engelstein, “Combined Underdevelopment,” 342; Foucault, “Two Lectures,” 108. Note Foucault’s exact wording: “It is not through recourse to sovereignty against discipline that the effects of disciplinary power can be limited, because sovereignty and disciplinary mechanisms are two absolutely integral constituents of the general mechanism of power in our society.”

¹⁴ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 222; French quotation from the original edition, *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975), 223.

¹⁵ As Foucault puts it, “Although, in a formal way, the representative regime makes it possible . . . for the will of all to form the fundamental authority of sovereignty, the disciplines provide, at the base, a guarantee of submission of forces and bodies. The real corporal disciplines constituted the foundation of the formal, juridical liberties”; *Discipline and Punish*, 222. On the “large demographic thrust of the eighteenth century” as a principal condition to which the disciplinary mode of power “corresponds,” see 218–20.

¹⁶ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 222.

¹⁷ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 222–23.

Volume 1 (French edition, 1976), to the virtual exclusion of *Discipline and Punish* (French edition, 1975).¹⁸ Although the two texts are close in date, Foucault's rejection of liberal humanism is considerably more thoroughgoing in the later one. He moved (as one commentator has schematically mapped the progression) from his belief in *Discipline and Punish* that liberal values and legal structures are incapable of opposing modern forms of domination to his belief in *The History of Sexuality* that even if the liberal ideal of autonomous subjectivity were perfectly realized, the result would itself be a form of domination and therefore undesirable.¹⁹ Hence, in addition to playing down the plurivocality within the Foucault texts she examines, Engelstein has, it seems, overlooked the plurivocality between certain key texts. The former kind of plurivocality can probably not be too much stressed in Foucault: even in *The History of Sexuality*, Volume 1, his typical ambivalence produces statements that are decidedly appreciative of the law. Take, for example, his brief sketch of a genealogy of state-supported racism in general and of the Nazi regime in Germany in particular. Foucault asserts that both were made possible by the flourishing of disciplinary "bio-power." His recognition of this link prompts one of the very few favorable comments about psychoanalysis that can be found in his work.²⁰ Freud, we are told, deserves "political credit" for repudiating biologicistic theories of degeneration and the disciplinary mechanisms associated with them; psychoanalysis was "in the main . . . in theoretical and practical opposition to fascism" because its founder steered clear of this particular recourse to discipline (although he, of course, accepted others) and, through his emphasis on the incest taboo and the prohibitions of the Father, endeavored "to ground sexuality *in the law*" rather than in the blood.²¹ Here Foucault explicitly acknowledged that the law is, in principle at least, an adversary of one of the "great tyrannies" of our age," to borrow Engelstein's phrase.

One additional text should be mentioned, a relatively little-known paper that Foucault delivered at a law and psychiatry symposium in Toronto in 1977. "About the Concept of the 'Dangerous Individual' in 19th-Century Legal Psychiatry"²² repays our attention because, by investigating a single instance of the disciplinary

¹⁸ Although Engelstein refers often to *Discipline and Punish* in the course of her essay, she never cites specific passages from it, nor does she inquire into the position taken in that text on the relationship between discipline and the law.

¹⁹ See Fraser, *Unruly Practices*, chap. 2, esp. 36–37, 43–44, 48. The progression identified by Fraser corresponds well to the claim of Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow that *Discipline and Punish* presents a genealogy of the modern individual as object of knowledge and *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, a genealogy of the modern individual as autonomous subject; see their *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago, 1982), 126, and titles of chaps. 7 and 8.

²⁰ Quite hostile accounts of psychoanalysis dot Foucault's *oeuvre*, appearing in *Madness and Civilization*, *The Order of Things*, and, of course, in *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, itself. The earlier portions of *The History of Sexuality* reveal the ways in which psychoanalysis is part of the disciplinary apparatus; the passages concerning Nazism, by contrast, delineate an area in which psychoanalysis dissented from disciplinary practice.

²¹ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 1: 149–50, my italics. Of course, Foucault was not completely affirmative of the strategy of psychoanalysis, either. He judged its alliance with law as anachronistic. "And yet, to conceive the category of the sexual in terms of the law . . . is in the last analysis a historical 'retro-version.' We must conceptualize the deployment of sexuality on the basis of the techniques of power that are contemporary with it"; pp. 149–50.

²² Michel Foucault, "About the Concept of the 'Dangerous Individual' in 19th-Century Legal Psychiatry," Alain Baudot and Jane Couchman, trans., *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 1 (1978): 1–18.

colonization of law (the application of psychiatry to penal jurisprudence), it provides an unusually clear expression of Foucault's views or, more accurately, one set of his views, concerning the law-discipline relationship. On the basis of a fine-grained historical account, Foucault argued that early nineteenth-century psychiatry insinuated "from below"—that is, by means of the punishments actually meted out in the courtroom rather than through changes in the legal code—a radical mutation of the concept of crime: what was to be punished was not simply the commission of a criminal act but the sort of internal motivation that had led to that trespass; not, in other words, what one had *done* but who one *was*. In the late nineteenth century, criminal anthropologists under the sway of hereditarian theory carried this tendency still further by inventing the so-called dangerous individual, whose scientifically discerned character flaws made him or her the potential source of criminal acts and against whom preemptive measures of "social defense" were therefore warranted. Despite the subsequent discrediting of criminal anthropology, Foucault contended, the language of dangerousness and not that of responsibility remains very much alive in present-day French forensic psychiatry and still carries weight with the judges on the bench. But Foucault emphasized that while the disciplinary mechanism has more or less accepted the notion of criminal dangerousness, the law has not; even a revision of the French penal code in the 1970s preserved the old notion of criminal responsibility. Foucault closed by, in effect, warmly praising the law for its steadfastness to salutary liberal principle. Engelstein could hardly dissent from his comment that "perhaps this [conservatism demonstrated in the course of the penal code revision] indicates a foreboding of the dreadful dangers inherent in authorizing the law to intervene against individuals because of what they are; a horrifying society could emerge from that."²³

Foucault's position on the merits of law in relation to discipline was thus more ambiguous, iridescent, and, I would maintain, intellectually interesting than Engelstein has allowed. That he was never fully in control of his views on this issue and never arrived at a completely consistent formulation of them is, I think, fair to say. But it is not fair to sum up the matter by saying, as Engelstein does at one point, that Foucault harbored a "hostility toward order (whether juridical or disciplinary)."²⁴ Foucault was, it is true, sometimes entranced by the writings of Georges Bataille, by Dionysian intoxication, and by the lure of transgression; but at other times he felt the tug of the old-fashioned Enlightenment ideals of emancipation and rational inquiry.²⁵ What is distinctive and original in his

²³ Foucault, "About the Concept of the 'Dangerous Individual,'" 18.

²⁴ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 343.

²⁵ For an account of Foucault's life and work that accords centrality to his quest for the "limit-experience" in the mode of Georges Bataille, see James Miller, *The Passion of Michel Foucault* (New York, 1993). For an account that sees Foucault's work as fundamentally a self-critical continuation of the Enlightenment ethos, see Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason* (Cambridge, 1989). Almost every interpretation in between has also been proposed. For example, focusing on prose style, Denis Hollier regards Foucault's early work as marked by a Bataille-like lyricism and the work beginning with *Discipline and Punish* as more "sober"; see Hollier, "Le mot de Dieu: 'Je suis mort,'" in *Michel Foucault philosophe: Rencontre internationale* (Paris, 1989), 150–64. Focusing on political thought, Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices*, chaps. 1–2, examines the full gamut of critiques of liberalism—beginning with those made from a liberal standpoint—that can be attributed to Foucault.

thought—and what speaks so well to our late twentieth-century condition—may derive precisely from this uneasy mixture and from the capaciousness and courage of a mind that tried to accommodate these divergent elements.

WHETHER ONE AGREES WITH ENGELSTEIN'S RENDERING of Foucault's position on the law-discipline relationship or not, that rendering is logically separable from the historical claims that she advances through the vehicle of her two case studies; and hence the cases require consideration on their own terms. Both are intended to show the undesirable effects of disciplinary mechanisms operating in a context—the Russian-Soviet one—lacking a strong rule-of-law tradition. Indeed, the outcomes of both are, most people would agree, undesirable: in the absence of legal sanctions, male homosexuals were nonetheless brought to trial in 1922 on an improvised charge that served the ends of a disciplinary “social defense” campaign; after an extended period of debate, full power over abortion was in 1920 entrusted to physicians, as agents of administrative discipline, in rejection of alternative solutions involving considerations of legality. The unspoken assumption behind Engelstein's accounts of these cases is that their outcomes would have been better in a Western democracy. Without disputing Engelstein's conviction that political life in the West is generally “better” than in Russia, I want to problematize and challenge her assumption (the one that guides, at least, the early parts of her essay²⁶) that in rule-of-law states, the law inevitably intervenes effectively to curb the excesses of discipline. Engelstein's two cases depend for their effect on the reader's imagining analogous cases with radically different results in the West; yet Engelstein cites no comparative data. Hence I would like to introduce a French comparison concerning neither homosexuality nor abortion but another area of sexual conduct that has in modern times likewise invited control by disciplinary methods: prostitution. I choose this topic because Alain Corbin's magisterial study makes the data readily accessible.²⁷

The “French system” for dealing with prostitution (as it was called abroad) might be regarded in Foucauldian terms as a high-water mark of the application of discipline to social policy. First put in place under the Napoleonic Consulate, it was elaborated over the course of the nineteenth century, widely emulated by other nations, and never even seriously questioned in France until 1876. Throughout the entire century, the legislative bodies of the various French regimes remained silent about it; when in 1903 the Senate entertained a motion concerning prostitution, the minister of justice signaled the novelty of the moment by telling the senators, “This is the first time that the legislator has thought fit to enter a domain that has hitherto been the preserve of the police.”²⁸

As described by Corbin, the career of the “French system” articulates well with the categories that Engelstein has used to periodize Russian history. The linchpin

²⁶ As I discuss below, Engelstein appears to shift the terms of her argument in the closing pages of the essay.

²⁷ Alain Corbin, *Les filles de nocce: Misère sexuelle et prostitution aux 19^e et 20^e siècles* (Paris, 1978). My citations will be drawn from the English version, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

²⁸ Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 9, 111; quoted in Corbin, 316.

of the system was the *maison de tolérance*, or regulated brothel, an enclosed milieu under the constant supervision of the authorities. The relevant authorities were manifold, the usual mix of administrative and medical personnel that typifies Foucauldian discipline: police with whom prostitutes were required to register and who formed vice squads to arrest unregistered prostitutes, government inspectors, physicians who regularly checked prostitutes for venereal disease. In the 1870s, the *maison de tolérance* was finally challenged by a vociferous abolitionist campaign, with some protesters bent on prohibiting prostitution altogether and others determined to end only its official, regulated variety. The latter group, whom Corbin labels liberal abolitionists, cast the discussion of prostitution in legal terms. Invoking "respect for individual liberty, equality before the law, common law—in short . . . the great principles of 1789 and the Declaration of the Rights of Man," they depicted the regulationist system as a form of arbitrary detention that placed the prostitute outside the bounds of legal protection.²⁹ Corbin even credits them with precociously perceiving the similarity between the inquisitorial practices of the police and those of the doctors; in condemning the compulsory health checks of prostitutes, they became "the first in France to denounce the abuses of medical power."³⁰ These liberal abolitionists, then, seem like just the sort of folks on whom Engelstein counts to ensure that the operations of discipline will be framed within the confines of law in Western democracies.

And well they might have been (although Corbin notes some of their less attractive features, such as attacks on homosexuality "whose virulence went well beyond those of the most ardent regulationists"),³¹ had their abolitionist campaign not been essentially a failure, fizzling out after a dozen years.³² Even a second abolitionist campaign and the 1902 electoral triumph of the Bloc des Gauches, a coalition of radicals and socialists long friendly to abolitionism, failed to liberate the prostitute.³³ Indeed, following a brief period of abolitionist civil rights protest, regulationism gained a vigorous new lease on life in the form of neo-regulationism. Deemphasizing the administrative police that had figured so prominently in traditional regulationism,³⁴ neo-regulationism greatly increased the police power of the medical profession in the enforcement of sanitary regulations. This inflected regulationism found justification in the new scientific knowledge of syphilis that physicians now deployed and in the widespread popular phobia that the press and medical establishment encouraged with respect to that same disease. Further bolstered by dire pronouncements about the "born prostitute" that were the contribution of anthropological degeneration theory,³⁵

²⁹ Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 225, 228.

³⁰ Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 227.

³¹ Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 226.

³² Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 258; see also 233–34.

³³ Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 262.

³⁴ Corbin noted (*Women for Hire*, 256) that one version of the neo-regulationist project attempted to respond to certain aspects of the civil rights protest by placing the registration of prostitutes under the control of the courts rather than the police; but he failed to say whether this plan—the sort of framing of discipline by law that Engelstein seems to have in mind—was ever implemented. Even if it was, however, he makes clear that neo-regulationism fundamentally compromised legality by the use of sanitary police.

³⁵ Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 300–08.

neo-regulationism was a movement of social hygiene and social defense comparable to the anti-homosexual campaign of the Soviet doctors described by Engelstein.

The victory of neo-regulationism over liberal abolitionism and the continued legal marginalization of the prostitute ran, in Corbin's words, "against the logic of [French] political history."³⁶ This outcome likewise suggests that, contrary to Engelstein's optimistic assumption, law—even when invoked by elite and articulate segments of the population—does not always win out or succeed in framing discipline in Western democracies. Rather, from the vantage point of the history of French prostitution, Foucault's pessimism about the efficacy of law in the modern rule-of-law state (should one choose to read his critique of liberalism in that fashion) appears securely grounded. Foucault's characterization of discipline as a "counter-law," effecting "in the space and during the time in which [it] exercises [its] control . . . , a suspension of the law that is never total but is never annulled either,"³⁷ is borne out by related data concerning the dilemma of physicians in the increasingly bureaucratized medical profession of late nineteenth-century France. A physician employed by the administration was subject to diametrically opposed injunctions from the law and the disciplinary apparatus—that is, the article in the Napoleonic penal code protecting doctor-patient confidentiality collided with the disciplinary requirement that doctors turn over their patient records to the administration and thus "turn in" infected prostitutes identified during health checks.³⁸

IF, THEN, I HAVE RESERVATIONS about both Engelstein's characterization of Foucault's position and her contention that in Western democracies the law always surrounds discipline with effective restrictions, why do I regard her essay as such a valuable contribution? Its great value lies, I think, in its very highlighting of the categories of law and discipline. Although this move may seem, retrospectively, an obvious and routine extrapolation from Foucault's own texts, nothing could be further from the truth. Engelstein is, to my knowledge, the first scholar who has singled out the balance between law and discipline as the conceptual heart of Foucault's political theory. And an inspired choice of heuristic categories it is, disclosing patterns and relationships that had earlier escaped notice. In the paragraphs above, for example, I followed Engelstein's model and renarrated extensive portions of Alain Corbin's *Filles de nocés* under the law-discipline rubric; yet while in the course of that book Corbin himself several times pointed out affinities between his own claims and those of Foucault, he nowhere employed the

³⁶ Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 261.

³⁷ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 223.

³⁸ I owe this information to Alexander Dracoby, a Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of Chicago who is currently writing a dissertation on medical ethics and the bureaucratization of the medical profession in modern France. According to Dracoby, the tension between legal and disciplinary requirements reached crisis proportions not among the doctors involved in the medical police of prostitution but, beginning in the 1890s, among doctor-functionaries serving the poor who refused to comply with administrative demands for their patient records.

law-discipline rubric to organize his material.³⁹ Nor did it occur to me to employ that rubric in my book on the professionalization of psychiatry in nineteenth-century France, even when analyzing in detail the passage of the asylum law of 1838—a subject that, I can now see, is a prime candidate for discussion in terms of the relative weight of law and discipline in one society's dispensation for a marginal group.⁴⁰

Equally relevant to historians is the way in which Engelstein has operationalized the pair of categories she has highlighted, using them to assess the tendencies and resources of a given political culture for domination over its citizens and for protecting those same citizens from domination. After reading and pondering her essay, it seems to me that she has, in effect, adumbrated a research project in comparative history of vast scope and potentially great fruitfulness. That project might be stated as follows: how, over time, and with what consequences, have different modern political cultures struck the balance between law and discipline, both in substance and in rhetorical style? Such a project entails, of course, adopting at the outset a Foucauldian suspicion about the efficacy of law so as to problematize the law-discipline balance not only in “underdeveloped” countries, as Engelstein has done, but also in fully “developed” Western democracies.

Let me offer from the domain of the comparative history of psychiatry a tentative and circumscribed example of the kind of history that this project might engender. In Britain, the management of the insane provoked civil rights protests and parliamentary investigations as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. The initial protests took as their target the pre-medical caretakers of the insane, thus indirectly aiding the legitimation of the psychiatric experts (and, hence, of mature discipline in the Foucauldian sense); the later protests were launched against the psychiatrists. In France, by contrast, civil rights involvement in the issue of insanity was always decidedly muted. It came to the fore only occasionally, for example, as part of the attack on the royal *lettres de cachet* during the Revolution of 1789 or as an instrument of republican opposition to the Second Empire in the 1860s. French writers produced nothing comparable to the popular Victorian novel about wrongful confinement in an asylum, Charles Read's *Hard Cash* (1863). Nor did the French parliament ever serve as a muckraker with respect to civil rights abuses entailed in lunacy policy. Rather, receiving relatively little chiding from its members about the perils of violating the constitutional division between the judicial and administrative powers, it served as the architect of a giant disciplinary mechanism staffed by psychiatric doctors: the Law of 1838 abridged the powers of the judiciary in favor of those of the prefectorial police.

Clearly, the style of working out the law-discipline balance in this area differed sharply on opposite sides of the Channel, with only the British consistently

³⁹ Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 9, 189, 275.

⁴⁰ Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), chap. 8, see esp. 283–85. Although I was influenced by Foucault when I wrote this chapter, I took a different Foucauldian tack and came out showing the active participation of alienists in the state's elaboration of mechanisms of control. In other words, the alliance of biomedical professionalism and state power, which Engelstein takes as axiomatic and which forms the basis of her explicitly Foucauldian use of the term “discipline,” was something that I was seeking to demonstrate with respect to the French case.

accentuating civil rights. But how much the style affected the substance remains to be determined. It is notable in this respect that the late twentieth-century anti-psychiatry movement began in Britain, suggesting that the long tradition of civil rights awareness may not have lightened the perceived disciplinary burden of British psychiatry. Only in emulation did the French, including Foucault, later take up the anti-psychiatric cause.⁴¹

The analytic distinction between style and substance that I have made here, however crudely, is of particular importance because it addresses a parallel distinction that Engelstein slips in at the end of her essay. The beginning of the essay characterizes Western democracies as "disciplinary societ[ies] limited and controlled by the authority of the law,"⁴² but by the time we reach the essay's end, the possibility of the inefficacy of the law has been tacitly acknowledged and just as tacitly assimilated into the argument. Thus, without noting that anything new has been added, Engelstein speaks in her closing paragraphs of those same Western democracies as "both extend[ing] and violat[ing] the promise of rights"; and she opines that it is "the guarantees *promised* by the law, even if not always successfully provided" that create a certain "tension" wherein resides the fundamental political difference, indeed the seemingly unbridgeable chasm, between the West and Russia.⁴³ This crucial, last-minute qualification—Engelstein's assertion that the promise of rights can in and of itself serve the same salutary political ends as the fulfillment of that promise—introduces an extra layer of complexity into an already intricate argument. It also raises the redoubtable theoretical issue of the effective difference, if any, between political discourse and political practice.⁴⁴

Without attempting to resolve that issue, my term "style" may offer a way to take it into account in historical research—as well as a way to conceptualize a fully nuanced range of national variations in the handling of the law-discipline relationship. What I am calling "style" translates into the degree of strength, vivacity, or ready cultural accessibility of the promise of law in a given setting. Hence, at least with respect to the care of the insane, we could say that the British were in the habit of continually reiterating that promise to themselves, of keeping it present as a collective ideal; having different habits or a different style, the French invoked that promise far less often and apparently more selectively.

This single, briefly sketched instance of the negotiation of one discipline by two

⁴¹ For this account of British psychiatry, including a list of the many secondary sources on which the account is based, see Jan Goldstein, "Psychiatry," in W. H. Bynum and Roy Porter, eds., *Encyclopaedia of the History of Medicine* (London, forthcoming); see in addition, Peter McCandless, "Liberty and Lunacy: The Victorians and Wrongful Confinement," *Journal of Social History*, 11 (Spring 1978): 366–86. The various elements of the account of French psychiatry can be found in Goldstein, *Console and Classify*, esp. 106–08, 285–97, 351–54.

⁴² Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 344.

⁴³ Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment," 353, my italics.

⁴⁴ The effacement of that difference underlies, for example, the influential and controversial work of both François Furet and Keith Baker on the origins of the French Revolution; see Furet, *Interpreting the French Revolution* (1978), Elsborg Forster, trans. (Cambridge, 1981), and Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990). For an overview of the historiographical debate on this general issue from the vantage point of a historian who favors maintaining the discourse-practice distinction, see John E. Toews, "Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience," *AHR*, 92 (October 1987): 879–907.

countries—and, correspondingly, by two legal systems and legal cultures—suggests, I hope, the value of following Engelstein's lead in the enlarged sense I have outlined.⁴⁵ Instead of accepting Engelstein's post-Foucauldian definition of liberalism ("a configuration that frames the operation of discipline within the confines of the law") as a statement of fact, we historians should pose it as a problem. In problem form, it could be used to structure not only a critical investigation of countries with weak rule-of-law traditions but also a critical re-investigation of those familiar parts of the Western world whose modes of political operation may be far less straightforward than Engelstein has assumed and whose actual success as garden-variety liberal polities she may, by her own (somewhat shifting) criteria, have overestimated.

⁴⁵ At a time when Foucault has been roundly criticized for his lack of attention to the non-Western world, my insistence on "enlarging" the scope of applicability of Foucauldian categories to include the West may sound peculiarly retrograde. But it should be clear that I have gotten myself into this odd posture as a response to Engelstein's contention that the political health of the West is so fundamentally sound that the areas about which Foucault expressed concern are in fact mere matters of fine tuning.

AHR Forum
Reply

LAURA ENGELSTEIN

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FOUCAULT DID NOT TAKE THE MEANING OF TEXTS FOR GRANTED. He asked, rather, how authorship and intellectual authority came to assume the coherence and power we ascribe to them. It does not violate the spirit of his enterprise to discover time and again how differently his own work can be understood. Even though my respondents contend that I have misread Foucault, they undermine the force of this criticism in two ways: first by insisting on the ambiguity of his texts and second by disagreeing with each other. Jan Goldstein takes me to task for underestimating Foucault's persistent attachment to the liberal values represented by the law and his interest in the operation of legal institutions. Rudy Koshar, by contrast, emphasizes Foucault's hostility to the notion that the modern state and its legal apparatus determine the exercise of power and his impatience with Western liberalism's moral claims. Both, quite rightly, depict the philosopher as a bold thinker who disturbed the comfort of established ideas. It seems ironic, in light of Foucault's interest in ambiguity and provocation, that they should vindicate his iconoclasm with reference to the authority of his texts or to some clearly defined political project.

Indeed, my response to Foucault's work reminds these readers of precisely the problem that set Foucault off in the first place: the naïve belief in the promise of the Enlightenment and the virtues of the bourgeois order, a self-satisfied, unreflective liberalism. Arguing that I have idealized the reality of the Western European experience in order to underscore the deficiencies of the Russian case, they offer evidence concerning France, England, and Germany designed to sustain Foucault's critique of the liberal polity as one that defaults on its own ideological claims. But it was not my intention to reject Foucault's enterprise by returning to the point from which he started, nor do I offer an authoritative reading of Foucault to displace all others. If Koshar is puzzled by the fact that my objections are "not always as damaging to Foucault's perspective as one might assume," he is right.¹ My point is not to dethrone Foucault. Rather, I began with the categories he presents and with certain problems that remain unresolved in his presentation. In particular, I was moved by the persistent tension between his moral commitments and the intellectual instruments afforded by his theoretical

¹ Rudy Koshar, "Foucault and Social History: Comments on 'Combined Underdevelopment,'" *AHR*, 98 (April 1993): 355.

approach. I am not the only one to observe this disjuncture,² and I do not raise the issue to prove him "wrong" but to pose the question of how and on what grounds to distinguish between the effects of different power regimes. It is a question with a historical pedigree as well as contemporary relevance and it is one with which Foucault himself struggled, especially in his later writings on "governmentality."

I focused on the categories of law and discipline not from an abstract interest in the coherence of Foucault's conceptual or methodological universe but because these categories resonated with those invoked by my historical subjects, who mapped their political world in terms of three competing yet mutually implicated paradigms: rule of law, police or administration, and disciplinary authority. This echo effect is not surprising, as I argue in the essay: Foucault's point of departure was a dialogue that reached back into the eighteenth century. It was particularly animated among nineteenth-century Russian intellectuals and bureaucrats. The distinctions between both law and administration and between Western and Russian formations were current coin in the discourse of Russians trying to make sense of and transform their political and cultural environment, which they always measured against a vision of "the West" and conceptualized in language drawn from the lexicon of their European contemporaries.

It is perilous, however, for historians to force "marginal" nations into the mold of a largely fictitious "Western" paradigm or to judge them against a smug cultural standard; even the perfect proletariat has vanished from the social map of the canonical West thanks to the impact of recent scholarship, leaving Russian workers not so much a deviation from the norm, as they used to be seen, for better or for worse, but as a variation on a theme. I agree with Koshar that it is unhelpful (not to say unfair) to reproach an imperial Germany or tsarist Russia for failing to be a (supposedly) liberal England.³ Yet "capitalism," "the proletariat," "modernity," and "rule of law" were concepts with a life of their own. And although I do not accept the notion that discourse drives, or even constitutes, history, it is certainly the case that Russians organized their conceptual universe (and built their political and social institutions) on the basis of models and concepts derived from "the West." Not just Engelstein, the retrospective conceptual imperialist, but Russians themselves were preoccupied with "what was left out," what ought to have been, and what might yet be different.⁴ They were social critics, moralists, and inveterate comparativists, for better or for worse.

The crux of my disagreement with Koshar concerns the contentious subject of "modern tyranny." In fact, I do not claim that the autocracy "completely manipulated" the professions, as he asserts, nor do I believe, the way "coarsely grained narratives" do, that Stalinist Russia was an entirely effective police state that exercised "total" control over a passive populace (a point he concedes on my behalf, after implying the opposite in a series of arguments drawn from the case

² See, for example, Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason* (Cambridge, 1989), 280–84.

³ Geoff Eley, "Liberalism, Europe, and the Bourgeoisie, 1860–1914," cited in Koshar, "Foucault and Social History," n. 16.

⁴ Koshar, "Foucault and Social History," 358.

of Nazi Germany).⁵ Such narratives presumably belong to proponents of the Cold War totalitarian model and its uncritical endorsement of something called Western democracy. I have no problem with the notion that social and cultural mechanisms were at work in animating the Stalinist and Nazi regimes, although, as Koshar himself admits, this kind of “self-regulation” was not rooted in the same techniques that produced the “autonomous self” of “bourgeois discipline,” in the sense Foucault had in mind.⁶ However, it is also the case that what distinguishes these oppressive regimes from the inequitable but more porous “bourgeois” variety is not the presence or absence of social “self-regulation” in itself (whose manifestations certainly differ in crucial ways) but the nature of the political apparatus, including its legal ethos, and its relation to other forms of control.

Koshar complains that my own insistence on the coexistence of the three models of power in Russian history should have led me to concede more autonomy to the disciplinary mode, even in the late Soviet context.⁷ But the three configurations of power did not uniformly retain their historical functions after 1917. In particular, the law did not survive in any meaningful sense into the Stalin period. Rather, the outward forms of legality (the famous constitution of 1936, the codes and court system) operated as instruments of administrative rule.⁸ Precisely because of the law’s subordination, discipline also lost the relative autonomy (its separation from sovereignty) that it manifested in bourgeois regimes. Nevertheless, Koshar’s objection usefully stresses the ambiguity in Foucault’s use of the term “discipline,” a central confusion that would have to be explored in the kind of historical investigations Goldstein proposes. For “discipline,” in Foucault’s complex sense, refers both to the administrative apparatus of a regulatory state and to socially located mechanisms of control.⁹

Ultimately, both Koshar and Goldstein are troubled by what they take to be my conservative response to Foucault’s radical discontent with the pieties of liberal democracy. Referring not to Russia but to Nazi Germany, Koshar writes: “Finally, the chronology embedded in Engelstein’s argument of liberal hegemony leaves no room for the possibility that the liberal achievement the author praises may in fact be reversed or weakened and hence that, over time, the situation of societies in which liberal hegemony occurred may not be all that different, or at least not different in the way we might assume, than the situation of societies in which the positive interdependence of law and discipline did not occur.”¹⁰ Koshar thus warns that the existence of liberal institutions has provided no guarantee against the illiberal consequences of their deterioration. He also questions whether even in their heyday, liberal institutions such as the law have actually inhibited the power of administrative and other coercive mechanisms such as the normative

⁵ Koshar, “Foucault and Social History,” 361, 362.

⁶ Koshar, “Foucault and Social History,” 362.

⁷ Koshar, “Foucault and Social History,” 362.

⁸ On the appropriation of law in the service of the new regime, see Eugene Huskey, *Russian Lawyers and the Soviet State: The Origins and Development of the Soviet Bar, 1917–1939* (Princeton, N.J., 1986).

⁹ I should add that I chose my examples for their suggestive, rather than exemplary, power, aware they belong to a transitional period in which the full Stalinist structure was not yet in place.

¹⁰ Koshar, “Foucault and Social History,” 358.

disciplines that conflict with liberalism's civic ideal.¹¹ While I share Koshar's discomfort with crude teleological narratives that blame the advent of Nazism or Stalinism on the institutional or cultural defects of the societies they displaced—for too many contingent variables affect the outcomes—I do not agree that all distinctions must be waived. Well before the Stalinist era, tsarist Russia already differed in significant—and to its inhabitants, undesirable—degrees from contemporary states to the west. In what exactly this difference consisted and how it operated must be the subject of further reflection and research, as Goldstein helpfully suggests.

Her remarks in general are most welcome. I may not always read Foucault with the requisite attention to rhetorical context, tone, or methodological purpose, but I do not think him naïve or morally insensitive. As Nancy Fraser notes, he may have had recourse in his arguments as well as his activism to precisely those normative categories he rejected in theoretical terms.¹² My purpose was to address this tension: to pursue the insight that Foucault's theoretical enterprise did not provide the conceptual framework for making the distinctions that moved him in the arena of political and moral engagement. What is most intriguing about Goldstein's response to my essay, however, is the insistence that I should be agreeing with Foucault precisely where I find him wanting. She outlines a number of instances in which Foucault appears to celebrate the law for the limits it places on the invidious operations of discipline. If Koshar praises the philosopher for turning from analysis of the state to a consideration of disciplinary practices, Goldstein notes a persistent, though "ambiguous [and] iridescent," attraction to the operations of the legal order for which I have not given him enough credit.¹³

It was not the promise of the law that Foucault found wanting, she argues, but its inefficacy. Goldstein thus locates the philosopher in that intellectual tradition with which he himself identified and in which I too have placed him: the critique that measures the performance of the law by its own standards. But he, of course, went further than that, especially in the introduction to the *History of Sexuality* and in *Discipline and Punish*. Goldstein, citing Alain Corbin's extensive examination of the system of regulated prostitution in nineteenth-century France, concludes that even in constitutional states the existence of a well-established legal system did not prevent administrative incursions into the arena of civil rights.¹⁴ Both socialists and feminists, then and since, have faulted the liberal state, not so much for the weakness of its institutional resources as for the systematic exclusion of certain social groups from its benefits. Such critics have argued that this pattern was not accidental, that indeed the operation of the vaunted public sphere, with its attendant powers and freedoms and its connection to political authority, depended on a monopoly of access. Marxists and feminists (in their respective varieties) explain both the principle and function of these exclusions on different grounds. So it is certainly not the case that the existence of a legal apparatus and

¹¹ Koshar, "Foucault and Social History," 358.

¹² I cite Nancy Fraser and make this point in Laura Engelstein, "Combined Underdevelopment: Discipline and the Law in Imperial and Soviet Russia," *AHR*, 98 (April 1993), n. 23.

¹³ Jan Goldstein, "Framing Discipline with Law: Problems and Promises of the Liberal State," *AHR*, 98 (April 1993): 369.

¹⁴ Goldstein, "Framing Discipline with Law," n. 27.

a rule-of-law tradition guarantees the realization of civil and political justice. But one cannot conclude from the negative example that their presence is irrelevant to the chances of success.

Here, the case of tsarist Russia, as it was understood by those who lived with its constraints, underscores the intellectual risks entailed in neglecting the role of formal institutional structures, with all their local and even systematic defects, in the constitution of modern political regimes. Regulated prostitution was not unique to France, of course; it existed also in Germany and Russia. Like abolitionists everywhere, Russians hostile to this practice insisted on its sinister political implications. The majority of Russian physicians, for example, viewed the system of regulation as an egregious and symbolically charged instance of "administrative rule," of the disregard for law and personal rights typical of a regime based on contempt for legal restraint, which they contrasted to other models.¹⁵ For example, feminist public health physician Mariia Pokrovskaiia wrote in 1907:

The police-medical surveillance of prostitution conforms to the despotic [*krepotnicheskii*] inclinations of the male sex and to their contempt for the human dignity of women. This connection is demonstrated by the fact that the Russia of serfdom [*krepotnaia Rossiia*] was among the first countries to copy the French morals police . . . [This system] has flourished in [Russia,] the country of lawlessness [*bespravie*] and arbitrary power [*proizvol*], while in England, a country of freedom and respect for the person, police regulation did not take root.¹⁶

Pokrovskaiia may have idealized Great Britain (although she had a cool head for France), but the symbolic point was made. Likewise, the distinguished jurist Sergei Gogel' drew the constitutional implications of regulated prostitution in their broadest strokes: "In the present day and age," he wrote in 1899, "when all are free and what Montesquieu called civic freedom exists in every state; when . . . even criminals have their 'magna charta libertatum' in the form of the criminal code and the rules of criminal procedure, which determine down to the smallest details for what and under what circumstances they may be punished, only prostitutes remain without legal defense, without specific rights and duties."¹⁷

These examples are entirely typical of professional discourse in this period. Russian liberals were not yet confronted with a legal system that offered equal rights yet excluded certain groups from their protection. (Even after the Revolution of 1905, when Pokrovskaiia wrote, the promise of rights was not buttressed by institutions powerful enough to withstand the force of imperial will or ministerial decree.) They therefore clung to the principle of the law and championed the cause of women as the quintessential victims of administrative

¹⁵ See Laura Engelstein, *The Keys to Happiness: Sex and the Search for Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle Russia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), chaps. 2 and 5.

¹⁶ M. I. Pokrovskaiia, "Prostitutsiia i bespravie zhenshchin," *Zhenskii vestnik*, no. 10 (1907): 226.

¹⁷ S. K. Gogel', "Iuridicheskaia storona voprosa o trgovle belymi zhenshchinami v tseliakh razvrata," *Vestnik prava*, no. 5 (1899): 115. The prostitutes' lack of rights was emphasized by many writers, including V. D. Nabokov, "Plotskie prestupleniia, po proektu ugovornogo ulozheniia," *Vestnik prava*, no. 9–10 (1902), reprinted in V. D. Nabokov, *Sbornik statei po ugovornomu pravu* (St. Petersburg, 1904), 137.

abuse, while radical compatriots scoffed at their political illusions and “bourgeois” feminism. I do not conclude from the liberals’ complaints that either they did, or we should, consider the French or German alternative the perfect incarnation of justice. Yet there was indeed an alternative at hand that powerfully shaped the Russian perception of what was at stake in their own political context.

I am pleased that Goldstein took note of the change in tone at the end of my essay, although the example of Kistiakovskii earlier on might have alerted her to my awareness of these qualifications. I do not assume that liberalism and the bourgeois polity are finished entities but rather opportunities for conflict and expansion, yet I do not see a better framework within which to fight for the fundamental principles of the Enlightenment. And these principles, it seems to me, still shape the postmodernist debates, for on what grounds do postmodernists find them wanting? More ruthless by far than these philosophical iconoclasts, a thinker such as Alexander Solzhenitsyn experiences no such tension in his denunciation of Western modernism.

Russian history offers an example of the crashing failure of liberalism to take root. Despite, or perhaps because of, that failure, I sympathize with the poignant hopes of those fin-de-siècle Russian liberals whose constitutional illusions came to nothing in the end. Indeed, I may neglect the extent to which they themselves displayed the ambivalences typical of their more complacent analogues in the West: hesitations over women’s suffrage and a residual paternalism (even though it was the Provisional Government that granted women the vote in 1917, along with civil rights for ethnic minorities), Victorian prejudices about sexual variation, and inclinations toward nationalist pride. Moreover, they suffered additional ambivalences of their own: chronic doubts about the liberal sacred canon and often a sentimental affection for the political Left, which had little use for their niceties.

Even to the best Russian liberal, individualism was both an ardently desired prize and a threat to cultural values that distinguished their world from “out there,” a place that often seemed better but also spiritually impoverished; private property and the marketplace (whether in goods or culture) seemed deeply troublesome attainments; and the rigors of bourgeois morality struck them as narrow and vain. They felt themselves blessed or cursed with a social conscience. As the liberal psychiatrist Nikolai Bazhenov remarked in 1906, Russia was both too early and too late for liberalism. “The time for purely political revolutions has long passed,” he wrote. “Russia will witness the struggle for land as well as for legality [*pravo*], and not for land alone but for the establishment of real social and economic justice [*spravedlivost*].”¹⁸ In the event, it was not only legality that got short shrift but also social justice. Could there be a logic to the double loss? That is my question.

¹⁸ N. N. Bazhenov, *Psikhologiya i politika* (Moscow, 1906), 6.

Why Mammals Are Called Mammals: Gender Politics in Eighteenth-Century Natural History

LONDA SCHIEBINGER

IN 1758, IN THE TENTH EDITION OF HIS *Systema naturae*, Carolus Linnaeus introduced the term *Mammalia* into zoological taxonomy. For his revolutionary classification of the animal kingdom—hailed in the twentieth century as the starting point of modern zoological nomenclature—Linnaeus devised this word, meaning literally “of the breast,” to distinguish the class of animals embracing humans, apes, ungulates, sloths, sea cows, elephants, bats, and all other organisms with hair, three ear bones, and a four-chambered heart.¹ In so doing, he made the female mammae the icon of that class.

When examining the evolution of Linnaean nomenclature, historians of science have tended to confine their study to developments within the scientific community. They trace the history of classification from Aristotle through Conrad Gesner and John Ray, culminating ultimately with the triumph of Linnaean systematics.² Linnaeus's nomenclature is taken more or less for granted as part of his foundational work in zoology. No one has grappled with the social origins or consequences of the term *Mammalia*. Certainly, no one has questioned the gender politics informing Linnaeus's choice of this term.

It is possible, however, to see the Linnaean coinage as a political act. The presence of milk-producing mammae is, after all, but one characteristic of mammals, as was commonly known to eighteenth-century European naturalists. Furthermore, the mammae are “functional” in only half of this group of animals

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¹ The 10th edition of Linnaeus's *Systema naturae* (1758) and Carl Clerck's *Aranei Svecici* (1757) together form the starting point of modern zoological nomenclature. See *International Code of Zoological Nomenclature*, W. D. L. Ride, ed. (London, 1985), 1: 3. The term *Mammalia* first appeared in a student dissertation, *Natura pelagi*, in 1757 but was not published until 1760. *Amoenitates academicae* (Erlangen, 1788), 5: 68–77.

² The literature on Linnaeus is voluminous. See British Museum, *A Catalogue of the Works of Linnaeus*, 2d edn. (London, 1933); Henri Daudin, *De Linné à Jussieu: Méthodes de la classification* (Paris, 1926); Ernst Mayr, *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); Heinz Goerke, *Linnaeus*, Denver Lindley, trans. (New York, 1973); and Gunnar Broberg, ed., *Linnaeus: Progress and Prospects in Linnaean Research* (Stockholm, 1980). Broberg's *Homo sapiens L.: Studier i Carl von Linnés naturuppfattning och människolära* (Stockholm, 1975), by contrast, considers broader contexts.

(the females) and, among those, for a relatively short period of time (during lactation) or not at all. Linnaeus could have derived a term from a number of equally unique, and perhaps more universal, characteristics of the class he designated mammals, choosing *Pilosa* (the hairy ones—although the significance given hair, and especially beards, was also saturated with gender),³ for example, or *Aurecaviga* (the hollow-eared ones).

In what follows, I will explore how Linnaeus came to call mammals mammals and examine the cultural forces molding his vision of nature—a vision that, in turn, reinforced key political trends within eighteenth-century Europe. I consider first the emergence of the Linnaean term from natural history, retracing traditional history of science in order to understand naturalists' concerns as they devised categories for classification. What alternatives were available to Linnaeus as he thought about how to join humans to the animal kingdom, and how did other naturalists react? Traditional historians of science have stopped after describing struggles within scientific communities. But there is more to the story than that. To understand more fully the meaning of Linnaeus's term requires a foray into the cultural history of the breast. Even though Linnaeus's term may have been new to zoology, the female breast evoked deep, wide-ranging, and often contradictory currents of meaning.

Secondly, there were immediate and pressing political trends that prompted Linnaeus to focus scientific attention on the mammae. Linnaeus venerated the maternal breast at a time when doctors and politicians had begun to extol the virtues of mother's milk. (Linnaeus was a practicing physician and the father of seven children.) Eighteenth-century middle and upper-class women were being encouraged to give up their wet nurses; a Prussian law of 1794 went so far as to require that healthy women nurse their own babies. Linnaeus was involved in the struggle against wet nursing, a struggle that emerged alongside and in step with political realignments undermining women's public power and attaching a new value to women's domestic roles. Gender, indeed, lay at the heart of the eighteenth-century revolutions in views of nature—a matter of consequence in an age that looked to nature as the guiding light for social reform.

IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT GOD CREATED NATURE and Linnaeus gave it order.⁴ Carolus Linnaeus, also known as Carl von Linné, "Knight of the Order of the Polar Star," was the central figure in developing European taxonomy and nomenclature.⁵ His *Systema naturae* treated the three classical kingdoms of nature—animal, vegetable, and mineral—growing from a folio of only twelve pages in 1735 to a three-volume work of 2,400 pages in the twelfth and last edition revised by Linnaeus himself in

³ Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Gender in the Making of Modern Science* (Boston, 1993), chap. 4.

⁴ Albrecht von Haller rather mockingly called him "the second Adam." Gunnar Broberg, "Linnaeus and Genesis," in Broberg, *Linnaeus*, 34.

⁵ Marie-Jean Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, "Eloge de M. de Linné," *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Sciences* (Paris, 1778), 66. Linnaeus was the first man of letters to be awarded this honor.

1766. In the epoch-making tenth edition, Linnaeus gave binomial names (generic and specific) to all the animals known to him, nearly 4,400 species.⁶

Linnaeus divided animals into six classes: *Mammalia*, *Aves*, *Amphibia*, *Pisces*, *Insecta*, and *Vermes*.⁷ Although Linnaeus had based important aspects of plant taxonomy on sexual dimorphism, the class *Mammalia* was the only one of his major zoological divisions to focus on reproductive organs and the only term to highlight a characteristic associated primarily with the female. The names of his other classes came, in many cases, from Aristotle: *Aves* simply means bird; *Amphibia* emphasizes habitat; *Insecta* refers to the segmentation of the body. *Vermes* derives from the color (red-brown) of the common earthworm. Scientific nomenclature was a conservative enterprise in the eighteenth century; suitable terms tended to be conserved and new terms derived by modifying traditional ones. Linnaeus, however, broke with tradition by creating the term *Mammalia*.

In coining the term mammals, Linnaeus abandoned Aristotle's canonical term, *Quadrupedia*. For more than two thousand years, most of the animals we now designate as mammals (along with most reptiles and several amphibians) had been called quadrupeds. While Aristotle had never intended to develop a definitive taxonomy, his analytical distinctions set out in his *Historia animalium* laid the groundwork for European taxonomy. Using a number of diagnostics—mode of subsistence, locomotion, and reproduction—he arranged animals hierarchically along what would later be called the *scala naturae*. Aristotle began by dividing animals into two main groups according to the quality of their blood. "Blooded animals" had warm, red blood and superior qualities of "soul" (*psyche*)—sharp senses, great courage and intelligence; "bloodless animals" had a colorless liquid analogous to blood but with no essential heat. Quadrupeds, then, formed a major category within blooded animals and included all animals going on four feet. Aristotle further separated quadrupeds into two groups: viviparous and hairy with mammae (including many of the animals we now call mammals) and oviparous and scaly (what we now call reptiles and also some amphibians). Birds formed another group within the blooded animals; they were bipedal but not erect. Fish, the final group, were considered imperfect, lacking legs, arms, and wings, and living in water.⁸

Aristotelian categories and terminology remained fundamental to European natural history well into the early modern period. Conrad Gesner's influential *Historiae animalium* (1551) employed Aristotle's division of quadrupeds into viviparous and oviparous by treating each in separate volumes. Within each volume, animals were entered alphabetically. The Italian naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi divided quadrupeds into those with single hooves (horses, for example) and those with cloven hooves (such as cattle, camels, or goats). Gesner and Aldrovandi

⁶ W. T. Stearn, "The Background of Linnaeus's Contributions to the Nomenclature and Methods of Systematic Biology," *Systematic Zoology*, 8 (1959): 4–22; and E. G. Linsley and R. L. Usinger, "Linnaeus and the Development of the International Code of Zoological Nomenclature," *ibid.*, 39–46.

⁷ Carl Linnaeus, *Systema naturae per regna tria naturae*, 10th edn. (Stockholm, 1758).

⁸ Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, in *The Works of Aristotle*, D'arcy Thompson, trans. (Oxford, 1910), vol. 4; G. E. R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology: Studies in the Life Sciences in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1983), 16; Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, A. L. Peck, trans., rev. edn. (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), lxix; and Pierre Pellegrin, *Aristotle's Classification of Animals: Biology and the Conceptual Unity of the Aristotelian Corpus*, Anthony Preus, trans., rev. edn. (Berkeley, Calif., 1986).

continued the medieval practice of reciting all known information—zoological, historical, cultural, and mythical—about any particular animal. Aldrovandi in his discussion of the horse, for example, included the miracles attributed to the creature in various religions, along with poetic allusions, iconographic representations, and a list of coins bearing the equine image. Other taxonomic schema, such as Herman Frey's, followed Levitical categories dividing animals into clean (edible) and unclean (inedible).⁹

John Ray (1627–1705), the great English naturalist, presented the first serious challenge to Aristotelian classification. Aristotle's primary division of animals into blooded and bloodless, Ray noted, was not strictly accurate, since all organisms have a vital fluid. The division of animals into viviparous and oviparous was similarly flawed because all animals come from eggs. More specific to my theme, Ray was the first to question the appropriateness of the term quadruped. Whales, porpoises, and manatees, he pointed out, shared key features with quadrupeds (red blood, a heart with two ventricles, and lungs) but did not have four feet. In his "Table of Classification," Ray removed these animals from the fishes and grouped them with other viviparous quadrupeds. He also suggested that the term quadruped be dropped.¹⁰

Naturalists did not immediately act on Ray's suggestions. Linnaeus, in the first edition of his *Systema naturae* (1735), used the traditional term, *Quadrupedia*. He did, however, raise eyebrows and ire by including humankind (rather uncomfortably) among the quadrupeds. Indeed, it was the question of how to place humans in nature—which Thomas Huxley later called "the question of all questions"—more than anything else that led Linnaeus to abandon *Quadrupedia* and search for something more appropriate.¹¹ Linnaeus was not, of course, the first in modern times to recognize that humans are animals.¹² In 1555, Pierre Belon had pointed to the similarities in the skeletons of a human and a bird, and in 1699 Edward Tyson had dissected a chimpanzee—his *Homo sylvestris*—revealing the "great affinity" between animal and human anatomy.¹³

⁹ Herman Frey, *Biblish Thierbuch* (1595). See Willy Ley, *Dawn of Zoology* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968), 160, 164.

¹⁰ Despite these objections, the term figured prominently in the title of his book. In the text, Ray bowed to tradition, leaving the cetaceans among fishes. John Ray, *Synopsis methodica animalium quadrupedum et serpentini generis* (London, 1693), 55. See also Charles Raven, *John Ray, Naturalist: His Life and Works*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 1950).

¹¹ Thomas Huxley, cited in Ernst Haeckel, *Das Menschen-Problem und die Herrentiere von Linné* (Frankfurt am Main, 1907), 8. Some historians have argued that it was the problem of how to classify the whale that led to Linnaeus's search for new terminology, others that it was the problem of where to place humans in nature; see, for example, William Gregory, "The Orders of Mammals," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* (February 1910): 28; Gunnar Broberg, "Homo sapiens: Linnaeus's Classification of Man," in *Linnaeus: The Man and His Work*, Tore Frängsmyr, ed. (Berkeley, Calif., 1983), 156–94.

¹² Aristotle had included humans among viviparous, hairy quadrupeds in his *Historia animalium*. In the course of the Middle Ages, however, scholastics removed humans from nature, emphasizing instead their proximity to angels. Aldrovandi, Gesner, and Ray expressed this by not including humankind in their zoological treatises at all. Rationality, in their eyes, blessed humans with immortal souls, raising them above brute creation. With the rise of comparative anatomy in the sixteenth century, the animal nature of humankind was less easily denied. Broberg, "Homo sapiens," 156–94.

¹³ Pierre Belon, *L'histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (Paris, 1555), 40–41; Edward Tyson, *Orang-Outang, sive Homo sylvestris; or, The Anatomy of a Pygmie Compared with That of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man* (London, 1699). See Maurice Daumas, *Histoire de la science* (Paris, 1957), 1352.

In setting humans among quadrupeds, Linnaeus called attention to their hairy bodies, four feet (two for locomotion and two for gripping, as he later explained),¹⁴ and the viviparous and lactiferous nature of the females. On the basis of similarities in their teeth (namely, four incisors) he further included humans in his order *Anthropomorpha* (a term he borrowed from Ray) along with apes, monkeys, and sloths. *Anthropomorpha* was changed to *Primates* in the 1758 edition.¹⁵

Linnaeus's ranking of humans among quadrupeds outraged naturalists. They found repugnant his characterization of rational man as a hairy animal with four feet and four incisors. Georges-Louis Leclerc, the Comte de Buffon, born the same year as Linnaeus and his principal rival, made the obvious point that many of the creatures included among Linnaeus's *Quadrupedia* were not quadrupeds at all: humans have two hands and two feet; bats have two feet and no hands; apes have four hands and no feet; and manatees only two "hands."¹⁶ Louis Daubenton, Buffon's assistant at the Jardin du Roi, denounced Linnaeus's entire system as "false" and "inaccurate."¹⁷ Finally, many naturalists rejected as heretical the notion that humans were essentially animals. Holy Scripture, after all, clearly taught that man was created in God's image.¹⁸

Natural historians before Linnaeus had struggled long and hard with the problems of classification. John Ray, often credited with developing binomial nomenclature (although he did not employ it systematically), had used the term *Vivipara* to unite whales and other aquatic mammals with terrestrial quadrupeds. Within his subcategory *Terrestria*, he suggested the term *Pilosa* (hairy animals) as more comprehensive than *Quadrupedia* and thus more suitable for joining amphibious manatees with land-dwelling quadrupeds.¹⁹ Peter Artedi, Linnaeus's close friend and colleague, had called attention to hair in his proposed *Trichozoologia*, or "science of the hirsute animal."²⁰ Linnaeus might well have chosen the more traditional adjective *Pilosa* for his new class of quadrupeds; in his system, hair had the same diagnostic value as mammae.²¹ All mammals (including the whale) have hair, and it is still today considered a distinguishing characteristic of mammals.

But Linnaeus did not draw on tradition; he devised instead a new term,

¹⁴ Carl Linnaeus, *Fauna Svecica: Sistens animalia Sueciae regni* (Stockholm, 1746), preface.

¹⁵ See Londa Schiebinger, "The Gendered Ape: Early Representations of Primates in Europe," in *A Question of Identity: Women, Science, and Literature*, Marina Benjamin, ed. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1993).

¹⁶ Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (Paris, 1749–67), 14: 18.

¹⁷ Cited by Jean Baptiste Bory de Saint-Vincent, *Dictionnaire classique d'histoire naturelle* (Paris, 1825), 8: 270.

¹⁸ See Broberg, "Linnaeus's Classification of Man," 170–74.

¹⁹ Ray, *Synopsis methodica*, "Animalium tabula generalis," 53. See also William Gregory, "Linnaeus as an Intermediary between Ancient and Modern Zoology," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 18 (1908): 21–31, esp. 25. Ray's terms were used as adjectives, not nouns—an important distinction at a time when scholastics still distinguished between essence and accident. Theodor Gill, "The Story of a Word—Mammal," *Popular Science Monthly*, 61 (1902): 434–38.

²⁰ Broberg, "Linnaeus's Classification of Man," 175.

²¹ I have derived this term from Linnaeus's use of *pilus* in his catalogue of mammalian traits (*Systema naturae*, 10th edn., 12). In the early nineteenth century, Lorenz Oken suggested that the class of mammals might better be called *Pilosa* for the uniqueness of their hair. Haeckel also argued for this term, stating that cutaneous glands—either sweat or sebaceous—gave rise to mammary glands, which suggested that in mammalian evolution hair preceded mammae (*Das Menschen-Problem*, 19).

Mammalia. In its defense, Linnaeus remarked that even if his critics did not believe that humans originally walked on all fours, surely every man born of woman must admit that he was nourished by his mother's milk.²² Linnaeus thus called attention to the fact, commonly known since Aristotle, that hairy, viviparous females lactate. Linnaeus was also convinced of the diagnostic value of the teat. As early as 1732, in his *Tour of Lapland*, he had already announced, "If I knew how many teeth and of what peculiar form each animal has, as well as how many udders and where situated, I should perhaps be able to contrive a most natural methodical arrangement of quadrupeds."²³ In the first edition of his *Systema naturae*, he used the number and position of teats or udders to align orders within his class of *Anthropomorpha* (complicating factors being that females and males often have different numbers and that females of the same species may also vary in the number of their teats).²⁴ In 1758, Linnaeus announced the term *Mammalia* in the tenth edition of his *Systema naturae* with the words, "Mammalia, these and no other animals have mammae [mammata]." He seemed quite unconcerned that mammae were not a universal characteristic of the class he intended to distinguish. "All females," he wrote on the following page, "have lactiferous mammae of determinate number, as do males (except for the horse)."²⁵

Mammalia resonated with the older term *animalia*, derived from *anima*, meaning the breath of life or vital spirit.²⁶ The new term also conformed to Linnaeus's own rules for zoological terms: it was pleasing to the ear, easy to say and to remember, and not more than twelve letters long.²⁷ For the rest of his life, Linnaeus fiddled with his system, moving animals from order to order, creating new categories and combinations to better capture nature's order. Yet he never rechristened mammals.

The term *Mammalia* gained almost immediate acceptance.²⁸ There were, however, detractors of note. Buffon scorned the entire project of taxonomy but especially Linnaean taxonomy and nomenclature. For Buffon, the task of the natural historian was to describe each animal precisely—its mode of reproduction, nourishment, customs, and habitat—not to divide nature's bounty into artificial groups with incomprehensible names of Greek or Latin origin. Buffon took particular offense at the prominence Linnaeus gave the breast: "A general character, such as the teat, taken to identify quadrupeds should at least belong to all quadrupeds." (Buffon, like Linnaeus, recognized that stallions, for example,

²² Broberg, *Homo sapiens L.*, 176.

²³ Carl Linnaeus, *Lachesis Lapponica; or, A Tour in Lapland*, James E. Smith, trans. (London, 1811), 1: 191, slightly modified.

²⁴ Pig nipples, for example, vary from between eight and eighteen in number. Ernst Bresslau, *The Mammary Apparatus of the Mammalia in the Light of Ontogenesis and Phylogenesis* (London, 1920), 98.

²⁵ Linnaeus, *Systema naturae* (1758), 14, 16.

²⁶ Gill, "Story of a Word—Mammal," 435.

²⁷ Stearn, "Background of Linnaeus's Contributions to the Nomenclature," 8.

²⁸ Linnaeus's term *Primates* encountered more resistance. Notably, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and Georges Cuvier insisted on separating humans and apes into distinct orders. Blumenbach coined the term *Inermis* (without weapons) for humans, and Cuvier coined the term *Bimanes* (two hands). Each of them called apes *Quadrumanes* (four hands). Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, *Handbuch der Naturgeschichte* (Göttingen, 1779), 57–59; Georges Cuvier, *Le règne animal distribué d'après son organisation* (Paris, 1817), vol. 1.

have no teats.)²⁹ Buffon also complained that Linnaeus's order *Anthropomorpha* lumped together things as different as humans, apes, and sloths. This "violence" was wreaked on the natural scheme of things, he lamented, all because there was "some small relationship between the number of nipples or teeth of these animals or some slight resemblance in the form of their horns."³⁰

Other taxonomists, including Felix Vicq-d'Azyr and Thomas Pennant, continued to use the traditional term, *Quadrupedia*. Still others developed their own alternatives. The Frenchman Henri de Blainville in 1816 tried to rationalize zoological nomenclature, renaming mammals *Pilifera* (having hair), birds *Pen-nifera* (having feathers), and reptiles *Squammifera* (having scales).³¹ In England, John Hunter proposed the term *Tetracoilia*, drawing attention to the four-chambered heart.³²

These critics met with little success. *Mammalia* was adopted by the English as "mammals," although "mammifers" was also occasionally used, and, as one commentator has suggested, the science treating mammals was rather awkwardly rendered as mammalogy, meaning literally "a study of breasts" (and not of breast-bearing animals, which would be more properly mammology or mammalology).³³ The French devised *mammifères*, or the breast-bearers (not *mammaux*, nicely analogous to *animaux*). The Germans refocused matters slightly, creating *Säugetiere*, or "suckling animals," which appropriately drew attention away from the breast and highlighted the act of suckling. (No distinction was made between a mother giving suck and a newborn taking milk.) Linnaeus's term *Mammalia* was retained even after the Darwinian revolution and is today recognized by the International Code of Zoological Nomenclature.

THE WORD "MAMMA"—THE SINGULAR FORM OF "mammas," designating the milk-secreting organs of the female—probably derives from baby talk, being a reduplicated syllable often uttered by young children, who in many countries are taught to use it as their word for mother.³⁴ Linnaeus devised the term *Mammalia* from the Latin *mammas*, intending it to refer to the breast or teat itself as much as to its milk-producing aspects. These terms—breast and teat—are somewhat

²⁹ Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 1: 38–40. The author of the article "Mammifères" in the *Dictionnaire classique d'histoire naturelle* noted that in this period, it was commonly thought that male horses had no teats and consequently that mammas were not a universal characteristic of mammals (Paris, 1826), 10: 74. As John Lyon and Phillip Sloan have pointed out, Buffon may have been thinking of the stallion. Stallions have no teats and usually have inconspicuous rudimentary mammary glands, but even these are not always present. Lyon and Sloan, eds. and trans., *From Natural History to the History of Nature: Readings from Buffon and His Critics* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1981), 94 n. 8.

³⁰ Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 1: 38–40. See also Phillip Sloan, "The Buffon-Linnaeus Controversy," *Isis*, 67 (1976): 356–75; and James Larson, "Linné's French Critics," Broberg, *Linnaeus*, 67–79.

³¹ Henri de Blainville, "Prodrome: D'une nouvelle distribution systématique du règne animal," *Journal de physique*, 83 (1816): 246. See also Toby Appel, "Henri de Blainville and the Animal Series: A Nineteenth-Century Chain of Being," *Journal of the History of Biology*, 13 (1980): 291–319, esp. 301.

³² John Hunter, *Essays and Observations on Natural History, Anatomy, Physiology, Psychology, and Geology*, Richard Owen, ed. (London, 1861), 1: 25.

³³ Gill, "Story of a Word—Mammal," 436–37. See also *Dictionnaire pittoresque d'histoire naturelle*, 4 (1836), s.v. "Mammifères."

³⁴ Mamma meaning breast first appeared in English in 1579. Henry Skinner, *The Origin of Medical Terms* (Baltimore, Md., 1949), 223.

ambiguous. Teat sometimes refers to the nipple of a cow, sheep, or goat but also refers to the internal structures of the mammary gland. In humans (and some birds), breast refers to the chest area as well as to the milk-producing organ in the female. Today, it is the mammary gland with its milk-producing structures that defines the class *Mammalia*. Two groups fit uncomfortably in this taxon: males, with their dry and barren vestigial breasts, and monotremes (egg-laying mammals such as the duckbilled platypus, spiny echidna, and anteater), which have mammary glands but no nipples.³⁵

The question of why males have breasts at all has long plagued naturalists. The eighteenth-century medical doctor Louis de Jaucourt addressed this issue as one of six basic questions about the breast in his article, "Mamelle," for Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*. Jaucourt, who also wrote a well-known entry on "Femme," noted that the particular cast of the human body and its parts answered to nature's need to conserve the species and that even though some parts, such as male breasts, may be superfluous, nature did not take them away. He was quick to argue that male breasts are not defective, that in many cases milk flows in great abundance from them. That males rarely produce milk was to be traced to the absence of menstrual blood—the source of milk. According to Jaucourt, with the onset of puberty, blood surges throughout the female body, causing young women's breasts to "inflate"; the passion of love also experienced at this age causes them to inflate even further. Men do not have menses, the author continued, and therefore their breasts—though anatomically similar to women's—never inflate.³⁶

The fanciful notion that males are, indeed, capable of producing milk was popular among naturalists. Aristotle had considered it an omen of extraordinary good fortune when a male goat produced milk in such quantities that cheese could be made from it.³⁷ Eighteenth-century naturalists reported the secretion of a fatty milky substance—"witch's milk"—from the breasts of male as well as female newborns. Buffon related many examples of the male breast filling with milk at the onset of puberty. A boy of fifteen, for example, pressed from one of his breasts more than a spoonful of "true" milk.³⁸ John Hunter offered the example of a father who nursed his eight children. This man began nursing when his wife was unable to satisfy a set of twins. "To soothe the cries of the male child," Hunter wrote, "the father applied his left nipple to the infant's mouth, who drew milk from it in such quantity as to be nursed in perfectly good health." (The father also shared with his wife all other domestic duties.) Considering milk production within the bounds of normal male physiology, Hunter dutifully noted that the man "was not a hermaphrodite."³⁹

³⁵ Blumenbach claimed that male hamsters and dormice do not have breasts but did not for this reason remove them from the class of mammals. *Handbuch der Naturgeschichte*, 46.

³⁶ *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Paris, 1751–65), vol. 10, s.v. "Mamelle."

³⁷ Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 522a.

³⁸ Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*, 2: 543.

³⁹ Hunter, *Essays and Observations on Natural History*, 238–39. Males nursing infants was a popular theme. In the nineteenth century, travelers made the remarkable claim that Brazilian men nurse all infants ("Mammifères," *Dictionnaire classique d'histoire naturelle*, 10: 105). Other travelers claimed that God had bestowed on the men of eastern Ethiopia "breasts of milk as amply supplied as those of the women." In Portugal, a man fifty years old was said to have suckled two orphans of a female relation.

Despite dramatic examples such as these, most naturalists recognized that the male breast was barren. Why, then, did males have breasts at all? Erasmus Darwin, Charles Darwin's grandfather, suggested that the vestigial male teat lent credence to Plato's theory that mammals had hermaphroditic origins and only later developed into distinct males and females.⁴⁰ Late into the nineteenth century, comparative anatomists continued to embrace the notion that some remote progenitor of the vertebrate kingdom had been androgynous.⁴¹ Charles Darwin, following Clémence Royer, suggested that in an earlier age male mammals had aided females in nursing their offspring and that later, some pattern of events (such as smaller litters) rendered male assistance unnecessary. The disuse of the organ led to its becoming vestigial, and this was passed on to future generations.⁴² Today, naturalists emphasize that many organs in the male and female, such as the clitoris and penis, and the labia majora and scrotal sac, are identical in the early embryos and only later—after the action of various hormones—develop along different paths.⁴³

Along with males, monotremes might also be considered only honorary mammals. Female monotremes have functional mammary glands, but, unlike all other mammals they have no nipples. Milk is secreted through numerous pores onto the mother's belly, where her babies lap it up. The platypus, the first of these animals to reach Europe (from Australia), baffled early nineteenth-century taxonomists. Some naturalists suspected that it had been fabricated by foreign taxidermists, already notorious for their willingness to feed European curiosity by producing "mermaids" from the heads of monkeys sewn to the tails of fish. But the question of whether the platypus was a reptile, bird, mammal, or a completely new class of animal was not resolved even after George Shaw, working at the British Museum, determined that the skin he received in 1799 (eleven years after Linnaeus's death) was from a genuine animal. Because of its curious melange of characteristics, the German zoologist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach christened it *Ornithorhynchus paradoxus*.⁴⁴

Shaw, having only a stuffed skin to work with, knew nothing of the platypus's internal structure and classified it as a quadruped (order *Bruta*) for its abundant "beaver-like" fur.⁴⁵ Zoologists imagined that this furry animal—like other mam-

Joano dos Santos, "History of Eastern Ethiopia," in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World* (London, 1808), vol. 16: 697. Centuries earlier, Aristotle had spoken of an androgynous race of people, their left breast being that of a man and their right breast that of a woman. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, H. Rackham, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), 7.ii, 14–17.

⁴⁰ Erasmus Darwin, *Zoonomia; or, The Laws of Organic Life* (London, 1796), 1: 512.

⁴¹ G. Gegenbauer cited in Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871; rpt. edn., London, 1913), 251 n. 29.

⁴² Darwin, *Descent of Man*, 249–53. Darwin cited Royer's *Origine de l'homme et des sociétés* (Paris, 1870). On Royer, see Joy Harvey, "Strangers to Each Other: Male and Female Relations in the Life and Work of Clémence Royer," *Uneasy Careers and Intimate Lives: Women in Science, 1789–1979*, Prina G. Abir-Am and Dorinda Outram, eds. (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987), 147–71.

⁴³ Stephen Jay Gould, "Freudian Slip," *Natural History* (February 1987): 14–19.

⁴⁴ My account of the platypus is taken from Harry Burrell's classic, *The Platypus* (Sydney, 1927), 1–45.

⁴⁵ Shaw's report is reprinted in Carl Linnaeus, *A General System of Nature*, William Turton, trans. (London, 1806), 1: 30–32.

mals—bore live young and suckled them. Everard Home, the English anatomist who dissected a female and a male that had come to him preserved in alcohol in 1802, found no uterus, no nipples, and no mammary glands. (The mammary glands of the non-nursing female are so small that they are easily overlooked.) From his investigation, Home suggested that the reproductive organs of the female platypus most closely resembled those of the ovoviviparous lizards, whose young are produced from eggs that hatch within the females' bodies.⁴⁶

In the taxonomic wars that raged for more than thirty years over the classification of the platypus, the French zoologists Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and Jean-Baptiste Lamarck faced off against the German Johann Meckel and his French colleague Blainville. Meckel and Blainville insisted that the platypus was a mammal, predicting viviparity and mammary glands. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire adamantly refused to see it as a mammal, asserting (wrongly) that it lacked mammary glands and predicting (correctly) that it would be found to lay eggs. In 1803, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire coined the term *Monotremata* ("one-holed"), emphasizing the reptilian structure of the platypus's reproductive tract. (Females and males have only one opening, the cloaca, for all excretory and reproductive functions; male mammals have two such openings, while females have three.) In 1822, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire established *Monotremata* as a fifth class of vertebrates, ranked alongside mammals, birds, reptiles (including amphibians), and fishes.⁴⁷

The debate continued even after Meckel discovered mammary glands in the platypus in 1824. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, still committed to seeing the platypus as something other than a mammal, refused to admit that the glands Meckel found produced milk, arguing instead that they were odoriferous glands similar to those found in shrews and used for attracting mates. (Milk production was not demonstrated until 1832.) After discovering the platypus's mammary glands, Meckel predicted that these animals would also prove to be viviparous, placing them squarely among the mammals. It was not until 1884, however, that it was confirmed that platypuses lay eggs like reptiles. Despite its nippleless mammae and ovoviviparity, the platypus is still today classed among mammals, where George Shaw placed it for its abundant hair in 1799. It is included within an egg-laying subclass of mammals (*Prototheria*) along with anteaters and is distinguished from both marsupial and placental mammals. Thus mammals can be mammals whether or not they have fully developed, functional mammae.

WERE THERE GOOD REASONS FOR LINNAEUS to name mammals mammals? This question implies a logic uncharacteristic of the naming process. Names of taxa collect over time, and unless there is a technical problem—as was the case with the term *Quadrupedia*—they pass unchanged from generation to generation. Naturalists also name plants and animals for other than empirical reasons. Plants or

⁴⁶ Home, cited in Burrell, *Platypus*, 22–23, 27.

⁴⁷ The German anatomist Friedrich Tiedemann left open the question of where to classify the platypus. Lamarck created a new class, *Prototheria*. (He would not consider them mammals because they had no mammary glands and were probably oviparous; they certainly were not birds, nor were they reptiles, since they possessed a four-chambered heart). Burrell, *Platypus*, 30.

animals that are pleasing are often named after a wife or colleague, while a particularly odious species might be given the name of a professional rival (for instance, *Siegesbeckia*, a small and unpleasant flowering weed that Linnaeus named after Johann Siegesbeck, a critic of his sexual system).⁴⁸

Zoological nomenclature—like all language—is to some degree arbitrary; naturalists devise convenient terms to identify groups of animals. But nomenclature is also historical, growing out of specific contexts, conflicts, and circumstances. The historian can fairly ask why a certain term was coined. In coining the term *Mammalia*, Linnaeus intended to highlight an essential trait of that class of animals. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire and Georges Cuvier, in their article “Mammalogie” for the *Magazin encyclopédique* of 1795, summed up the practice of eighteenth-century taxonomists, stating that primary organs determine classes, while secondary organs determine orders. In 1827, Cuvier continued to argue that the mammae distinguish the class bearing their name better than any other external characteristic.⁴⁹

Is Cuvier’s statement, in fact, true? Does the longevity of Linnaeus’s term reflect the fact that he was simply right, that the mammae do represent a primary, universal, and unique characteristic of mammals (as would have been the parlance of the eighteenth century)? Yes and no. Paleontologists today identify the mammary gland as one of at least six uniquely mammalian characteristics.⁵⁰ Still, Linnaeus was perhaps overly exuberant in singling out the breast or teat itself—a sexually charged part of the female body—rather than its function. One could argue that the term *Lactantia* (the lactating ones, derived from Linnaeus’s own description of female mammae) would have better captured the significance of the mammae; certainly, Linnaeus was wrong to think that the number and position of the teats themselves were significant. But *Lactantia* still refers exclusively to females. *Lactentia* or *Sugentia* (both meaning “the sucking ones”) would have better universalized the term, since male as well as female young suckle at their mothers’ breasts.

The fact remains that the mammae were only one among several traits that could have been highlighted. Even by eighteenth-century criteria, there was not one characteristic alone that could determine class assignment. As Buffon recognized, species—defined for sexually reproducing organisms as members of a group of individuals that can produce fertile offspring—is the only taxon that exists in nature.⁵¹ This does not mean that higher units—genera, families, orders,

⁴⁸ Ronald King in Robert Thornton, *The Temple of Flora* (1799; rpt. edn., Boston, 1981), 9. Linnaeus sometimes named new genera after friends and colleagues, intending to suggest a spiritual likeness between the individual and the plant or animal in question; Benjamin Jackson, *Linnaeus* (London, 1923), 278. Linnaeus also ranked his colleagues as “Officers in Flora’s Army” according to his evaluation of their scientific merit. His list was headed by “General Linnaeus”; the lowliest rank was assigned to Siegesbeck. Goerke, *Linnaeus*, 108.

⁴⁹ Cuvier, *Le règne animal*, 1: 76.

⁵⁰ The other characteristics are: a jaw articulation formed by the squamosal and the dentary; a chain of three bones, malleus, incus, and stapes connecting the tympanic membrane to the inner ear; the presence of hair or fur; the left aortic arch in the systemic arch; and cheek teeth with divided roots. D. M. Kermack and K. A. Kermack, *The Evolution of Mammalian Characters* (London, 1984), vii; see also T. S. Kemp, *Mammal-like Reptiles and the Origin of Mammals* (London, 1982).

⁵¹ Scott Atran, *Cognitive Foundations of Natural History: Towards an Anthropology of Science* (Cambridge, 1990), 316 nn. 23–24.

classes, and on up—are arbitrary; these must be consistent with evolutionary genealogy.⁵² Yet, as we have seen, Linnaeus could have chosen from equally valid terms such as *Pilosa*, *Aurecaviga*, *Lactentia*, or *Sugentia*. Because Linnaeus had choices, I suggest that his focus on the breast responded to broader cultural and political trends.

LONG BEFORE LINNAEUS, the female breast had been a powerful icon in Western cultures, representing both the sublime and bestial in human nature.⁵³ The grotesque, withered breasts on witches and devils represented temptations of wanton lust, sins of the flesh, and humanity fallen from paradise. The firm spherical breasts of Aphrodite, the Greek ideal, represented an otherworldly beauty and virginity. During the French Revolution, the bared female breast—embodied in the strident Marianne—became a resilient symbol of freedom.⁵⁴ From the multi-breasted Diana of Ephesus to the fecund-bosomed Nature, the breast symbolized generation, regeneration, and renewal.

Linnaeus created his term *Mammalia* in response to the question of humans' place in nature. In his quest to find an appropriate term for (what we would call) a taxon uniting humans and beasts, Linnaeus made the breast—and specifically the fully developed female breast—the icon of the highest class of animals. It might be argued that, by privileging a uniquely female characteristic in this way, Linnaeus broke with longstanding traditions that saw the male as the measure of all things. In the Aristotelian tradition, the female had been seen as a misbegotten male, a monster or error of nature. By honoring the mammae as sign and symbol of the highest class of animals, Linnaeus assigned a new value to the female, especially women's unique role in reproduction.

It is important to note, however, that in the same volume in which Linnaeus introduced the term *Mammalia*, he also introduced the name *Homo sapiens*. This term, “man of wisdom,” was used to distinguish humans from other primates (apes, lemurs, and bats, for example). In the language of taxonomy, *sapiens* is what is known as a “trivial” name. (Linnaeus at one point pondered the choice of the

⁵² Stephen Jay Gould, “A Quahog Is a Quahog,” in Gould, *The Panda's Thumb: More Reflections in Natural History* (New York, 1980), 204–07.

⁵³ The cultural significance of the breast and mother's milk is a vast and as yet insufficiently studied topic; here I want to touch on only those aspects relevant to Linnaeus's work. Marina Warner's *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York, 1976) and her *Monuments and Maidens: The Allegory of the Female Form* (London, 1985) along with Caroline Bynum's *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Calif., 1982) are extremely helpful, although they focus primarily on the Middle Ages. Heinz Kirchhoff's article “Die künstlerische Darstellung der weiblichen Brust als Attribut der Weiblichkeit und Fruchtbarkeit als auch der Spende der Lebenskraft und der Weisheit,” *Geburtshilfe und Frauenheilkunde*, 50 (1990): 234–43, is very rich but is written, like Erich Neumann's *Grosse Mutter: Der Archetyp des grossen Weiblichen* (Zurich, 1956), from a rather wooden Jungian perspective without attention to historical context. Helpful materials are also found in Anne Hollander, *Seeing through Clothes* (New York, 1978); and Françoise Borin, “Arrêt sur image,” *Histoire des femmes en Occident: XVI^e–XVIII^e*, Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, eds. (Paris, 1991), 213–19. A good cultural history of the breast and mother's milk is much needed.

⁵⁴ See Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), esp. pt. 1; also Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, chaps. 12–13.

name *Homo diurnus*, designed to contrast with *Homo nocturnus*.)⁵⁵ From a historical point of view, however, the choice of the term *sapiens* is highly significant. "Man" had traditionally been distinguished from animals by his reason; the medieval apposition, *animal rationale*, proclaimed his uniqueness.⁵⁶ Thus, within Linnaean terminology, a female characteristic (the lactating mamma) ties humans to brutes, while a traditionally male characteristic (reason) marks our separateness.

The notion that woman—lacking male perfections of mind and body—resides nearer the beast is an ancient one. Among all the organs of a woman's body, her reproductive organs were considered most animal-like. For Plato, the uterus was an animal with its own sense of smell, wandering within the female body and leaving disease and destruction in its path.⁵⁷ Galen and even Vesalius (for a time) reported that the uterus had horns. The milk production of the female breast had already been taken to link humans with animals. Aristotle, in his *Historia animalium*, had recognized that all internally viviparous animals—women, sheep, horses, cows, and whales, for example—nurse their young. Beyond noting how breast size relates to milk production and noting the number and position of teats in various animals, Aristotle was not much interested in the breast itself. His interest lay more in the utility and variety of milk from different animals—which among these made the tastiest cheese and which kinds of grasses promoted milk production.⁵⁸

In Judaic traditions, too, the discomfort women felt during menstruation and childbirth were considered curses, rendering them unclean, undesirable, and beastlike. The disgust associated with menstruation also sullied lactation; Aristotle's theory that lactation was related to menstruation remained current in the West until well into the eighteenth century. For Aristotle, milk was concocted blood, which in males was secreted as semen. In nonpregnant females, this blood was secreted as menstrual fluid, in pregnant women, as a vital fluid nourishing their embryos, and in postpartum women, as milk for newborns.⁵⁹

Myths and legends also portrayed suckling as a point of close connection between humans and beasts, suggesting the interchangeability of human and animal breasts in this respect. A nanny goat, Amaltheia, was said to have nursed

⁵⁵ Broberg has shown that Linnaeus first used the term *sapiens* in 1753 to denote a species of monkey referred to as *Simia sapiens*—a species said to play a mean game of backgammon ("Homo sapiens," 176). Linnaeus wrote of "trivial names" in reference to botany: "I have put trivial names in the margin so that without more ado we can represent one plant by one name; these I have taken, it is true, without special choice, leaving this for another day. However, I would warn some solemnly all sensible botanists not to propose a trivial name without adequate specific distinction, lest the science fall back into its early crude state." Cited in John Heller, *Studies in Linnaean Method and Nomenclature* (Frankfurt, 1983), 278.

⁵⁶ Linnaeus saw reason as the principle characteristic distinguishing humans from other animals. In the preface to his *Fauna Suecica* (1746), he called reason "the most noble thing of all" that places humans above all others. See also H. W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1952), 74–75.

⁵⁷ Plato, *Timaeus*, 91c. Plato seemed uncertain whether woman should be classed with brute beasts or rational beings. Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge, 1980), 31.

⁵⁸ Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, 500a, 521b, 582a. Throughout the Middle Ages, there was little interest in mammae as a marker of sexual difference. See Joan Cadden, *The Meanings of Sexual Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Natural Philosophy, and Culture* (Cambridge, 1992).

⁵⁹ Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 776a–777a. Aristotle saw milk production as natural and good; he argued against Empedocles, who saw milk as a whitish pus emanating from putrefied blood.

the young Zeus.⁶⁰ A she-wolf served as the legendary nurse to Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome. From the Middle Ages to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, bears and wolves were reported to have suckled abandoned children (Figure 1). Children were thought to imbibe certain characteristics of the animals that nursed them—the “wild Peter” found in northern Germany in 1724 grew thick hair all over his body as a result of his nurturance at the breast of a bear. Linnaeus believed that ancient heroes, put to the breast of the lioness, absorbed her great courage along with her milk.⁶¹

In rarer instances, humans were reported even to have suckled animals. Veronica Giuliani, beatified by Pius II (1405–1464), took a real lamb to bed with her and suckled it at her breast in memory of the lamb of God.⁶² European voyagers reported that native South Americans kept their breasts active by letting animals of all kinds feed from them. In Siam, women were said to have suckled apes.⁶³ The practice of animals suckling at human breasts was also reported in Europe. William Godwin recorded that as Mary Wollstonecraft lay dying after childbirth, the doctor forbade the child the breast and “procured puppies to draw off the milk.”⁶⁴

Linnaeus thus followed well-established Western conceptions when he suggested that women belong to nature in ways that men do not.⁶⁵ As Carolyn Merchant has shown, nature itself has been conceived as female in most Western intellectual traditions.⁶⁶ The identification of woman with the fecund and nurturing qualities of nature was highlighted in the influential eighteenth-century artists and engravers Hubert François Gravelot and Charles Cochin’s personification of Nature as a virgin, her breasts dripping with milk (Figure 2).⁶⁷

It is significant that Linnaeus used the mammiferous Diana of the Ephesians, an ancient symbol of animal and human fertility, as the frontispiece to his *Fauna Svecica*, where he first defended his inclusion of humans among the quadrupeds (Figure 3).⁶⁸ Linnaeus’s Diana, half captive in the fecund earth, emerges to

⁶⁰ Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 194.

⁶¹ Carl Linnaeus, “Nutrix noverca,” respondent F. Lindberg (1752), *Amoenitates academicae* (Erlangen, 1787), 3: 262–63. Goats and other animals were used to suckle syphilitic children in founding hospitals in the eighteenth century or when there was a shortage of human nurses. Valerie Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford, 1988), 147.

⁶² Mervyn Levy, *The Moons of Paradise: Some Reflections on the Appearance of the Female Breast in Art* (London, 1962), 55.

⁶³ Hermann Ploss, Max Bartels, and Paul Bartels, *Woman: An Historical, Gynaecological and Anthropological Compendium*, Eric John Dingwall, ed. (German edn., 1885; St. Louis, Mo., 1936), 3: 211.

⁶⁴ William Godwin, *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London, 1798), 183.

⁶⁵ Petrus Camper did not explain why he used a female figure to illustrate the art of transforming “a quadruped into the human figure.” *The Works of the Late Professor Camper: On the Connexion between the Science of Anatomy and the Arts of Drawing, Painting, Statuary, &c.*, T. Cogan, trans. (London, 1794), plate 7, fig. 13.

⁶⁶ Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco, 1980).

⁶⁷ Charles Cochin and Hubert François Gravelot, *Iconologie par figures; ou, Traité complet des allégories, emblèmes &c* (1791; rpt. edn., Geneva, 1972), s.v. “Nature.” Erasmus Darwin also portrayed “Nature” as multi-breasted in *The Temple of Nature* (London, 1803), frontispiece.

⁶⁸ Linnaeus, *Fauna Svecica*, frontispiece. Otto Gertz has suggested that Linnaeus provided the engraver with the initial design for this frontispiece. “Artemis och Hinden: Frontispisplanschen i Linnés *Fauna Svecica*,” *Svenska Linné-Sällskapets Årsskrift*, 31 (1948): 20.



FIGURE 1: A bear suckling a child, from Bernard Connor, *The History of Poland* (London, 1697), 1: 342. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.



FIGURE 2: Nature portrayed as a young virgin. Though a virgin, her breasts are shown dripping with mother's milk (the virgin mother is a persistent theme in Christianity, where the ideal female is both chaste and fecund). Nature's nudity expresses the simplicity of her essence. The lion and stag are symbols of chastity. The multi-breasted Diana of the Ephesians in the background represents the ancients' image of nature, "the Mother of all Being." From Charles Cochin and Hubert François Gravelot, *Iconologie par figures; ou, Traité complet des allégories, emblèmes &c* (1791; rpt. edn., Geneva, 1972), s.v. "Nature." Courtesy of the Pennsylvania State University Libraries.

display her womb—the center of life—and her nourishing breasts.⁶⁹ In this classic image, her curiously immobilized trunk is covered with symbols of both fertility (bees, acorns, bulls, crabs) and chastity (stags, lions, roses). Her pendulous breasts, heavy with milk, represent the life force of nature, mother and nurse of all living things.⁷⁰

For Linnaeus to suggest, then, that humans shared with animals the capacity to suckle their young was nothing new. This uniquely female feature had long been considered less than human. But it had also been considered more than human. In the Christian world, milk had been seen as providing sustenance—for both body and spirit. Throughout the Middle Ages, the faithful cherished vials of the Virgin's milk as a healing balm, a symbol of mercy, an eternal mystery. As Marina Warner has pointed out, the Virgin Mary endured none of the bodily pleasures and pains associated with childbearing (menstruation, sexual intercourse, pregnancy, or labor) except for suckling. The tender Madonna suckled the infant Jesus both as his historical mother and as the metaphysical image of the nourishing Mother Church.⁷¹ During the twelfth century, maternal imagery—especially suckling and nurturing—extended also to church fathers. Abbots and prelates were encouraged to “mother” the souls in their charge, to expose their breasts and let their bosoms expand with the milk of consolation.⁷² Even the full breasts of God the Father were said to be milked by the Holy Spirit into the cup of the Son of God.⁷³

In subcurrents of religious thought, mother's milk was thought to impart knowledge. Philosophia-Sapientia, the personification of wisdom, suckled philosophers at her breasts moist with the milk of knowledge and moral virtue (Figure 4). Augustine of Hippo, too, imagined himself drinking from the breasts of Sapientia.⁷⁴ Centuries later, men of science still sought the secrets of (female)

⁶⁹ Neumann, *Die Grosse Mutter*, 128.

⁷⁰ In the original statues of Diana *multimammia*, her visible body parts—head, neck, hands, and feet—were made from dark stone. Her breasts, by contrast, were made from lighter stone. Robert Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (Leiden, 1973); and George Elderkin, “Diana of the Ephesians,” *Art in America*, 25 (1937): 54–63. Linnaeus's epithet “Nosce te ipsum” (know thyself) appended to *Homo* in the first edition of his *Systema naturae* was also taken from the Temple of Diana. By the late eighteenth century, nature was often portrayed as a tender mother, patiently nursing her children (see Daniel Chodowiecki's “Genius of Art”). Hermann Thiersch, *Artemis Ephesia: Eine archäologische Untersuchung* (Berlin, 1935–), 121, plate 70. Jane Sharp, the English midwife, noted that polymastia (more than two breasts) sometimes occurred in women. *The Midwives Book; or, The Whole Art of Midwifery Discovered: Directing Childbearing Women How to Behave Themselves* (London, 1671), 336.

⁷¹ Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 192, 200; *Monuments and Maidens*, 283. Whether the Virgin menstruated was much discussed in the Middle Ages; many theologians, committed to a new emphasis on Incarnation, argued that she did. Cadden, *Meanings of Sexual Difference in the Middle Ages*, 174–75.

⁷² Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*, 115. See also Erwin Panofsky, ed., *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures* (Princeton, N.J., 1946), 30–31.

⁷³ Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, 194.

⁷⁴ The pictorial representation of *sapientia lactans* dates to the early fifteenth century. The seal of Cambridge University portrays the naked *Alma Mater Cantabrigia* with milk streaming from her breasts. W. S. Heckscher, “Spiritualia sub metaphoris corporalium,” *University of Toronto Quarterly*, 16 (1946–47): 212 n. 9. See also Peter Dronke, “Bernard Silvestris, Natura, and Personification,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1980): 16–31, esp. 28–29; Klaus Lange, “Geistliche Speise,” *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 95 (1966): 81–122; and Lieselotte Möller, “Nährmutter Weisheit,” *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 24 (1950): 347–59.



FIGURE 3: Frontispiece to Linnaeus's *Fauna Svecica* (1746), featuring a many-breasted Diana. Linnaeus's Diana is relatively modest with only four breasts; earlier depictions often featured twenty-eight or more breasts, sometimes encircling her entire upper body. Diana's breasts, spouting water, also became a favorite motif for fountains (those at Villa d'Este, Tivoli, for example). By permission of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Sign.: Lv 11 575).

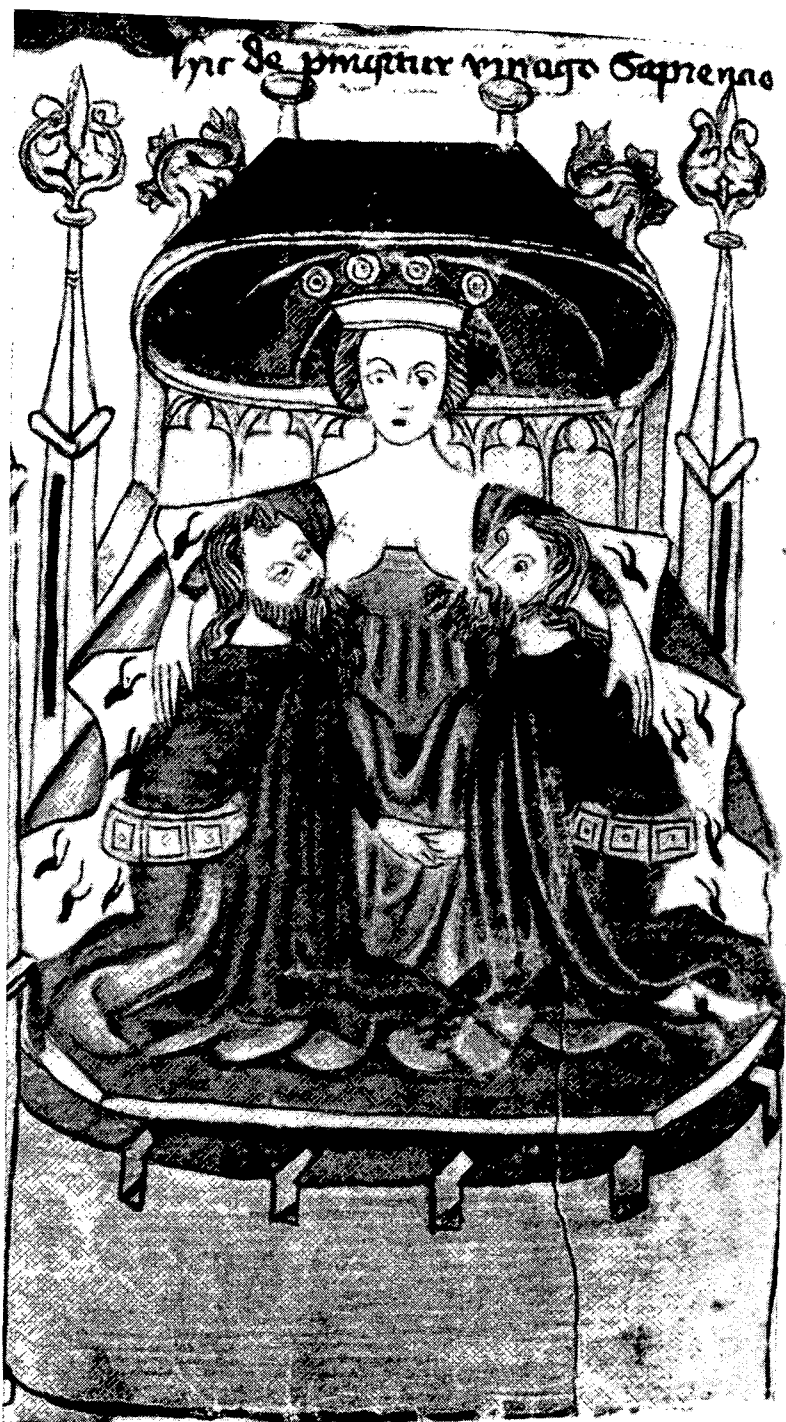


FIGURE 4: Sapientia (the personification of wisdom) suckling two philosophers. From a fifteenth-century German manuscript, reproduced in Lieselotte Möller, "Nährmutter Weisheit," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, 24 (1950), fig. 2, facing 351.

nature within her bosom, though with a rather different purpose. Goethe waxed poetic on the point: "Infinite Nature, where are thy breasts, those well-springs of all life on which hang heaven and earth, toward which my withered breast strains?"⁷⁵ For Goethe, at least, the scientist's new desire was not to suckle at the breast of nature but to imitate its nourishing power.

Mother's milk was valued for its medicinal as well as its spiritual virtues. As a cure for deafness, Sicilians drank the milk of a woman who had borne a first son. Mother's milk was used as an abortifacient in sixteenth-century Germany. In Alsace, it served as a remedy for consumption. It was also used for treating earaches, fevers, and sores.⁷⁶ Linnaeus recommended it to adults as a laxative. Mother's milk was considered regenerative: legend held that the sixteenth-century priest Bartolomé de Las Casas, defender of Native Americans against the horrors of Spanish conquest, was nursed back to life by a native woman.⁷⁷

In a certain sense, Linnaeus's focus on the milk-bearing breast was at odds with trends that found beauty (though not necessarily salvation) in the virginal breast. In both Greek and Christian traditions, the ideal breast was an unused one—small, firm, and spherical; the process of milk swelling the breast was thought to deform it. Mythical female figures—the goddesses Artemis and Aphrodite, the martial Amazons (who supposedly burned away one breast so that their bows would lie flat against their chests), and the nursing mother of Christ—were all virgins.⁷⁸ Of all the female Virtues, only Charity possessed a non-virginal body: infants drank maternal bounty, love, and humility from her breasts.⁷⁹

The classic aesthetic ideal of the firm, unused breast was realized in the bodies of many upper-class medieval and early modern European women who avoided the burden of suckling their own children.⁸⁰ François Clouet's painting of Henri II's mistress, Diane de Poitiers, naked in her bath, contrasts the smallness of her classic, rosy bosom to the swollen breasts of the wet nurse suckling a child in the

⁷⁵ Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust: Eine Tragödie* (1808–32; rpt. edn., Munich, 1962), 19. In a book dedicated to Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt featured a frontispiece showing the spirit of poetry unveiling "the mystery of nature." Nature is personified as the multimammæ Diana. See Alexander von Humboldt, *Reise von Alexander von Humboldt und Aimé Bonpland* (Tübingen, 1807). I thank David Hull for calling this to my attention. In the Middle Ages, it was commonly thought that fundamental causes could be discovered "in the most secret recesses of Natura's Breasts" (Dronke, "Bernard Silvestris," 25). The nineteenth-century statue "Nature Unveiling before Science" featured in the foyer of the Paris medical faculty bares only the breasts and the face. See Merchant, *Death of Nature*, fig. 17; also Ludmilla J. Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Madison, Wis., 1989), chap. 5.

⁷⁶ Ploss and Bartels, *Woman*, 3: 233–34.

⁷⁷ Kirchhoff, "Die künstlerische Darstellung der weiblichen Brust," 240.

⁷⁸ Grotesque art of the late Middle Ages depicted breasts being cut off as a form of torture. Saints Agnes and Barbara were said to have suffered this fate. Margaret Miles, *Carnal Knowing: Female Nakedness and Religious Meaning in the Christian West* (Boston, 1989), 156.

⁷⁹ Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, 281. In eighteenth-century France, Charity appeared in propaganda to encourage maternal nursing. T. G. H. Drake, "The Wet Nurse in France in the Eighteenth Century," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 8 (1940): 944.

⁸⁰ The paintings of Peter Paul Rubens featured voluptuous breasts. In the seventeenth century all across Europe, breasts were shown to be larger and rounder than in the sixteenth century. Anne Hollander has traced changing ideals of the breast, showing that the bared breast, in the fourteenth century a symbol of maternal self-sacrifice and in the fifteenth century a symbol of Amazonian heroism, became in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a sexual ornament and expression of pure eroticism (*Seeing through Clothes*, chap. 3). See also Bernard Mandeville, *The Virgin Unmask'd; or, Female Dialogues betwixt an Elderly Maiden Lady, and Her Niece . . .* (London, 1709).

background. (Nurses' nipples were said to "grow black" with overuse and old age).⁸¹ Wealthy women in Europe bore children but most often did not nurse them. For this task, women were employed who were considered closer to nature: peasants and, in overseas colonies, native women and women of African descent ("often but one remove above a brute," in the words of one observer).⁸² Even when, late in the eighteenth century, fashionable women did for a while nurse their infants, the shape and size of the breast was at issue. Moderately sized, nicely oval breasts with small but protuberant nipples were thought to produce better milk than large, pendulous breasts.⁸³

Ideals of the breast, however, changed over time. After roughly the 1750s, the maternal breast vied for a while with the virginal for cultural preeminence. Literary critic Barbara Gelphi has traced the way in which the maternal breast was eroticized in late eighteenth-century medical literature. Male physicians, including Erasmus Darwin, described in rapturous prose the sensuous pleasures experienced by nursing infants. Darwin went so far as to attribute to the curvaceous breast filled with milk the origins of the human idea of beauty—an idea impressed on the senses of the infant. Medical eroticization of the maternal breast paralleled changing fashions in women's clothing, which by the end of the century was designed to expose the full shape of the breast and nipple. Gelphi argues that this new fashion was as much cultivated by women as imposed on them. While, for legislators, the breast came to guarantee women's disenfranchisement (see below), women, adopting Jean-Jacques Rousseau's vocabulary of the new domesticity, flaunted their breasts to celebrate their new-found power to nurture the future sons of the state (a power, Gelphi emphasizes, that was restricted to the confines of the home).⁸⁴

Colonial relations also affected perceptions of the breast. Late nineteenth-century anthropologists classified breasts by beauty in the same way that they measured skulls for intelligence (Figure 5). The ideal breast—for all races—was once again young and virginal. Europeans preferred the compact "hemispherical" type, found, it was said, only among whites and Asians. The much-maligned breasts of African (especially Hottentot) women were dismissed as flabby and pendulous, similar to the udders of goats.⁸⁵ When women of African descent were portrayed sympathetically, they were typically shown having firm, spherical

⁸¹ Sharp, *Midwives Book*, 360.

⁸² Pinkerton, *General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages*, 11: 194.

⁸³ Mary Lindemann, "Love for Hire: The Regulation of the Wet-Nursing Business in Eighteenth-Century Hamburg," *Journal of Family History*, 6 (1981): 382. Midwives, such as Jane Sharp, were concerned that overly large breasts might become cancerous. Sharp, *Midwives Book*, 337. Sharp's concern was with milk production, not the beauty of the breast.

⁸⁴ Barbara Gelphi, *Shelley's Goddess: Maternity, Language, Subjectivity* (New York, 1992), 43–60. See also Jean Block, "Women and Reform of the Nation," *French Women and the Age of Enlightenment*, Samia I. Spencer, ed. (Bloomington, Ind., 1984), 3–18.

⁸⁵ Ploss and Bartels, *Woman*, 1: 398–99. Witches were also portrayed with heavy, pendulous breasts during the European witch craze (Miles, *Carnal Knowing*, 136–38). These types of associations led early modern Europeans to doubt that the elaborate breasts adorning the Diana of the Ephesians were the breasts of a woman. Their pendulous fullness suggested rather the udders of beasts. Furthermore, they had no nipples, a curiosity leading one twentieth-century art historian to conjecture that Diana's overfull mammae were not breasts at all but indeed bull scrota—the bull also being an ancient symbol of fertility (Kirchhoff, "Die künstlerische Darstellung der weiblichen Brust," 236).

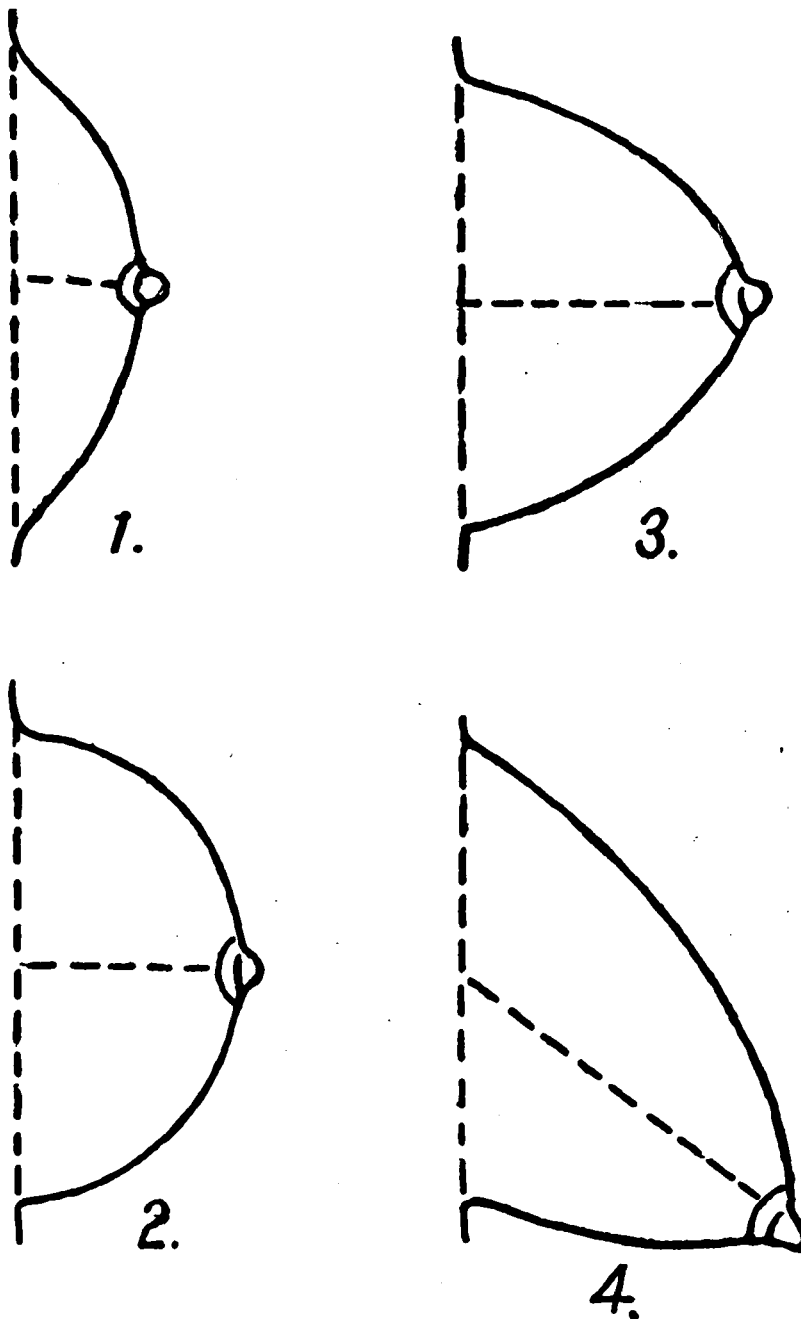


FIGURE 5: Breast shapes among humans from Hermann Ploss, Max Bartels, and Paul Bartels, *Woman: An Historical, Gynaecological and Anthropological Compendium*, Eric John Dingwall, ed. (German edn., 1885; St. Louis, Mo., 1936), 1: 399. The first is described as "bowl-shaped," the second is "hemispherical" (characteristic of whites and Asians and identified by the authors as beautiful), the third "conical," and the fourth (found primarily in blacks) "elongated," as in "the udder of the goat," with nipples pointed downward.

breasts, as in John Stedman's illustration of his fifteen-year-old mulatto mistress and later his wife, Joanna.⁸⁶ For Charles White, the Manchester physician and notorious racist, the hallmark of European superiority was found on the bosom of European women:

In what quarter of the globe shall we find the blush that overspreads the soft features of the beautiful women of Europe, that emblem of modesty, of delicate feelings, and of sense? . . . Where, except on the bosom of the European woman, two such plump and snowy white hemispheres, tipped with vermillion?⁸⁷

Thus Linnaeus's fixation on the female mammas, though new to the zoological tradition, emerged from deep cultural roots. It is hard to say how aware the Protestant Linnaeus was of the extent to which he was drawing from these broader images and cultural practices (many of them Catholic) that we can recognize today in his work. As a university-educated man, he was well versed in both the classics and Scripture, and his use of the multi-breasted Diana in the frontispiece to his *Fauna Svecica* reveals at least some familiarity with these traditions, which may help to explain, at least in part, the easy acceptance of his innovation both within science and the broader culture.

EUROPEANS' FASCINATION WITH THE FEMALE BREAST provided a receptive climate for Linnaeus's new term. But more immediate political concerns compelled him to focus scientific attention on the mammas. His scientific vision arose alongside important political trends in the eighteenth century—the restructuring of both child care and women's lives as mothers, wives, and citizens. The stress he placed on the naturalness of a mother giving suck to her young reinforced the social movements undermining the public power of women and attaching a new value to mothering. Despite the Enlightenment credo that all “men” were by nature equal, middle-class women were not to become fully enfranchised citizens or professionals in the state but newly empowered mothers within the home.

Most directly, Linnaeus joined the campaign to abolish the ancient custom of wet nursing.⁸⁸ The eighteenth century was the heyday of wet nursing. More Europeans than ever before—including not just aristocrats and wealthy merchants but farmers and artisans—sent their children to the countryside to be nursed. By the 1780s, Paris and Lyons were sending up to 90 percent of their children to wet nurses.⁸⁹ Although wet nursing had provided a solution to the

⁸⁶ John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, Richard Price and Sally Price, eds. (1796; rpt. edn., Baltimore, Md., 1988), 89.

⁸⁷ Charles White, *An Account of the Regular Gradation in Man and in Different Animals and Vegetables* (London, 1796), 134. Cited also in William Stanton, *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815–59* (Chicago, 1960), 17.

⁸⁸ Maternal breast-feeding had long been urged on mothers, especially in Protestant countries (see Sharp, *Midwives Book*, 353, 361–62). Dissatisfaction with wet nursing began in the 1680s; the height of the campaign, however, came in the eighteenth century. Valerie A. Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles, and Babies: A History of Infant Feeding* (Edinburgh, 1986); and Randolph Trumbach, *The Rise of the Egalitarian Family: Aristocratic Kinship and Domestic Relations in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1978). Dry nursing, in which infants were fed various mixtures of bread and water, was also advocated but led to even higher infant mortality.

⁸⁹ George D. Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk: The Wet-Nursing Business in France, 1715–1914*

problem of child rearing for middle and upper-class mothers and fathers, it also resulted in high infant mortality.⁹⁰ Fears began to grow that Europe's population was declining at a time when governments were looking for increased labor power to bolster military and economic expansion. The concern to increase population was so great in Denmark, for example, that a law was passed in 1707 authorizing young women to bear as many children as possible even if they were bastards.⁹¹ Joseph Raulin, physician to Louis XV of France, judged children to be "the wealth of nations, the glory of kingdoms, and the nerve and good fortune of empires."⁹² The physiocrat Marquis de Mirabeau traced depopulation to the neglect of mothers for their children, alongside other factors such as the concentration of property in few hands, luxury, and the decadence of agriculture.

The preservation of family and maternal duties became important matters of state.⁹³ For state ministers, the simplest way to increase birth rates was to reduce infant mortality by improving training of obstetricians, midwives, and—most important—mothers. A central element in this campaign was a series of health and conduct manuals written for women by medical doctors.

In this context, Linnaeus—himself a practicing physician—prepared a dissertation against the evils of wet nursing in 1752 just a few years before coining the term *Mammalia* and while watching his own children suckle. (His wife bore seven children between 1741 and 1757.) His work titled "Step Nurse" (translated into French as "La nourrice marâtre, ou Dissertation sur les suites funestes du nourrissement mercénaire") sounded the themes of the Enlightenment attack on wet nursing.⁹⁴ First and foremost, wet nursing violated the laws of nature. Nature—herself "a tender and provident mother"—had set the course for female reproduction; digression from her laws endangered both mother and child. Linnaeus recognized (as did other physicians and some midwives) that a newborn nursed by another woman was deprived of the mother's first milk, colostrum, crucial for purging the child of meconium. He also warned that, because most nurses came

(Urbana, Ill., 1982), 20–22; see also Nancy Senior, "Aspects of Infant Feeding in Eighteenth-Century France," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 16 (1983): 367; Mary Sheriff, "Fragonard's Erotic Mothers and the Politics of Reproduction," *Eroticism and the Body Politic*, Lynn Hunt, ed. (Baltimore, Md., 1991), 14–40.

⁹⁰ Figures collected by Maxime de Sarthe-Lenoir, Lieutenant Général de Police for Paris, in the 1770s, cited in Senior, "Aspects of Infant Feeding," 367–68. See George Sussman, "Parisian Infants and Norman Wet-Nurses in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 7 (1977): 637. James Lehning has shown that the numbers of deaths among nurses' children were also quite high; "Family Life and Wetnursing in a French Village," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12 (1982): 651.

⁹¹ Reported in Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Sketches of the History of Man* (Dublin, 1775), 1: 169.

⁹² Joseph Raulin, *De la conservation des enfans* (Paris, 1768), vol. 1, "épître au roi."

⁹³ See, for example, Raulin, *De la conservation des enfans*; J. E. Gilibert, "Dissertation sur la dépopulation, causée par les vices, les préjugés et les erreurs des nourrices mercénaires," preface, *Les chef-d'oeuvres de Monsieur de Sauvages* (Lyons, 1770), vol. 2; Johann Frank, *System einer vollständigen medicinischen Polizey* (Mannheim, 1779), vol. 1. In an attempt to curb abuses and decrease infant mortality, wet nursing in France was regulated by law in 1715. Sussman, *Selling Mothers' Milk*, 38.

⁹⁴ Linnaeus, "Nutrix noverca." Translated by Gilibert as "La nourrice marâtre, ou Dissertation sur les suites funestes du nourrissement mercénaire," *Les chef-d'oeuvres de Monsieur de Sauvages*, 2: 215–44. See also William Cadogan, *An Essay upon Nursing, and the Management of Children* (London, 1748); and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile; ou, De l'éducation* (1762), in *Oeuvres complètes*, Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, eds. (Paris, 1959–69), 4: 254–64.

from the poorest classes, they ate fatty foods, drank too much alcohol, were riddled with pox and venereal disease—all of which produced unhealthy, if not lethal, milk. He also emphasized that “forcing the milk back” might prove harmful to the mother. Uterine contractions after birth forced the voluminous humors associated with pregnancy to flow toward the breasts; if these humors did not emerge as milk, the woman might fall ill. For Linnaeus, the laws of nature dictated the road to health for both mother and child.

In this 1752 pamphlet, Linnaeus also foreshadowed his subsequent nomenclature by contrasting the barbarity of women who deprived their children of mother’s milk with the gentle care of great beasts—the whale, the fearsome lioness, and fierce tigress—who willingly offer their young the teat.⁹⁵ The idea that women should follow the example of beasts was a common feature of the anti-wet-nursing literature flooding Europe at this time.⁹⁶ Appealing to natural law and order, the French midwife Marie Anel le Robours pleaded with women to follow the “animal instinct” that prompts a mother to care for her young immediately after birth. Anel le Robours admonished mothers to disregard husbands who sought to rid the house of troublesome infants and to cultivate instead the “superior attachment that lower animals have for their young.” She also advised women to disregard the advice of midwives who failed to recognize the value of colostrum. (It was customary for midwives to advise women to wait twenty-eight hours after childbirth before nursing.) Infants, just like other small animals, Anel le Robours explained, will search for the breast immediately after birth.⁹⁷

These and other critiques of baby farming went a long way toward countering the ignorance and abuses surrounding wet nursing. Babies in this period had a much better chance of surviving when nursed by their mothers.⁹⁸ Abuses were numerous, especially in France, where nurses desperate for the pay often took in more nurslings than they could nourish adequately.⁹⁹ The anonymous author of *The Ladies Dispensatory* no doubt exaggerated when she charged that sending a child out to a wet nurse was little better than exposing it to die in the street. At the same time, many of the attacks on wet nursing also reiterated age-old myths and

⁹⁵ Linnaeus, “Nutrix noverca,” 258.

⁹⁶ This argument dates at least to the seventeenth century; see Senior, “Aspects of Infant Feeding,” 378–79. On the theme of women suckling their young like beasts, see also Cadogan, *Essay upon Nursing*, 7; Raulin, *De la conservation des enfans*, 1: xxv–xxviii; Jacques Bállexserd, *Dissertation sur cette question: Quelles sont les causes principales de la mort d’un aussi grand nombre d’enfans* (Geneva, 1775), 64; Charles Whitlaw, *New Medical Discoveries, with a Defence of the Linnaean Doctrine* (London, 1829), 1: 233; and *Der Patriot*, January 27, 1724, cited in Lindemann, “Love for Hire,” 381. The anonymous “Sophia” also used a similar argument to try to convince men to let their wives breast-feed. *Woman Not Inferior to Man* (London, 1739), cited in Vivien Jones, ed., *Women in the Eighteenth Century: Constructions of Femininity* (New York, 1990), 225.

⁹⁷ Marie-Angélique Anel le Robours, *Avis aux mères qui veulent nourrir leurs enfans*, 3d edn. (Paris, 1775), esp. ix, 53, 92–93. See also Gilibert, “Dissertation sur la dépopulation,” 255–56, 264. European women were also encouraged to follow the example of “primitive mothers” (Africans and Native Americans), for whom milk was said to form “the natural bond that unites mother and child.” Cited in D. G. Charlton, *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History, 1750–1800* (Cambridge, 1984), 156.

⁹⁸ Cited in Jones, *Women in the Eighteenth Century*, 85.

⁹⁹ Abuses relating to financial concerns were greater in France than in England. Fiona Newall, “Wet Nursing and Child Care in Aldenham, Hertfordshire, 1595–1726,” in *Women as Mothers in Pre-Industrial England*, Valerie Fildes, ed. (London, 1990), 129.

superstitions. Linnaeus, for example, cautioned that the character of the (upper-class) child could easily be corrupted by the milk of (lower-class) wet nurses. Using examples drawn from Erasmus, he blamed the bitter, wicked milk of nurses for Nero's addiction to alcohol and for Caligula's tyranny.¹⁰⁰

While authors of these pamphlets showed genuine concern for the well-being of mothers and children of their own classes, they seldom considered the evils of baby farming for the "lower classes of mankind" (as one influential voice in the anti-wet nursing campaign called them).¹⁰¹ Children of wet nurses themselves were often neglected or even "disposed of" (for a small fee, no questions asked).¹⁰²

The attempt to abolish wet nursing was tied to another aspect of the restructuring of reproduction in the eighteenth century: the takeover by male physicians of traditional female domains. The story of the demise of midwives and rise of male gynecologists and obstetricians is well known.¹⁰³ The endeavor by university-trained physicians to professionalize women's health care (and in so doing to drive traditional female practitioners from the field) extended also to the management of newborns. The English physician William Cadogan, perhaps the most emphatic on this point, encouraged fathers—who often considered breast-feeding something low and degrading—to have their children nursed under their "own eye." Nursing, in his view, should not be one of "the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, from which men are excluded." Supervision of the care of children had been "too long fatally left to the management of women, who cannot suppose to have proper knowledge to fit them for such a task, notwithstanding they look upon it to be their own province." The "grandmothers" should be moved aside, along with their herbs, roots, and other traditional practices.¹⁰⁴ The Jamaican judge Edward Long encouraged white ladies in the colonies to give up the barbarous and corrupting custom of handing their children over to "negro or mulatto wet nurses." Mothers of European descent were encouraged to take up the agreeable task of nursing their own infants, "so consonant to the laws of nature."¹⁰⁵

For the enlightened savant, the laws of nature dictated more than the rules for reproductive regimes: they also dictated social order. Medical authority, the legal system, and popular literature worked together to create new interest in maternal breast-feeding. As prescribed in Rousseau's influential novel *Emile*, breast-feeding became fashionable among French upper-class women for a short period in the late eighteenth century.¹⁰⁶ In France and Germany, leading medical doctors

¹⁰⁰ Linnaeus, "Nutrix noverca," 265.

¹⁰¹ Cadogan, *Essay upon Nursing*, 7.

¹⁰² Fildes, *Wet Nursing*, 193. A few medical men noted the high mortality rates among wet nurses' own children (Linnaeus, "Nutrix noverca," 264). In some cases, it was claimed that wet nursing was responsible for depopulating entire villages (Lindemann, "Love for Hire," 380). By and large, however, concern was focused on the physical and moral well-being of middle and upper-class children.

¹⁰³ See Jean Donnison, *Midwives and Medical Men: A History of Inter-professional Rivalries and Women's Rights* (New York, 1977); Ornella Moscucci, *The Science of Woman: Gynaecology and Gender in England, 1800–1920* (Cambridge, 1990), 42–57.

¹⁰⁴ Cadogan, *Essay upon Nursing*, 3, 24.

¹⁰⁵ Edward Long, *The History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), 2: 276.

¹⁰⁶ Rousseau, *Emile*, 254–64.

advocated laws that would force healthy women to nurse their own infants.¹⁰⁷ The French National Convention decreed in 1793 that only mothers who nursed their own children would be eligible for state aid (women in poor health were exempted). Similar laws were put into effect in Prussia in 1794, just a few years after Frederick the Great installed a modern version of Diana of the Ephesians in his Potsdam garden.¹⁰⁸

Authors of anti-wet-nursing literature—including Linnaeus, Cadogan, Rousseau, and Anel le Robours—were highly moralistic about returning women to their rightful place as loving and caring mothers. This, despite the fact that Rousseau placed his own five children in foundling homes, not even bothering to record their sexes or dates of birth.¹⁰⁹ Women's attempts to contravene the laws of nature were seen as a matter of vanity. Cadogan prevailed on every woman to give up "a little of the beauty of her breast" to feed her young. Linnaeus charged that women only pretended to be unable to breast-feed and ridiculed their many "excuses": that they did not have enough milk, or could not be deprived of fluids precious to their own health, or were overloaded with domestic affairs. But the real reason, according to Linnaeus, was that they did not want to deprive their husbands of the pleasures of marriage—sexual access was a characteristic, he noted, of all quadrupeds. (It was thought that nursing mothers should refrain from sexual intercourse.) Rousseau, not so generous to women's motives on this point, charged that a wet nurse freed the upper-class mother to return to the gay entertainments of the city, not necessarily her husband's bed.¹¹⁰

Returning to nature and its laws was seen as the surest way to end corruption and regenerate the state, morally as well as economically. Rousseau, the era's self-appointed spokesman for nature, saw the refusal of mothers to nurse as the source of national depravity. "Everything follows successively from this first depravity. The whole moral order degenerates; naturalness is extinguished in all hearts." The bond between mother and child created through maternal nursing was idealized as the basis of civil society, fostering love of sons for mothers, returning husbands to wives. The infant was imagined to imbibe with breast milk the mother's noble character, her love and virtue. "Let mothers deign to nurse their children," Rousseau preached, "morals will reform themselves, nature's sentiments will be awakened in every heart, the state will be repeopled."¹¹¹ For the enlightened of Europe, the breast symbolized the synthesis of nature and society, the bond between the private and public worlds.¹¹²

It is remarkable that in the heady days of the French Revolution, when

¹⁰⁷ Mary Jacobus, "Incorruptible Milk: Breast-feeding and the French Revolution," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, Sara Melzer and Leslie Rabine, eds. (New York, 1992), 62.

¹⁰⁸ Lindemann, "Love for Hire," 391.

¹⁰⁹ *Allgemeines Landrecht* (1794), pt. 2, title 2, art. 67, in Susan Groag Bell and Karen M. Offen, eds., *Women, the Family and Freedom: The Debate in Documents*, vol. 1., 1750–1880 (Stanford, Calif., 1983), 39. See also Doris Alder, "Im 'Wahren Paradies der Weiber': Naturrecht und rechtliche Wirklichkeit der Frauen im Preussischen Landrecht," in *Sklavin oder Bürgerin: Französische Revolution und neue Weiblichkeit, 1760–1830*, Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, ed. (Frankfurt, 1989), 206–22.

¹¹⁰ William Kessen, "Rousseau's Children," *Daedalus*, 107 (1978): 155. Ironically, too, Emile was brought up by a wet nurse in the country. Senior, "Aspects of Infant Feeding," 385.

¹¹¹ Rousseau, *Emile*, 255.

¹¹² Rousseau, *Emile*, 258.

revolutionaries marched behind the martial and bare-breasted Liberty,¹¹³ the maternal breast became nature's sign that women belonged only in the home. Delegates to the French National Convention used the breast as a natural sign that women should be barred from citizenship and the wielding of public power. In this case, "the breasted ones" were to be confined to the home. In denying women political power, Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette, an official of the Paris Commune, asked indignantly: "Since when is it permitted to abandon one's sex? Since when is it decent for women to forsake the pious care of their households and the cribs of their children, coming instead to public places, to hear speeches in the galleries and senate? Is it to men that nature confided domestic cares? Has she given us breasts to feed our children?"¹¹⁴

This message was embodied in the "Festival of Unity and Indivisibility" of 1793, celebrating the first anniversary of the Republic. Jacques-Louis David's carefully orchestrated festival featured a "Fountain of Regeneration" built on the ruins of the Bastille, the symbol of absolutism (Figure 6). As described in the popular press, eighty-six (male) deputies to the National Convention drank joyfully from the spouting breasts of "Nature" personified as Isis, the Egyptian goddess of fertility. While the male deputies publicly drank the maternal "milk" of national renewal from the breasts of the colossal Isis, exemplary republican mothers quietly reenacted the scene, giving their virtuous milk to future citizens of the state.

The year 1793 marked the fateful repression of women's demands for active citizenship and also, as Lynn Hunt has shown, a turning point in republican images of women. When publicly represented, women were no longer cast as the strident Marianne, the symbol of Liberty, but increasingly in motherly roles. Festivals featured parades of pregnant women; women in ceremonies, such as the Festival of the Supreme Being of 1794, were all wives and mothers, many pressing nurslings to their breasts.¹¹⁵

LINNAEUS'S TERM *MAMMALIA* HELPED LEGITIMIZE the sexual division of labor in European society by emphasizing how natural it was for females—both human and nonhuman—to suckle and rear their own offspring. Linnaean systematics had sought to render nature universally comprehensible, yet the categories he devised infused nature with middle-class European notions of gender. Linnaeus saw the females of all species as tender mothers, a vision he (wittingly or unwittingly) projected onto Europeans' understandings of nature. This was not the only instance in which Linnaeus suffused nature with parochial notions of gender. In his botanical taxonomy—for which he was hailed the father of modern botany—Linnaeus established (hetero)sexuality as the key to classification. In so

¹¹³ Ludmilla Jordanova, "Naturalizing the Family: Literature and the Bio-Medical Sciences in the Late Eighteenth Century," in Jordanova, ed., *Languages of Nature* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1986), 97; Warner, *Monuments and Maidens*, 282.

¹¹⁴ See Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, chaps. 2, 3.

¹¹⁵ Cited in Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Bransom Applewhite, and Mary Durham Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1795* (Urbana, Ill., 1979), 219. See also Dorinda Outram, *The Body and the French Revolution: Sex, Class and Political Culture* (New Haven, Conn., 1989).

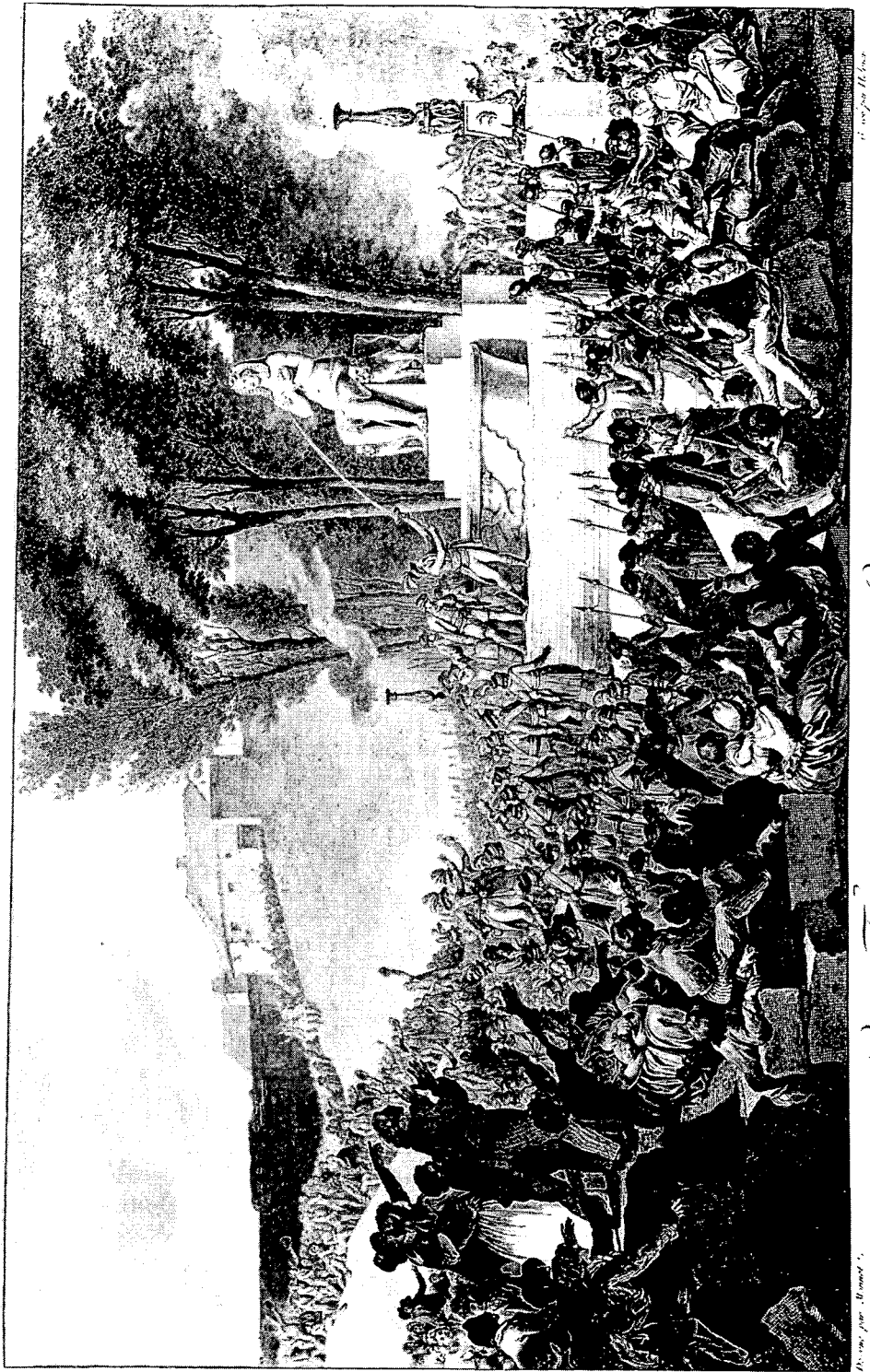


FIGURE 6: The "Fountain of Regeneration" by Jacques-Louis David, the famous eighteenth-century French painter. From Charles Monnet, *Les principales journées de la révolution* (Paris, 1838). Spencer Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

doing, as I have shown elsewhere, he gave male parts priority over female parts in determining the status of an organism in the plant kingdom, imposing traditional notions of gender hierarchy onto science.¹¹⁶

In naming mammals, there is no evidence that Linnaeus intentionally chose a gender-charged term; he may have done so naïvely. But he did not do so arbitrarily. The fact that scientists might be innocent of the implications of their work does not make them any less mediators or marketeers of political ideas. Historians have to appreciate the contingency of scientific knowledge and especially what is foregone in the choice of one particular course over another. This is why the political historian of science asks: Why do we know this and not that? Who gains from knowledge of this and not that?¹¹⁷

The story of the origins of the term *Mammalia* provides yet another example of how science is not value neutral but emerges from complex cultural matrices.¹¹⁸ The term Linnaeus coined in 1758 solved the problem of how to classify the whale with its terrestrial congeners and did away with Aristotle's outmoded term quadruped. But, more than that, it provided a solution to the place of humankind within nature and ultimately of womankind within European culture.

¹¹⁶ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), 151–91, esp. 153–55. See also Carol Duncan, "Happy Mothers and Other New Ideas in Eighteenth-Century French Art," in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*, Norma Broude and Mary Garrand, eds. (New York, 1982), 200–19. It is important to point out that notions of republican motherhood and sexual complementarity—important doctrines of female sexuality developed in this period—became prescriptive and increasingly descriptive of the lives of middle-class women, not the lives of peasant women, domestic servants, female apprentices, or artisans. Nor in the nineteenth century would these ideals apply to the lives of working-class women, although middle-class domesticity was often held up to women of all classes as an ideal to emulate. See Brigit Hill, *Women, Work, and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989).

¹¹⁷ Londa Schiebinger, "The Private Life of Plants: Sexual Politics in Carl Linnaeus and Erasmus Darwin," in *Science and Sensibility: Gender and Scientific Enquiry 1780–1945*, Marina Benjamin, ed. (Oxford, 1991), 121–43.

¹¹⁸ See Sandra Harding and Jean F. O'Barr, eds., *Sex and Scientific Inquiry* (Chicago, 1987); Donna Haraway, *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York, 1989); Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); and Helen E. Longino, *Science as Social Knowledge: Values and Objectivity in Scientific Inquiry* (Princeton, N.J., 1990); Robert N. Proctor, *Value-Free Science? Purity and Power in Modern Knowledge* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Evelyn Fox Keller, *Secrets of Life, Secrets of Death: Essays on Language, Gender and Science* (New York, 1992).

A New Look at Long-Term Trends in Wealth Inequality in the United States

CAROLE SHAMMAS

IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THIS CENTURY, Progressives and New Dealers continually expressed concern about what they considered to be the increasing concentration of wealth in the United States. To them, wealth inequality was not just an economic problem but a political problem as well. W. I. King, the author of a book in 1915 on U.S. wealth and income distribution, put it most succinctly, if not most eloquently, when he wrote, "Whoever controls the property of a nation becomes thereby the virtual ruler thereof."¹ Fears about power of this sort led many policy makers to advocate redistribution of resources by the state through progressive taxation.

In the decades after World War II, the tenor of writings on wealth concentration changed, as economists specializing in national accounts and development economics addressed the issue in a number of empirical studies. Their findings alleviated some of the earlier concerns about trends in inequality in the United States. Great inequality, rather than being an ever onward and upward trend, was portrayed more as an economic phase that industrializing countries went through, only to return to lower levels of wealth concentration as they matured.² Much of this work was summarized and substantially augmented in an important book written in 1980 by Jeffrey G. Williamson and Peter H. Lindert, *American Inequality: A Macroeconomic History*.³

Williamson and Lindert covered the history of wealth and income inequality as well as standards of living. Their point of departure was the work done by Simon Kuznets on income shares and Robert Lampman on wealth shares, which showed a trend toward equality between 1929 and the 1950s and some flatness thereafter. Williamson and Lindert, however, took their investigation back to the period before the availability of federal income and estate tax data, relying on a series of probate and census studies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries done by

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¹ Wilford Isbell King, *The Wealth and Income of the People of the United States* (1915; rpt. edn., New York, 1969), 53.

² There were some dissenters to this interpretation, of course, but they were usually dismissed as being politically motivated left-wingers or simply cranks. See Gabriel Kolko, *Wealth and Power in America: An Analysis of Social Class and Income Distribution* (New York, 1962).

³ (New York, 1980).

Jackson Turner Main, Gloria Lund Main, Alice Hanson Jones, and Lee Soltow. Then they themselves compiled skilled and unskilled wage ratios for the nineteenth century in order to chart income inequality. For the twentieth century, they relied on survey and tax data.

To use their own words, they found that

there have indeed been important movements in inequality in America over the past three centuries . . . Our survey in Part One offers the tentative conjecture that inequality among *free* Americans before the Revolution was not too different from that which we experience today . . . It now appears that the main epoch of increasing inequality was the last four decades before the Civil War. The Civil War itself reduced inequalities within regions by opening a severe income and wealth gap between North and South. Although we can find no evidence of rising inequality across the remainder of the nineteenth century, trending inequality emerges once more between the turn of the century and World War I. World War I administered a brief, strong dose of equality, but the effects had worn off by 1929. The Kuznets-Lampman finding of considerable equalization in income and wealth between 1929 and mid-century appears to survive all the critical adjustments one might care to perform . . . [P]ostwar distributions appear to us to exhibit a curious stability; a slight increase in pretax and pretransfer inequality has been offset by the impact of taxes and transfers such that "post-fisc" inequality has declined slightly since the Korean War.⁴

What explains this history of inequality? Williamson and Lindert gave little importance to politics or political mobilization. In the prerevolutionary period, enslaved persons constituted a greater proportion of the American population than they ever would again, about 20 percent. Female nuptiality was at a historic high, and, as all married women were subject to coverture, very few women accumulated any wealth. Organized labor had no presence, and even white males had to meet property qualifications in order to vote. Yet Williamson and Lindert reported record lows in wealth inequality. Conversely, the middle and later nineteenth century (traditionally referred to as the "Age of the Common Man," when slavery ended, married women's property acts were passed, suffrage opportunities for white men improved dramatically, and labor organizations began) was the height of the inequality trend. Although the equalization period in the twentieth century coincides with the New Deal, welfare state, and the legalization of collective bargaining, Williamson and Lindert maintained that "unionization or the rise of government cannot explain the timing of the nineteenth-century inequality trends, and there are good reasons to doubt their role even during the 1929–1948 leveling."⁵ Instead, they pointed to trends in factor demands, by which they meant essentially the "roles played by technological progress, labor supplies, and capital accumulation in making pay ratios widen [middle nineteenth century], narrow [wartime and the 1929–1950 period], and stabilize."⁶

Williamson and Lindert drew few distinctions between income and wealth

⁴ Williamson and Lindert, *American Inequality*, 285.

⁵ Williamson and Lindert, *American Inequality*, 285.

⁶ Williamson and Lindert, *American Inequality*, 286.

inequality, because these moved in tandem.⁷ In their view, wealth, like income, was less concentrated during the colonial period than at any other time, while the nineteenth-century period of industrialization brought the greatest inequality. The inequality of wealth in the United States was on a par with that of Western Europe. The activities of the state—with one exception—had little to do with wealth concentration diminishing in the second third of the twentieth century.⁸

That one exception was Social Security. In 1976, Martin Feldstein, soon to be Ronald Reagan's chief economic adviser, wrote an influential paper arguing that Social Security wealth, which began materializing after the passage of the legislation in the late 1930s, had reduced wealth inequality in the United States by a whopping 30 percent. Conventional measures of household wealth counted retirement wealth only in the form of the cash-surrender value of pensions and any savings accumulated by retirees currently receiving pensions or Social Security. According to Feldstein's logic, wealth figures should also include the present value of contingent claims to retirement benefits in order to make post-Social Security wealth figures comparable to figures from the pre-Social Security and pension period, when, theoretically, households did more of their own saving. The clear implication of Feldstein's article was that those who fretted about the lack of progress in reducing inequality should stop worrying. The Social Security system had dramatically equalized the wealth distribution. Williamson and Lindert discussed Feldstein's approach but stayed with the more conventional measure of household wealth in their tables and with their skepticism about the importance of political action in their interpretation. Subsequent wealth analysts have questioned both the soundness and the feasibility of including the present value of future retirement wealth in calculations of household wealth.⁹

It has been over a decade since Williamson and Lindert published their book, and research during that period suggests that a reconsideration of long-term trends is in order. First, Lee Soltow in a new book on the distribution of wealth in the late eighteenth century contends that inequality did not increase suddenly in the early industrial period but was already at a high level and that industrialization ultimately lessened concentration.¹⁰ A new sampling from the 1860 census supports Soltow's argument in another way by finding less inequality in that year than Soltow himself had found.¹¹ Second, research over the past decade on the history of women and ethnic groups has continually criticized studies that confuse the history of white men with the history of the entire adult population. This

⁷ See Roger Ransom, "Class and Inequality: Measuring the Impact of Industrial Capitalism in North America," *Historical Methods*, 16 (1983): 157–61.

⁸ On wealth inequality in Europe, see Williamson and Lindert, *American Inequality*, 52; Kenneth Barkin, "Germany and England: Economic Inequality," *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für Deutsche Geschichte*, 17 (1987): 200–11; and Denis Kessler and Edward N. Wolff, "A Comparative Analysis of Household Wealth Patterns in France and the United States," *Review of Income and Wealth*, 37 (1991): 249–66.

⁹ Martin S. Feldstein, "Social Security and the Distribution of Wealth," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 71 (1976): 800–07; Williamson and Lindert, *American Inequality*, 58–63; Edward N. Wolff, "The Distribution of Household Wealth: Methodological Issues, Time Trends, and Cross-Sectional Comparisons," in Lars Osberg, ed., *Economic Inequality and Poverty: International Perspectives* (Armonk, N.Y., 1991), 96.

¹⁰ Lee Soltow, *Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States in 1798* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1989).

¹¹ Richard H. Steckel, "Poverty and Prosperity: A Longitudinal Study of Wealth Accumulation, 1850–1860," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 72 (1990): 275–85.

problem crops up in almost all wealth studies of earlier periods in which married women, enslaved African Americans, and indentured servants lacked property rights. Using adults rather than free male household heads as the unit of analysis might produce a different picture of long-term trends. Third, new analyses of post-1960 wealth surveys show the top 1 percent in the twentieth century stubbornly holding onto a wealth share very similar to that owned by the top 1 percent in earlier centuries. Evidence of reductions in that share during the 1970s are, in these analyses, attributed to stock market fluctuations and serious under-reporting or underrecording of assets. The latest work on wealth trends suggests that wealth concentration actually increased during the past decade. Disenchantment with the economic policies of the Reagan-Bush administrations has renewed interest in how the political order affects and is affected by wealth inequality.¹²

In this article, I reexamine, reevaluate, and, in some cases, recalculate the data available on U.S. wealth concentration over time and assess the relationship between these trends and legal and political as well as economic changes. Both new data and new ways of calculating wealth share cast doubt on analyses that attribute changes in wealth concentration simply to particular stages of industrial development. I make the following arguments: First, the subject of this article—wealth distribution—is correlated with income distribution but differs from it in important ways. Wealth distribution, in contrast to income, is best used as an indicator of who does and does not have economic power in society rather than as a measure of material well-being or the standard of living enjoyed by the general population.

Second, the relatively low household wealth inequality registered in the prerevolutionary period was at least partially the result of the richest 1 percent of households having a smaller percentage of total wealth attributed to them than was later the case, and this was primarily due to the omission of wealth owned by British residents, proprietors, and royal officials.

Third, the levels of wealth inequality observed in the 1860s vary a great deal, depending on whether one uses free adult males or male household heads with children as the unit of analysis. The influx of European immigrants swelled the ranks of single male adults, who were free (unlike the indentured workers of the colonial period).

Fourth, the history of wealth inequality over the entire period changes considerably if one measures inequality on the basis of the adult population rather than by household. Measuring wealth concentration by individuals is the only way

¹² Edward N. Wolff, "Estimates of Household Wealth Inequality in the U.S. 1962–1983," *Review of Income and Wealth*, 33 (1987): 231–56; Andrew J. Winnick, *Toward Two Societies: The Changing Distributions of Income and Wealth in the U.S. since 1960* (New York, 1989), chaps. 6–7; F. Thomas Juster and Kathleen A. Kuester, "Differences in the Measurement of Wealth, Wealth Inequality, and Wealth Composition Obtained from Alternative U.S. Wealth Surveys," *Review of Income and Wealth*, 37 (1991): 33–62; Arthur B. Kennickell and R. Louise Woodburn, "Estimation of Household Net Worth Using Model-Based and Design-Based Weights: Evidence from the 1989 Survey of Consumer Finances," unpublished paper, April 1992. For an example of renewed interest, see the *New York Times*, April 21, 1992, front-page story on wealth inequality research. Also see Herbert Inhaber and Sidney Carroll, *How Rich Is Too Rich?: Income and Wealth in America* (New York, 1992). Recent research on twentieth-century income inequality also finds no clear downward trend; Eugene Smolensky and Robert Plotnick, "Inequality of Poverty in the United States: 1900–1990," *Graduate School of Public Policy Working Paper no. 193*, University of California, Berkeley, 1992.

one can calculate the effects of servitude, slavery, and coverture. The quintile distribution for the mid-twentieth century is shown to be more egalitarian than in earlier periods, as the top quintile gave up some of its wealth share to the lower quintiles. Much of this effect, but not all, is due to the emancipation of women.

Fifth, there may be little or no secular trend in the share of wealth held by the top 1 percent over two and a half centuries of American history. Whether one uses households or individuals as the unit of observation, the history of the share owned by this group is characterized more by short-term fluctuations than by steady decline.

Finally, I argue that the role of government policy in producing or reducing wealth concentration needs to be reassessed. It has either been ignored, in favor of strictly economic development explanations, or grossly exaggerated, as in the attempts to include the present value of future retirement benefits as wealth, thereby changing the whole concept of what is being measured. State actions, especially those relating to legal status, the tax structure, labor relations, social insurance, and housing, have had important effects on wealth inequality in different periods. Some effects have been short term, however, eventually counteracted by new policies that return the wealth distribution curve to its former shape. Changes brought about by New Deal reforms of the tax structure fall into this category.

LET US BEGIN by looking at the wealth inequality trends found in the Williamson and Lindert study. Table 1 is a reproduction of their Table 3.1. It provides size share percentages and Gini coefficients, two of the most common measures of wealth concentration, for the years 1774, 1860, 1870, and 1962. The size share percentages show the proportion of total wealth owned by the top 1 percent of wealth holders and the top 10 percent of wealth holders. The Gini index is a measure of inequality, ranging from zero or complete equality (that is, where 50 percent of the people own 50 percent of the wealth, 60 percent of the people own 60 percent of the wealth and so on), to 1.0 or complete inequality, where one person or household owns everything. The estimates in the table suggest that wealth has been very unequally distributed throughout American history, although not to the same degree in all periods. The trend is curvilinear, according to the Williamson and Lindert figures. There was a big jump in the Gini index and the wealth share claimed by the top 1 percent of the population from 1774 to 1860–1870, the Gini going from .64 to .83 and the wealth share of the top 1 percent doubling. Lower inequality returned in 1962, the Gini dropped to .76, and the size share of the top 1 percent went down to 15 percent, after adjustments were made to the data.

There are some difficulties with this table. One of the problems faced by Williamson and Lindert and by all those who try to compare data from different sources over long periods of time is that the rules change in regard to who and what wealth is counted. Should consumer units in 1962 be compared with free households in 1774 or free and slave households? In 1860, should one choose free

TABLE 1
Selected Measures of Wealth Inequality in the United States,
1774, 1860, 1870, and 1962

| Period and Wealth-Holding Unit | Net Worth | | | Total Assets | | |
|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| | Percentage Held by Top 1% | Percentage Held by Top 10% | Gini Coefficient | Percentage Held by Top 1% | Percentage Held by Top 10% | Gini Coefficient |
| <i>1774 (13 Colonies)</i> | | | | | | |
| Free households | 14.3 | 53.2 | .694 | 12.6 | 49.6 | .642 |
| Free and slave households | 16.5 | 59.0 | n.a. | 14.8 | 55.1 | n.a. |
| Free adult males | 14.2 | 52.5 | .688 | 12.4 | 48.7 | .632 |
| All adult males | 16.5 | 58.4 | n.a. | 13.2 | 54.3 | n.a. |
| Southern free households | 10.7 | 47.3 | .664 | 9.9 | 46.3 | .649 |
| Non-South, free households | 17.1 | 49.5 | .678 | 14.1 | 43.8 | .594 |
| <i>1860</i> | | | | | | |
| Free adult males | | | | 29.0 | 73.0 | .832 |
| Adult males | | | | 30.3–35.0 | 74.6–79.0 | n.a. |
| Southern free adult males | | | | 27.0 | 75.0 | .845 |
| Non-South, free adult males | | | | 27.0 | 68.0 | .813 |
| <i>1870</i> | | | | | | |
| Adult males | | | | 27.0 | 70.0 | .833 |
| Southern adult males | | | | 33.0 | 77.0 | .866 |
| Southern adult white males | | | | 29.0 | 73.0 | .818 |
| Non-South, free adult males | | | | 24.0 | 67.0 | .81 |
| <i>1962</i> | | | | | | |
| All consumer units ranked by total assets, unadjusted | 36.9 | 69.1–82.6 | n.a. | 26.0 | 61.6 | .76 |
| All consumer units ranked by total assets, revised | 20.6 | 38.5–46.1 | n.a. | 15.1 | 35.7 | n.a. |

SOURCE: Jeffrey G. Williamson and Peter H. Lindert, *American Inequality: A Microeconomic History* (New York, 1980), 38–39.

adult males or all adult males for the unit to compare? What about 1870, after emancipation? What about indentured servants? In 1774, young men who are indentured are not eligible to be counted as wealth holders; after that, the designation disappears and young men of twenty-one and over are at risk to be counted. What about women? Doesn't their wealth holding or the lack thereof matter? Until the passage of married women's property acts, mainly in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, few married women could own property, and their legal disabilities resulted in women generally having very limited amounts of wealth and seldom being household heads. As we will see, in periods when the legal system permitted slavery, indentured servitude, and coverture, estimates of wealth concentration differ depending on whether households or adults are the unit of analysis. Taking households as the unit of analysis can obscure considerable intra-household inequality.

A second problem arises with the 1962 data adjusted by Williamson and Lindert. The original survey showed estimates of the ownership by the top 1 percent and a Gini coefficient more similar to the mid-nineteenth century than the

colonial period. In other words, the trend of a twentieth-century decline in wealth inequality depended largely on the authors' adjustment. Since they wrote, specialists in current wealth surveys have done their own adjustments of the 1962 data. Like Williamson and Lindert, they have included consumer durable wealth not counted in the original survey. This addition makes the distribution more equal because consumer durables are more widely owned than other types of wealth. However, this newer work has also used the national accounts to make estimates of underreported wealth by the rich, and this adjustment tends to increase inequality. The results indicate much more concentration of wealth in 1962 than do the revised figures of Williamson and Lindert in Table 1. Moreover, the findings from later surveys taken in the 1969–1989 period resemble the newer revisions of the 1962 survey more than they do the Williamson and Lindert version.¹³

Third, the very high inequality shown in the figures for 1860 are notably lower in a new sample from the 1860 census gathered by Richard Steckel. Because he wanted to make comparisons with the 1850 census, Steckel limited his 1860 sample to male household heads with a native-born child age ten or above, whereas the earlier 1860 sample taken by Soltow included all free males over twenty. Steckel's sample, therefore, with its bias against single men, is less representative than Soltow's. However, the new sample may be more comparable to the people included in the 1774 probate data, in which young men who were indentured servants or in a dependent position did not get counted.¹⁴

A fourth problem concerns the 1774 wealth distribution. Williamson and Lindert, relying on the work of Alice Hanson Jones, had the top 1 percent of free households in 1774 possessing 14.3 percent of wealth. In his recent book, Lee Soltow has found higher levels of inequality in 1798 than Jones found present in 1774, and he argues that the difference is not so much due to an increase in inequality during the federal period as to underrepresentation of the very wealthy in 1774. He points out that the single, one-year probate sample of 919 decedents used by Jones is insufficient to measure the top layer of wealth holders. Just as with the modern Federal Reserve surveys, special adjustments need to be made to capture the wealth of the top 1 percent. Soltow also points to the exclusion of an important 1774 group that, if incorporated into the figures, would have made the difference between 1774 and 1798 "negligible." That group was royal officials.¹⁵

One of the characteristics of a colonial society is that much of its wealth is owned by people who do not live in the colony or who live there intermittently and, more to the point, frequently do not have their personal estates probated there. British residents who were royal officials or recipients of large grants and proprietaries in the colonies and British overseas merchants with colonial wealth were relatively few in number but were very very rich. To understand just how rich, consider for a moment the Penns. In the 1760s, their holdings were estimated at £10,000,000,

¹³ Wolff, "Estimates of Household Wealth Inequality," 231–56; Winnick, *Toward Two Societies*, 197, 200.

¹⁴ Steckel, "Poverty and Prosperity," 275.

¹⁵ Soltow, *Distribution of Wealth and Income in 1798*, 170–74.

about two-thirds of the £15,443,442 Jones calculated as the amount held by the 4,348 wealth holders in the top 1 percent in 1774. After the revolution, the Penns managed to retain some non-proprietorial real estate, but the state confiscated the assets of the proprietary. Like others who had remained loyal to the crown, the Penns sought compensation from the British government, which had strict criteria for which kinds of property were eligible for a claim and how the value was to be calculated. Ultimately, the government allowed claims from the Penns up to nearly £1,000,000.¹⁶

Even though the compensation claims are not comprehensive and probably undervalue the holdings of the British in the colonies, they are most likely the best source for checking on the plausibility of Jones's estimation of the wealth owned by the top 1 percent and for making corrections. The British government heard 3,157 claims for the loss of £10,358,413 worth of property. Roughly 927 of those claims, a sum adding up to £7,848,832, appear to have been of sufficient size (over £2,272) to qualify the claimant for a place in the top 1 percent of Jones's wealth holders.¹⁷ That would leave only about £7,594,610 or £2,220 to be distributed to each of Jones's other 3,421 top wealth holders. As this mean of £2,220 falls below the £2,272 cut-off point for the top 1 percent, the total size share for the richest group must be even greater than £15,443,442. The question, of course, is, how much greater?

TABLE 2 TAKES THE DATA IN TABLE 1 and reworks them, incorporating the new revisions of the 1962 wealth distribution data and adding the distributions drawn from more recent surveys. Table 2 also includes the alternative estimate of inequality in 1860. Most important, it adjusts the 1774 data to include the colonial wealth of British residents in the top 1 percent.¹⁸

The unit of analysis here is the household or as near to a household equivalent as is possible in each time period. As I mentioned before, household-level data can obscure inequality in economic power among household members. In 1774, enslaved men and women, indentured servants, and free married women were within households and had virtually no claim to the property held by the household head. In the 1860 and 1870 samples, Soltow excluded females because he estimated through sampling that they (and children) owned no more than 7 percent of total wealth. To his credit, he made this exclusion quite clear by titling his study *Men and Wealth in the United States 1850–1870* (1975). Indentured servants were no longer a factor in 1860, unlike 1774. By 1870, the United States had abolished slavery; consequently, all adult male African Americans are included in Soltow's sample from that year's census.

¹⁶ Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1864), 2: 161–62.

¹⁷ These figures come from information in John Eardley-Wilmot, *Historical View of the Commission for Enquiring into the Losses, Services, and Claims of the American Loyalists, at the Close of the War between Great Britain and Her Colonies, in 1783* (London, 1815), 196–97; and Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, R.I., 1965), 267. See my Appendix A for details on calculations.

¹⁸ For the method and assumptions behind this adjustment, see Appendix B.

TABLE 2
New Wealth Distributions of Households or Household Equivalents

| Share Held By | Free Adult Men and Unmarried Women (Net Worth) | Free Adult Male Head of Households* (Net Worth) | Free Adult Men (Total Worth) | Adult Men (Total Worth) | Households (Net Worth) | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|------|------|------|
| | 1774 | 1860 | 1860 | 1870 | 1962 | 1969 | 1983 | 1986 |
| Top 1% | 18% | 21% | 29% | 27% | 29% | 32% | 28% | 30% |
| Top 5% | 41 | 49 | 57 | 54 | 49 | 50 | 49 | 51 |
| <i>Quintiles:</i> | | | | | | | | |
| First | 74 | 80 | 86 | 87 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 |
| Second | 17 | 13 | 11 | 11 | 14 | 14 | 14 | 14 |
| Third | 7 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 6 | 7 | 7 |
| Fourth | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Fifth | 0† | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| Gini Coefficient | .72 | .76 | .83 | .83 | .72 | .72 | .72 | .72 |

*with at least one child 10 years or older.

†-2 in the original figures, changed to 0 and redistributed among other quintiles.

SOURCES: Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of a Nation to Be* (New York, 1980), 289; Appendix A to this article; Richard H. Steckel, "Poverty and Prosperity: A Longitudinal Study of Wealth Accumulation, 1850-1860," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 52 (1990): 277; and Richard Steckel, personal communication, October 12, 1992; Lee Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the United States 1850-1870* (New Haven, Conn., 1975), 99, 103; Edward N. Wolff, "Estimates of Household Wealth Inequality in the U.S. 1962-1983," *Review of Income and Wealth*, 33 (1987): 237; Robert B. Avery and Arthur Kennickell, "Household Savings in the U.S.," *Review of Income and Wealth*, 37 (1991): 420, 424.

The 1962 household figures have been recalculated by Edward Wolff in a different manner from that used by Williamson and Lindert. This survey and those in 1969 and 1983, which did not appear in Table 1, are adjusted downward (toward more equality) to account for consumer goods excluded in the survey, but, with the help of national account estimates, are also adjusted upward to account for the underreporting of wealth by the very rich. The 1986 figures come from Federal Reserve analysts.

The quintile distribution in Table 2 and the Gini coefficients give some support for the curvilinear thesis, the notion that inequality rose in the early nineteenth century as America industrialized and then returned to preindustrial levels in the twentieth century. The 1774 quintiles of 74 percent for the top 20 percent, and 17, 7, 2, and 0 percent for the remaining four, are almost identical to the four for the later twentieth century, and each of those are nearly identical to one another, there being no trend over the twenty-four-year period of 1962-1986. Whether Soltow's or Steckel's samples from the later nineteenth century are used, the holdings of the top quintile and the Gini coefficients are higher than for other periods, but Steckel's make the rise much less pronounced.

As far as wealth concentration at the very top is concerned, there is no curvilinear pattern. The amount claimed by the top 1 percent and 5 percent of households is higher in the late twentieth century than in 1774, and preliminary results from the Federal Reserve's 1989 survey show a continuation of the late

twentieth-century trend.¹⁹ If anything, wealth concentration increased during the 1980s. It is estimated that the top 1 percent of households in 1989 owned 33 percent of household wealth, compared to 30 percent in 1986 and 28 percent in 1983. The Gini coefficient went from .72 to .79. Interestingly, most of the increase at the very top came at the expense of the rest of the households in the top quintile. The modest wealth share held by the lower four quintiles remained more or less unchanged.

Whether the holdings of the top 1 percent in 1860 resemble the twentieth century more than the eighteenth depends on whether one uses Soltow or Steckel. If one assumes that the "true" 1860 figure is somewhere between the two estimates, then one could hypothesize a slow rise in wealth concentration among the top 1 percent over the long term. In the likely case that the new figures for 1774 still underestimate the top 1 percent of households' holdings, then the upward slope is gradual indeed.

If the present value of *future* retirement benefits were included in household wealth, the suggestion of Martin Feldstein, then the wealth concentration of the middle and later twentieth century would show a decline from late nineteenth-century levels. There are many problems with doing this, however. The value of Social Security benefits and of pensions is almost impossible to measure, especially under current circumstances with pension fund failures and projections of negative Social Security wealth accumulations for younger workers. But, more important, the whole process makes little sense. First of all, the assertion that future retirement benefits have to be figured in the household wealth of post-1930s families to make the numbers comparable with higher rates of savings recorded earlier, before social insurance programs came into being, overlooks the fact that Social Security and pensions replaced living with relatives, working longer, and collecting military pensions more than they replaced savings. Second, neither the household nor the individual has any control over these future retirement assets. They cannot be marketed or traded or used to exercise economic clout. Since the main purpose of measuring wealth inequality is to measure economic power, it makes no more sense to include them than to include improvements in education or some other public good.²⁰

Overall, what is most remarkable in Table 2 is how little wealth in any period has been owned by the majority of households, those in the bottom three quintiles. At best, they have been able to claim 11 percent.

MOST STUDENTS OF WEALTH INEQUALITY consider the household the only proper unit of analysis and spend considerable time converting individual level estate return data into household level units. But is the household the most appropriate unit when considering inequalities in the wealth distribution? One might argue that, today, inequalities in consumption or even income must be studied on the household level, because all family members benefit from the consumption level

¹⁹ Kennickell and Woodburn, "Estimation of Household Net Worth," Tables 1 and 2.

²⁰ Feldstein, "Social Security and Distribution of Wealth," 800-07; Wolff, "Distribution of Household Wealth," 96.

enjoyed by the person or persons receiving the income. Wealth inequality, however, is not so much a measure of material well-being as a measure of economic power, power that is often exercised individually or with the assistance of money managers rather than with other household members. Also, current trends in divorce and prenuptial agreements argue for the individual as the unit of analysis. Historically, the existence of slavery, indentured servitude, and coverture do the same. Over the past 150 years, both enslaved African Americans and free married women received property rights. Because the wealth holding of African Americans is still so much less than that of whites—black households in 1988 held less than one tenth the median net worth of white households—the effects of emancipation on the concentration of wealth are uncertain.²¹ The wealth holding of white women, however, has changed radically over the past century and a quarter. Sources indicate that prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, women owned less than 10 percent of probate wealth. The passage of married women's property acts in decades around 1860 resulted in a gradual transfer of capital to affluent women. By the end of the nineteenth century, their wealth holdings amounted to one quarter or more of total probate wealth, and it is currently between 40 percent and one half.²² While men may have been the managers of much of this wealth, women held legal title to it. They could alienate and will property. Evidence concerning this appears in Table 3. Because of the tendency of wives to be younger than their husbands and women's greater longevity in the twentieth century, women's share of the wealth of the living population today is less than their share of the probate wealth. What concerns us here, however, is the trend, which makes it clear that over the last century the wealth holding of women has dramatically increased.²³

Table 4 shows what the wealth distribution in 1774 and 1870 looks like when recalculated to represent the adult population rather than households or household equivalents. Also shown are wealth data for 1953, a year for which individual level wealth statistics are available. The result is a much more concentrated wealth distribution for the colonies. In quintiles, 1774 even exceeds the concentration in the 1870s. It is true that the top 1 percent in 1774 owned less than the 1870s' top 1 percent, 28 to 37 percent, but very little of that difference made its way beyond the very wealthiest people. The top 5 percent share in 1774 was 63 percent, not too far from the 70 percent in 1870, and the top quintile in 1774 actually claimed slightly more than its counterpart in 1870. In contrast, the mid-twentieth century's distribution is much more equal, even though the top 1 percent held on to 25 percent of the wealth. If we convert the unit of analysis to the adult population, the wealth distribution trend begins to conform more closely to the popular conception of some redistribution of wealth in the twentieth century. The

²¹ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Household Wealth and Asset Ownership 1988* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 8.

²² Carole Shammass, "Reassessing the Married Women's Property Acts" (unpublished manuscript, 1991).

²³ See Edward N. Wolff and Marcia Marley, "Long-Term Trends in U.S. Wealth Inequality," in Robert E. Lipsey and Helen S. Tice, eds., *The Measurement of Savings, Investment, and Wealth* (Chicago, 1989), 780–81, for an example of transforming individual level estate tax data into household level data, and for the argument that declines in wealth concentration due to women holding more wealth should not be counted as a decline in wealth inequality.

TABLE 3
Percentage of Probated Decedents or Estate Tax Wealthholders Who Were Women and the Percentage of Total Wealth They Owned

| Time | Place | N | Percentage of Women | Women's Percentage of Wealth |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| PROBATE INVENTORIES | | | | |
| 1660-73 | Essex Co., Mass. | 300 | 9.0 | 4.3 |
| 1660-76 | Virginia | 134 | 3.0 | 1.4 |
| 1724-29 | Virginia | 299 | 9.4 | 6.1 |
| 1685-1755 | Bucks Co., Pa. | 748 | 9.5 | 5.3 |
| 17th c.-1771 | New Hampshire | 3,341 | 4.5 | 2.3 |
| 1774 | American Colonies | 919 | 8.8 | 3.7 |
| 1790-1801 | Bucks Co., Pa. | 701 | 16.5 | 7.0 |
| 1803-29 | Butler Co., Ohio† | 249 | 7.2 | 3.1 |
| 1825 | Westchester Co., N.Y. | 43 | 25.0 | 0.0 |
| 1829-31 | Massachusetts | 2,698 | 16.1 | 6.9 |
| 1830-59 | Butler Co., Ohio† | 718 | 15.9 | 4.2 |
| 1850 | Essex Co., N.J.† | 30 | 0.0 | n.a. |
| 1859-61 | Massachusetts | 6,922 | 26.2 | 13.9 |
| 1860-65 | Butler Co., Ohio† | 184 | 18.0 | 9.5 |
| 1875 | Essex Co., N.J.† | 60 | 21.6 | n.a. |
| 1879-81 | Massachusetts | 11,142 | 36.9 | 16.5 |
| 1889-91 | Massachusetts | 14,608 | 42.8 | 26.7 |
| 1891-93 | Bucks Co., Pa. | 761 | 37.8 | 34.6 |
| 1890-1910 | Sacramento Co., Calif. | 307 | 34.5 | n.a. |
| 1898-1900 | Los Angeles Co., Calif.† | 293 | 33.4 | 16.6 |
| 1900 | Essex Co., N.J.† | 60 | 40.0 | n.a. |
| 1929-44 | Dane Co., Wis. | 415 | 36.0 | 28.2 |
| 1957 | Cook Co., Ill. | 74 | 37.8 | n.a. |
| 1963 | Washtenaw Co., Mich. | 346 | 44.5 | n.a. |
| 1964 | Cuyahoga Co., Ohio | 659 | 39.0 | n.a. |
| 1968-84 | Sacramento Co., Calif. | 342 | 51.2 | n.a. |
| 1969 | King Co., Wash. | 74 | 50.0 | 50.1 |
| 1979 | Bucks Co., Pa. | 570 | 47.4 | 52.8 |
| ESTATE TAX RETURNS‡ | | | | |
| 1922 | United States | 395,508 | 24.7 | 24.5 |
| 1948 | United States | 901,369 | 31.2 | 31.1 |
| 1949 | United States | 962,353 | 31.7 | 31.9 |
| 1950 | United States | 1,041,613 | 31.6 | 31.1 |
| 1953 | United States | 1,371,187 | 32.9 | 39.4 |

*Probate wealth in Massachusetts and in all areas in the twentieth century includes realty as well as personalty.

†Testate estates only.

‡The estate tax figures for 1992 are based on the economic (net) estate. The others are based on gross estate figures.

SOURCES: Essex Co., Massachusetts, *Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 3 vols. (Salem, 1916); Virginia 1660-76 and 1724-29, from the court records of York, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Henrico, and Isle of Wight counties, Virginia State Library, Richmond; Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Will Papers, Bucks County Courthouse, Doylestown, Pennsylvania; New Hampshire, Daniel Scott Smith, "The Demography of Widowhood in Preindustrial New Hampshire" (unpublished ms, 1990); American colonies, Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of a Nation to Be: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1980), 220-24, 428 (the percentage of wealth in this 1774 figure is of living wealth holders and only physical wealth); Butler Co., Ohio, William H. Newell, "The Wealth of Testators and Its Distribution in Butler Co. Ohio 1803-65," in James Smith, ed., *Modelling the Distribution of Intergenerational Transmission of Wealth* (Chicago, 1980), 110; Westchester Co., New York, Norma Basch, *In the Eyes of the Law: Women, Marriage, and Property in Nineteenth Century New York* (Ithaca, 1982), 102-06; Massachusetts, *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1895), Part 2, "The Distribution of Wealth," 264-67; Essex Co., New Jersey, Lawrence M. Friedman, "Patterns of Testation in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Essex County (New Jersey) Wills," *American Journal of Legal History*, 8 (1964): 36; Sacramento Co., California, Debra S. Judge and Sarah Blaffer Hrdy, "Bias and Equality in American Legacies: Some Underlying Factors" (unpublished ms, 1988); Los Angeles Co., California, Los Angeles County Hall of Records, Los Angeles; Dane Co., Wisconsin, Edward H. Ward and J. H. Beuscher, "The Inheritance Process in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Law Review*, 1950 (May 1950): 401; Allison Dunham, "The Method, Process, and Frequency of Wealth Transmission at Death," *University of Chicago Law Review*, 30 (1962-63): 249; Washtenaw Co., Michigan, Olin L. Browder, Jr., "Recent Patterns of Testate Succession in the U.S. and England," *Michigan Law Review*, 67 (1969): 1306; Cuyahoga Co., Ohio, Marvin B. Sussman, Judith N. Cates, and David T. Smith, *The Family and Inheritance* (New York, 1970), 71; King Co., Washington, John R. Price, "The Transmission of Wealth at Death in a Community Property Jurisdiction," *Washington Law Review*, 50 (1975): 297-98, 308; Robert J. Lampman, *The Share of Top Wealth-Holders in National Wealth, 1922-56* (Princeton, N.J., 1962), 255-57.

TABLE 4
Wealth Distribution by Adult Population

| Share Held By | 1774 (Net Worth) | 1870 (Total Worth) | 1953 (Gross Estate) |
|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Top 1% | 28% | 37% | 25% |
| Top 5% | 63 | 70 | 40 |
| Quintiles: | | | |
| First | 95 | 92 | 71 |
| Second | 5 | 8 | 17 |
| Third | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Fourth | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Fifth | 0 | 0 | 1 |

SOURCES: Jones, *Wealth of a Nation to Be*, 39, 128; Table 2 and Appendix B of this article; Soltow, *Men and Wealth in the U.S. 1850–1870*, 99; Lampman, *Share of Top Wealth-Holders in National Wealth, 1922–56*, 209, 212–13.

year 1953, as we shall see, was close to the low point in the share claimed by the top 1 percent. Although that percentage has probably increased, its rise has not yet disturbed the quintile distribution.

It appears that much of the improved position of the four lower quintiles vis-à-vis the top quintile since the mid-nineteenth century is due to the increased property holding of women. But not all is. The maximum amount of change between the 1774 and 1953 quintiles that can be explained by women's rise as wealth holders would be a little over 60 percent, but that would be assuming that a woman claimed 50 percent of the wealth of each of the wealth holders in the top decile, thereby doubling the proportion of the population that held that wealth. The top decile's holdings would in effect become the top quintile's holdings. On the one hand, a transfer of wealth from men to women on this scale is very improbable. On the other, it is difficult to believe that between the two periods new female wealth holders did not capture 25 percent of the wealth, which would mean about a third of the change could be accounted for by increases in property holding by women.²⁴

THE MORE EGALITARIAN DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH among quintiles in the twentieth century does not seem to have occurred at the expense of the very top of the distribution. The figures on late twentieth-century wealth distribution among households in Table 2 and in the 1989 Federal Reserve survey show the richest 1 percent possessing 29 to 33 percent of total wealth between the 1960s and 1980s,

²⁴ In 1774, the top decile of the adult population claimed 80 percent of the wealth. If a transformation like the one referred to in the text took place—if each wealth holder, invariably male in 1774, had to give half his wealth to a female who previously had zero wealth—then 80 percent of total wealth would be captured by a quintile, not a decile. In 1953, the top quintile had 71 percent of total wealth, 24 percentage points lower than the 95 percent in 1774. If women accounted for 15 percentage points of that 24, then they accounted for 62.5 percent of the improvement. Not even today, however, do women claim 50 percent of the wealth of the living population. Therefore, a lower estimate of the proportion of change in the distribution due to women's wealth holding seems in order, something between one third and one half.

TABLE 5
Estimated Shares of Total Assets of Top .5 Percent
and 1 Percent of Population

| <i>Year</i> | <i>Top .5 Percent</i> | <i>Top 1 Percent</i> |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1922 | 28.8% | 37.1% |
| 1929 | 31.7 | 35.8 |
| 1939 | 26.7 | 35.9 |
| 1945 | 20.6 | 27.0 |
| 1949 | 18.2 | 23.9 |
| 1953 | 21.2 | 26.5 |
| 1958 | 20.3 | 25.4 |
| 1962 | 22.4 | 28.4 |
| 1965 | 24.2 | 29.9 |
| 1969 | 21.7 | 27.3 |
| 1972 | 21.0 | 26.8 |
| 1976 | 12.8 | 17.3 |
| 1981 | 16.0 | 22.0 |

SOURCE: Edward N. Wolff and Marcia Marley, "Long-Term Trends in U.S. Wealth Inequality: Methodological Issues and Results," in Robert E. Lipsey and Helen S. Tice, eds., *The Measurement of Savings, Investment, and Wealth* (Chicago, 1989), 786.

a share that is as great or greater than the proportion in earlier periods.²⁵ The 1953 gross estate share of the top 1 percent of the adult population gives a somewhat lower number, 25 percent, but it is unclear whether that estimate reflects the use of a different source (estate tax returns), the use of gross estate rather than net estate, the use of individuals rather than households, or whether wealth concentration was actually a bit lower in 1953. It is also the case that none of the figures presented up to this point cover the first half of the twentieth century, when the U.S. government enacted and most vigorously enforced progressive estate, gift, and income tax legislation and when the estate planning and tax avoidance industry was in its infancy. Did any of that legislation make a difference?

As wealth surveys are not generally available prior to 1960, about the only source for obtaining a series on wealth concentration at the top is estate tax returns. Table 5 gives the percentages owned by the top .5 percent and the top 1 percent from 1922 to 1981, according to these returns. Several discontinuities show up in the data. First, a drop occurs in the proportion owned by these top groups beginning after 1929, and it continues through 1949. This drop has been earlier identified by Lampman and Williamson and Lindert and is seen as signaling the emergence of a mature industrial economy, not the result of New Deal taxing policies. A slow climb upward occurs again from 1953 to 1965 and then a sharp decline in wealth share for these groups in the later 1970s. This sharp decline is usually attributed to changes in the relative value of various assets, specifically a drop in the valuation of stocks and bonds, a form of wealth in which the top percentage group invested heavily, accompanied by a growth in home equity, which benefits groups below the top. Likewise, analysts attribute the rise in

²⁵ Winnick, *Toward Two Societies*, 197.

stock prices in the 1980s to the beginning of another rise in the proportion claimed by the top .5 and top 1 percent. This rise observed in 1981 in the tax return data has been confirmed in later Federal Reserve surveys and the SIPP (Survey of Income and Program Participation) surveys conducted by the Census Bureau.²⁶ The relationship between changes in the relative value of assets and political actions remains largely unexplored. The impression is left that these changes are solely the result of business cycles. Of course, attributing changes in the wealth distribution to new policies is tricky. Unlike a drop in stock prices, the effects of new laws or administrative rules is usually gradual and cumulative. Also, such attributions can be politically explosive.²⁷

Findings that the percentages of wealth owned by the top percentage group in 1976 and 1981 were much lower than those reported for any other time in history have raised questions about the consistency of the estate tax return data over the past couple of decades. No such decline in levels can be observed in the Federal Reserve surveys of households. Since wealth analysts argue that, "in principle," the concentration of wealth among households can never be greater than that among individuals, the assumption is that an "underreporting" problem has emerged in the tax return data.²⁸ When household figures from surveys are transformed into individual level data, these estimates are higher than the estimates from the estate data.²⁹ At this point, therefore, there is no reason to believe that the share claimed by the top percentage of the adult population in the 1980s is any lower than it was in the 1960s. The notion of a long-term trend is based on the 36 to 37 percent of wealth owned by the top 1 percent in the 1920s and 1930s, which is also what can be attributed to the top 1 percent in 1870. Because most analysts believe that wealth grew more concentrated during the 1920s, it seems unlikely that, during the entire fifty-year period, the top 1 percent consistently claimed so large a share.

Other work I have done with estate tax returns leads me to believe that it is not so much underreporting per se as actual changes in the tax law and the growth of estate planning devices among the very wealthy that have led to the diminution of what is included in the gross estate. Close examination of the trend in tax rates, revenues, and gross estate values suggests that tax policy during the 1930s and 1940s did result in the top wealth holders having to surrender an average of one third of their gross estate to taxes at death. Taxes paid per estate peaked in 1945. By the mid-1950s, trust and foundation devices had halved the number of gross estates that fell into the top categories, and the marital deduction had made some reduction in the size of the taxable estate. By the 1970s, even before the most

²⁶ Wolff, "Estimates of Household Wealth Inequality," 231–56.

²⁷ Wolff, "Estimates of Household Wealth Inequality," 241, very cautiously suggests that there may be a relationship between over a decade of income inequality and observed increases in wealth concentration. He writes that income inequality has been rising since the mid-1970s at an accelerating rate and that "the movement after 1980 is due, in part, to new social programs enacted by the Reagan administration." The "social programs" are not identified. For an example of the uproar that takes place when there is an attempt to connect wealth concentration data to governmental policies, see the news coverage surrounding a congressional report on the Federal Reserve surveys in 1986, *Milwaukee Sentinel*, August 27, 1986.

²⁸ Wolff, "Estimates of Household Wealth Inequality," 236.

²⁹ Wolff and Marley, "Long-Term Trends in U.S. Wealth Inequality," 835.

dramatic reductions in estate tax rates began to take effect, increased usage of the charitable deduction resulted in the share of gross estate claimed by the top brackets falling to 18 percent.³⁰ Two things are implied by these data. Taxation of the estates of the top 1 percent was on a scale during the New Deal–World War II period that could not help but eventually make some reduction in the size share of that group's wealth. So much of the true gross estate of the very wealthy was escaping estate tax returns after 1950 that the returns became increasingly less useful in estimating wealth concentration. I would argue that the decline in the size share of the top .5 and top 1 percent shown in the 1939–1950 period is probably real, but afterward the percentages cannot be trusted. Undoubtedly, changes in the stock market and housing equity have been important sources of fluctuations in the size share at the top, but the notion that they alone are responsible for the low percentage levels reported in the late 1970s seems unlikely. Likewise, the Reagan tax cuts undoubtedly resulted in an increase in wealth concentration, but the degree of increase is unknown.³¹ And it will remain unknown as long as estate, trust, and foundation returns are kept separate and the only method of ascertaining total personal wealth in the United States is the occasional survey based on the recollections of respondents.

THE HISTORY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH in the United States may not be a good guide to changes in the standard of living, but it does shed light on the nature of the country's economic and political order. The tenacious hold of the top 1 percent on a quarter to a third of total wealth has given a certain continuity to the political economy of the nation.

Belief in a preindustrial period of equality in America rests largely on an accounting that ignores the wealth of colonial officials, British residents, and the legal institutions of coverture, indentured servitude, and slavery. When these elements are taken into account, the wealth of the adult population is more concentrated in the top quintile of the population in colonial times than in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The top quintile held 95 percent of the wealth, while the other 80 percent of the population held only 5 percent.

Industrialization seems to have had less of an effect than is usually attributed to it. During the middle decades of the nineteenth century, wealth may have been redistributed within the top quintile, with the result that the top 1 and 5 percent held more of it and the remaining 15 percent received less. The share of the other 80 percent, however, underwent little change. The share of the second quintile actually rose slightly from 5 to 8 percent. Some of the anguished cries about wealth concentration heard from nineteenth-century Progressives may have had more to do with the declining economic power of the upper middle class than with any change in the capital accumulation of the average citizens.³²

³⁰ Carole Shammas, Marylynn Salmon, and Michel Dahlin, *Inheritance in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1987), 125–46.

³¹ Wolff, "Estimates of Household Wealth Inequality," 241.

³² Preliminary results from a study of decadal wealth inequality during the nineteenth century show little secular trend; Richard Steckel, "Evidence from Tax Records for Massachusetts and Ohio,

However one counts, by household or by individual adults, the last half of the twentieth century shows a noticeable improvement in the share captured from the top quintile by the remaining 80 percent. Depending on the year and the unit of measurement, the remaining 80 percent over the past fifty years has held from 25 to 29 percent of total wealth, compared to 8 to 14 percent in the nineteenth century.

The most salient characteristics of the wealth distribution, namely the consistently large chunk of wealth held by the top 1 percent and the improvement noticeable by the mid-twentieth century in the share of wealth held by the lower 80 percent, can be associated with specific governmental policies. The share claimed by the top 1 percent is highly correlated with progressive tax rates. A whole group of such levies—the estate tax, tax on capital gains, gift tax, and income tax—were introduced on the eve of World War I and then sharply increased in progressivity and impact during the Great Depression and World War II. The effectiveness of these taxes can be measured by the post-1945 growth in those occupations—estate planners, tax accountants, and tax lawyers—created to counteract them. As exemptions increased in the 1950s and rates of taxation fell in the 1960s, the share claimed by the top 1 percent climbed back up. As the government granted further tax benefits to wealthy groups in the 1980s, the share claimed by the top 1 percent climbed to historic highs.

The twentieth-century increase in the share of wealth held by the lower four quintiles involves a more complex mix of policies. Changes in property law and personal status, especially the legal emancipation of women, explain some of this redistribution but not all of it. What need to be explored further are those governmental actions affecting the income, benefits, and investment opportunities of middle and lower income groups. Three sets of policies stand out. Progressive, New Deal, and post-World War II liberal programs that enabled workers to organize and lobby for legislation to improve their wages and benefits are important. Higher lifetime earnings meant increased savings. Social insurance absorbed the cost of illnesses and deaths that routinely wiped out the household savings of earlier generations. Social Security has created its own interest groups, the retiree associations such as the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), which represent a broad spectrum of the older population and lobby to protect Social Security and Medicare benefits.

In the twentieth century, especially after 1940, much of the increased savings of middle and lower wealth groups went into the purchase of homes, an investment made possible by New Deal policies encouraging long-term amortized mortgages.³³

Home equity is the most important source of wealth for all but the top decile of the population. Because, through much of this century, housing values have risen faster than the value of many other forms of investment available to average

1820–1910,” paper delivered at the 1992 meeting of the Social Science History Association, Chicago, Illinois.

³³ Ronald Tobey, Charles Wetherell, and Jay Brigham, “Moving Out and Settling In: Residential Mobility, Home Owning, and the Public Enframing of Citizenship, 1921–1950,” *AHR*, 95 (December 1990): 1395–1422.

income groups, federal housing policy has helped not just the construction industry but also the lower quintiles to capture more of the total wealth pie.

Lest one get too carried away with this progress, however, it is important to note that at no time has the majority of the U.S. adult population or households managed to gain title to any more than about 10 percent of the nation's wealth. Further, the wealth that has trickled down has seldom been at the expense of the top 1 percent of households but, rather, of those placed lower in the top quintile. It is also the case that the governmental policies of the past two decades have been hostile to progressive tax rates and economic measures benefiting workers. Real per capita income began declining in the early 1970s, benefits eroded in the 1980s, and now homeownership rates and housing values have begun to decline. Only retirement income and benefits have held their own, and that situation may pass with the current elderly generation. This situation suggests that the lower four quintiles' share of total wealth may well shrink in future years.

It is not that technological progress, the demographic profile, and capital availability are inconsequential in determining the wealth distribution. Rather, it is that their effects cannot be assessed outside the political system that apportions the resulting assets and liabilities among the population. Wealth inequality is not the product of some inexorable economic development process but the outcome of specific laws regarding property rights, the tax structure, and public expenditures.

Appendix A

Recalculation of the Share of the Top 1 Percent in Jones's 1774 Wealth Data

The figures of John Eardley-Wilmot's *Historical View of the Commission for Enquiring into the Losses, Services, and Claims of the American Loyalists, at the Close of the War between Great Britain and Her Colonies, in 1783* (London, 1815), 196, are 3,157 claims of loss of property totaling £10,078,832. These include all property claims presented, even those disallowed or withdrawn, because those often received compensation or restoration of property from authorities in the former colonies. The claims for loss of income were not included. The crown only accepted claims for certain kinds of property lost under certain conditions, and even then it seldom compensated the claimant for the full amount of the property lost. Thus it is necessary to work with the claims rather than the actual compensation figure.

To get the number and the amount of the Loyalist claims from those, whether British or American residents, who would fall into the top 1 percent of Jones's wealth holders, I first added together all the very large claims mentioned specifically in the Eardley-Wilmot accounts. There were 60 of these claimants, presenting a total of £2,320,083 in claims. To estimate the value and number of the other claims from claimants who claimed wealth of £2,272 or more out of the

remaining 3,097 claims totaling £7,758,749, I relied on the profile of the claimants contained in Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, R.I., 1965), 259–67. Brown's figures indicate that, of the claims he could find full information about, 42 percent were £500 or below, 13 percent were between £501 and £1,000, and 16 percent were between £1,001 and £2,000. I would estimate another 1 percent were between £2,001 and £2,271, the cut-off point cited by Alice Hanson Jones, 14 percent between £2,272 and £5,000, 7 percent between £5,001 and £10,000, and 7 percent over £10,000. I estimated, therefore, that 72 percent of the 3,097 claims were made by claimants with wealth below £2,272 and that they had on the average £1,000, making their share of the claims £2,230,000 and leaving £5,528,749 for the 867 claimants with claims above £2,272. Adding the 867 and 60 and the £5,528,749 to the £2,320,083 makes for a total of 927 claimants with £7,848,832 in Loyalist wealth that belongs to the top 1 percent.

To calculate the actual amount of underestimation due to the exclusion of much of the wealth of British loyalists, who were not at risk to be counted in Jones's probate sample, I again used the figures of claimants given by Wallace Brown. The total value of the 3,157 claims in the Eardley-Wilmot accounts is £10,078,832. £2,320,083 of that amount was what was given to 60 claimants specifically designated as proprietors, land grantees, or loyal British residents. To estimate what share of the remaining 3,097 claims worth £7,758,749 also belongs in the top 1 percent, I assumed first that only claimants with wealth over £2,500 would qualify; the displacement of the former top 1 percent would require an upward shift of the lower boundary of the category. Second, I considered only certain occupational groups as being at risk to be in the British loyalist category—shopkeepers and merchants, who were 18 percent of the claimants, according to Brown; royal or proprietary officeholders, who were 10 percent of the claimants; and Anglican clerics, 2.3 percent. Not all the officials and the shopkeeper-merchants were assumed to be British resident types, however. Brown indicates that 46 percent of the known claimants were from the British Isles and Ireland, and so I assumed that only 46 percent of the two groups should be included. To obtain the actual number of claimants to be included in the calculations, I also had to estimate the proportion of those who had claims of £2,500 or more. Twenty-six percent of Brown's known claimants fell into that category, but the occupational groups mentioned here were wealthier than most others. I assumed that all officeholders were in the £2,500-plus category, and 50 percent of the shopkeeper-merchants and Anglican clerics. That left 303 claimants out of the 3,097 who had been excluded from the top 1 percent of wealth holders. The 60 claimants whose claims were listed in Eardley-Wilmot accounts plus 303 makes a total of 363 excluded.

The worth of the 60 claimants was set at £2,320,083, but the wealth of the other 303 had to be estimated, again on the basis of the percentage breakdowns in Brown. He found that of those over £2,500, 46 percent were £2,500–£5,000, 26 percent were £5,001–£10,000, and 28 percent were over £10,000. Assuming the same proportions for the 303 and assuming mean wealth of each respective category at £3,700, £7,500, and £20,000, these proportions and means produced

wealth for the 303 of £2,806,800, which when added to the £2,320,083, totals £5,126,883. This amount added to the £15,443,442 equals £20,570,325, but an estimated £871,200 has to be subtracted to account for the wealth of the 363 displaced wealth holders whose wealth fell between £2,272 and £2,500. I estimated their wealth averaged £2,400. So the new wealth figure for Jones's top 1 percent is £19,699,125, and the new total wealth figure for Jones's 1774 data is £110,032,683, making the percentage of wealth claimed by the top 1 percent 18 percent.

Appendix B

Transformation of 1774 and 1870 Household Wealth Distribution into the Wealth of the Adult Population

1774 Wealth Distribution

The adult population figures were taken from Jones (p. 39). I assumed, as she did, that none of the unfree adults or the free adult females that had been excluded from her wealth-holder group owned wealth. As about 58 percent of the adult population was unfree or under coverture, the first six deciles of the adult population were clearly 0 percent wealth. Each decile represented 101,079 people. In the situation where the population of a decile of wealth holders had to be split between two of the new individual level deciles, I assumed that the bottom third of the wealth-holding population of that decile owned one fourth of the decile's wealth. Thus the lower two thirds owned half of the deciles' wealth and the top third owned the other half.

1870 Wealth Distribution

Soltow (p. 99) indicates that 40 percent of the adult male population had zero wealth. He estimates that only about 6 percent of women and children were wealth holders (p. 200), but that seems too low for 1870 based on the numbers in Table 3 of this article. His estimate of women and children's wealth being 7.8 percent of the total may be nearer to the mark, as so many female wealth holders owned very little. For the construction of Table 4, I assumed that 20 percent of the adult female population owned wealth and that they owned 10 percent of total wealth. According to the 1870 census, the male and female populations were nearly equal in size.

Consequently, I reduced the adult male decile distribution shown on page 99 of Soltow's book by 10 percent at each decile level. That 10 percent was given to the top 2 deciles of the female population, 7 percent going to the top decile and 3 percent to the next decile. I then combined the two distributions. The top decile of the total adult population was entirely male.

Malcolm X across the Genres

NELL IRVIN PAINTER

Malcolm X, directed by Spike Lee; screenplay by James Baldwin, Arnold Perl, and Spike Lee, based on the book *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* as told to Alex Haley; produced by Marvin Worth, Spike Lee, Monty Ross, Jon Kilik, and Preston Holmes; released by Warner Brothers; rated PG-13.

Also mentioned are *Malcolm X*, a 1972 documentary produced by Marvin Worth and Arnold Perl, in association with Betty Shabazz, re-released by Kit Parker Films; *Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X* with the assistance of Alex Haley (New York: Grove Press, 1965); and Bruce Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (Barrytown, N.Y.: Station Hill Press, 1991).

THE HISTORIAN IN ME DISTRUSTED A DRAMATIC EARLY SCENE in Spike Lee's *Malcolm X* that is set in Omaha. The Ku Klux Klan comes pounding up to the Little family's house on horseback. Initially, the scene seems menacingly authentic—hooded white supremacy in its most recognizable guise bent on terrorizing a helpless black family—but as soon as one recalls that this is supposed to be Omaha, Nebraska, in the 1920s, the sense of realism breaks down.

I assumed this to be yet another employment of the iconography of southern white supremacy, which Americans still think of as the *real* white supremacy, to advance a narrative of black life anywhere in the United States. Spike Lee's *Malcolm X*, like the 1972 documentary of the same name and countless other evocations of black life, uses photos and footage from southern history to hammer home the plight of black people in American life generally. Considering that in Lee's film, a still photograph from 1936 of a Florida lynch victim appears between cuts of the violence that met civil rights activists in Birmingham in 1963, it is hardly surprising that the need to show the Klan as always coming on horseback and riding off into the full moon triumphs again over regional and chronological logic. Once more in film, or so it appeared, D. W. Griffith's images cancel out the unlikelihood of twentieth-century, midwestern, urban Klansmen making their rounds by horse.

But I was wrong to think that Spike Lee had followed the dictates of film school; the image was not Lee's at all. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* opens with this very scene. Lee and his screenwriters were following Malcolm X as though what he had said was history, which it was not. According to Bruce Perry's *Malcolm: The Life of*

a *Man Who Changed Black America*, the story was Malcolm's own invention.¹ This vignette encapsulates the confusion about historical truth that surrounds the figure of Malcolm X in the two genres through which he is best known: his autobiography and Spike Lee's film.

Both *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and the film *Malcolm X* simulate history by purveying autobiographical rather than biographical truths, for the source for each representation is Malcolm's own recomposition of his life from the vantage point of 1964. Alex Haley shaped the autobiography and took it from conversation to publication. A screenplay by James Baldwin, Arnold Perl, and Spike Lee recasts the published autobiography for the 1992 film. While each of these retellings invents a new narrative, neither the book nor the film is congruent with the life that Malcolm Little/Malcolm X lived, day by day, between 1925 and 1965.

The transubstantiations work on several different levels. First of all, autobiography, even when it is not "told to" another but is written by the person who lived the life, reworks existential fragments into a meaningful new whole, as seen from a particular vantage point. Even when the autobiography is not a collaboration, the narrator passes over much in silence and highlights certain themes that become salient in light of what the narrator concludes she or he has become. When the subject is racialized, the narrative nearly always aspires to (acquires in the marketplace) metonymic stylization, as captured in the dust jacket blurb of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* from 1965, which still serves to promote the *Autobiography* today: "In the agony of [his] self-creation [is] the agony of an entire people in their search for identity. No man has better expressed his people's trapped anguish." If Malcolm X is to work as a racial symbol, it is best not to look at him too closely.

THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMING AN INDIVIDUAL into a racial symbol alters the subject's life (with its false starts and, above all, with its intra-racial conflicts) into a narrative whose plot is coded in black and white. Usually, the black protagonist faces "white society" or the "white power structure." Such stark dichotomies are hardly the sign of history that is written sensitively. History grows out of evidence, the more the better, we say—or at least so we said until the late twentieth century, when evidence in absurd abundance threatened to paralyze historians by swamping the research phase of the work.

The best drama, in contrast, is spun out of the fewest number of documents, the least amount of detail and nuance. For the sake of theater, the less we know of thoroughly racialized figures like Malcolm X, the better. When we know enough about a man to analyze his childhood family dynamics, as Bruce Perry has done, then we know enough to realize that what happened between self, parents, and siblings counts as much as—more than?—the oppressiveness of segregation in the public sphere. It is hardly surprising that Spike Lee's movie has reached millions, while Bruce Perry's debunking biography, a 1991 imprint by a small publishing house called Station Hill, is hardly known at all. Even though the makers of Spike

¹ Bruce Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (Barrytown, N.Y., 1991), 3.

Lee's film conducted many interviews, for the purpose of the drama they chose to use a univocal source: *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. The movie should have borne the same title, for it is autobiography rather than history.

As a means of buttressing the historical claims of his film, Spike Lee takes the process of stylization a step further and plays havoc with the distinction between feature and documentary. The results are mind boggling. At crucial junctures, the narrative, which is shot in color, is punctuated with scenes in which Denzel Washington, the actor who plays Malcolm X, appears in black and white—in the press conference in which Malcolm announces his departure from the Nation of Islam, as well as on the stretcher that bears his bullet-ridden body away from the Audubon ballroom and to the hospital. This faux footage replicates documentary technique like that in the 1972 documentary of Malcolm X by Marvin Worth and Arnold Perl, whose authority was also *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Spike Lee is so skilled at fabricating documentation that when Nelson Mandela appeared at the end of *Malcolm X*, I questioned *his* authenticity! The movie's credits reveal more faux footage, as in the black-and-white scene of the Kennedy assassination that is cross-cut poststructurally with Denzel Washington's/Malcolm's reaction to the assassination.

This movie is not a documentary, but it wraps itself in manufactured images of documentary truth. When the images are real—as in footage of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s remarks after the assassination of Malcolm X, the effect can be chilling, for viewers know that King would be the victim of assassination three years later. The verisimilitude of Spike Lee's faux footage is intensified by the cameo appearances of the Reverend Al Sharpton and former Black Panther Bobby Seale. Their roles as street-corner speakers establish a continuity of black nationalist leadership from Malcolm X in the 1960s to the Panthers in the 1970s to Sharpton in the 1980s and 1990s. Given the relative stability of black political grievances, notably police brutality and official harassment, this film may well reopen questions about the role of police and government in Malcolm X's assassination. If so, such an inquiry would underscore the political role of film in African-American life and further blur the line between art and life, between symbolism and history.

Viewed as an artifact of this time rather than of the 1960s, *Malcolm X* subordinates certain aspects of the problem of realism and accentuates others. Spike Lee's film heightens Malcolm's confrontation with the police over the beating of Brother Johnson, as though it were a major turning point rather than one of many steps (sideways and backward as well as forward) in the emergence of the Nation of Islam. For a 1993 audience, Denzel Washington is a good-enough Malcolm X: he looks and talks like Malcolm did in the 1960s; and, from this vantage point, it only matters slightly that Washington is significantly darker-skinned than Little X and much older than Malcolm during much of the action. Although Washington is in his mid-thirties, Malcolm was a teenager during his years as a hustler. He went to prison before turning twenty and was only twenty-seven when he emerged from incarceration in Massachusetts and went to work as an organizer for the Nation of Islam. These are trivialities in racialized drama, where the conflict is posed mainly in terms of black and white and other

questions are less intelligible. When what happens outside the black-white nexus is not of much interest, the black protagonist needs only enough family influence and youthful experience to foreshadow the anguish that will come of being black.

In the movie, Malcolm X's siblings lose the roles they played in his personal and intellectual trajectory, roles that were clearly acknowledged in the *Autobiography*. In life, four of his siblings joined the Nation of Islam before he did, and his family, particularly his brothers Philbert and Reginald, brought him into the fold while he was still in prison. Later on, when Malcolm was acting as Elijah Muhammad's national representative and building the Nation of Islam from 400 to 40,000 adherents, part of the hostility he encountered derived from the fear that by promoting the interests of his brothers, who were also ministers in the Nation, he was building a family dynasty intended to rival that of Elijah Muhammad. After Malcolm left the Nation of Islam in early 1964, his half-sister Ella, a businesswoman in Boston, underwrote his pilgrimage to Mecca. While he spent months on end abroad in 1964–1965, Ella Little took over the leadership of his ephemeral new organizations, the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the Organization of Afro-American Unity, continuing to head them after his assassination. Given the kind of roles allotted to women in the Nation of Islam and in this and Spike Lee's other films, the effacement of the strong and complicated figure of Ella Little is hardly surprising.

Even though their roles are circumscribed, the female characters in Spike Lee's film have bigger parts than they did in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. His girlfriend Laura's place in the autobiography is narrowly circumscribed, although Alex Haley notes in his epilogue that Malcolm blamed his own shoddy treatment of Laura for her eventual ruin (which seems unlikely unless his role in her life was far larger than the autobiography or Perry's biography indicates). In the feature film, the figure of Laura reappears at several junctures, first as the proper young black woman whom the teenaged Malcolm deserts for a white woman named Sophia. Laura sharpens the point that the *Autobiography* makes obliquely by telling Malcolm, "I'm not white and I don't put out, so why would you want to call me, Malcolm?" Young Laura's purity contrasts with the figure she presents as the film progresses. When Malcolm arouses her sexually, she becomes willing to jettison her grandmother's prohibitions. Later, she is naïvely vulnerable to the manipulation of a freeloading junkie boyfriend. Finally, as a prostitute at the bottom of the pit of degradation, Laura is seen giving a white john a blow-job in a Harlem doorway. (Spike Lee does not explain how she gets from Boston to New York.)

At other points, Lee phrases succinctly the patriarchal gender values of the Nation of Islam. Malcolm admonishes his wife Betty not to raise her voice in *his* home. A scene at a Savior's Day Rally hammers home the message, as the audience sees a banner stretched across the balcony in which the sisters are sequestered. It reads: "We must protect our women, our most valuable possession." Is Spike Lee using this prop ironically? I'm not sure, for popular black nationalism, in the 1990s as in the 1960s, often espouses precisely this sort of gender ideal. Lee may be using the Nation of Islam to preach a gospel that he also finds appealing.

SPIKE LEE'S *MALCOLM X* CAPTURES THE STRENGTHS of the Nation of Islam in redeeming poor, black incarcerated men for useful lives. Elijah Muhammad wrote to black inmates, many of whom lacked Malcolm's family, and the Nation played a unique role in educating and empowering the most vulnerable men in American society. The content of the Nation's beliefs is not well explained, however, and Lee's film (like the biography and documentary film) glosses over the weirder themes in Elijah Muhammad's doctrine, which he learned from Master W. D. Fard in Detroit in 1931. (Fard's portrait appears on the walls of Elijah Muhammad's house in the feature film. Fard was even more light-skinned than Muhammad.) Fard taught that when blacks separated from whites, they would enter heaven on earth, after four hundred years of hell on earth under the control of white devils. Fard and Muhammad said that the black man was the original man, and that whites had been purposefully bred out of the original man six thousand years earlier in order to put black people through hell. The end of time was near, and on a day of judgment Allah would defeat whites and vindicate blacks through racial separation.

Both the feature and the documentary films mention the Nation of Islam's apocalyptic vision of racial redemption, but neither fleshes it out. The Nation's solution to American racism, the creation of a black state out of Georgia and Alabama, is similarly phrased in terms that are suitably vague. Spike Lee's film reveals why so many black Americans were drawn to the Nation of Islam through Malcolm X's preaching of black beauty and power; but, by deleting the inane portions of the creed, it eliminates the mystery of why so intelligent a person as Malcolm X would stay twelve years in such a narrow-minded movement. Answering that question means stepping outside the framework of Spike Lee's film.

The Nation of Islam is a combination of two intellectual traditions: first, holiness religion of the sort that is commonly found in working-class black neighborhoods and that appeals primarily to women and, second, the masculinist tradition of black nationalism continued by the Black Panthers in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Within urban Afro-American life, the first tradition is strongly class-based, the second is highly gendered.

Holiness religion is perfectionist and apocalyptic, maintaining that the end is near and the faithful must prepare for judgment by purifying their thoughts, behavior, and bodies. Black Muslims, like acolytes of holiness churches, must take baths frequently, dress modestly, and eat healthfully (little or no meat, no pork, lots of fresh fruits and vegetables); they must not smoke, drink alcohol, use drugs, curse, gamble, steal, or fornicate. Men wear white shirts and suits, women wear long dresses, head coverings, and no make-up. Both holiness Christianity and the Nation of Islam have saved thousands of poor blacks from the snares of vice-ridden neighborhoods.

Critics of the Nation of Islam have sometimes remarked on the paradox of black nationalists' adopting the trappings of "the white middle-class," but that designation is flawed. Muslims, like many other people of color in similar clothing, are dressing for respectability, not for racial transmogrification. Respectability, like the putative characteristics of economic class, are for many Americans color-coded: the stereotypical vices of the poor (intemperance, laziness, feckless-

ness, immorality) are in the United States the stereotypical vices of blacks; the supposed virtues of the middle class (thrift, hard work, sobriety, moral rectitude) are associated with whites.

RACIAL STEREOTYPE, which has long tended to lump all blacks together, regardless of their class, gender, or region, deeded black nationalism an intellectual inheritance with many of white supremacy's serious flaws. Malcolm X, in autobiography, documentary film, and feature film, exhibits one such weakness, a preoccupation with whiteness, in three different guises. On the most obvious level, whiteness provides the measure of beauty and desirability for young Malcolm Little, who undergoes excruciating pain in order to conk (straighten) his hair. In the film and in *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. Malcolm and his composite sidekick, Shorty, display white girlfriends like trophies. In Malcolm's case, whiteness alone does not quite suffice. In the *Autobiography*, he emphasizes Sophia's elegant clothing. Her relatively elevated class standing is also indicated in the feature film, as Sophia presents herself as a classy dame who is better than the trashy poor white women, "harps" (Irish-Americans) with whom black men were more likely to associate.

In the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X outgrows the aesthetic of whiteness, but the gaze of the superego figure he terms "the white man" remains steady. While "the white man" is the devil and "the white man" has done only evil in this world, Malcolm X seems to agree with the judgment of "the white man" with regard to the self-destructive behavior of poor blacks. Minister Malcolm X hectors his audience for ingesting the white man's poisons: pork, cigarettes, white women. "The white man sees you and laughs," says Malcolm, calling on the scorn of strange white people to induce dietary and sexual reform.

At the very end of the Spike Lee film, "the white man" goes from stern parent to Islamic brother. After his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1964, El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz/Malcolm X wrote an open letter to the Muslim Mosque, Inc., in New York that is quoted in both films and reproduced in the *Autobiography*.² In the letter, Malcolm marvels at the color blindness he encounters in Mecca and reports that he has prayed and eaten and slept with brother Muslims whose skin was the whitest white and whose eyes were the bluest blue and whose hair was the blondest blonde. (Those white Muslims may have been Bosnians, the very people whom Serbs are slaughtering and raping today in the name of "ethnic cleansing.") The geography of the Muslim world is such that fair-skinned pilgrims in Saudi Arabia would have formed a small minority, who were remarkable to Malcolm X because the figure of "the white man" had acquired such salience in his own ideology. The great majority in Mecca would have been more or less brownish people from Asia and Africa.

In 1964 and early 1965, as Malcolm traveled widely and came into contact with pan-Africanism and anti-imperialism, he grew intellectually and began to situate

² Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, with the assistance of Alex Haley (New York, 1965), 339-42.

American racial issues within a broader context. Had he lived, he might well have outgrown the intellectually constricting aspects of black nationalism. But in 1964, he knew he would not live much longer. The Nation of Islam (with official support?) assassinated him, in a spectacular and tragic example of black nationalism's inability to tolerate intra-racial diversity. During most of his public life, Malcolm X, too, subscribed to the unifying tenets of the Nation, which lacked language with which to manage dissent or conceive of difference within the race.

The rhetoric of the Nation as preached so effectively by Malcolm X dwelled endlessly on "the white devil" and "the black man." Interracial conflict was not nearly so dramatic in Malcolm's own life, for he was as much the victim of poverty as of racism. Spike Lee emphasizes the dramatic parallel between the burning of the Little family's home in Lansing, Michigan, and the fire-bombing of Malcolm's family home in New York, but the parallel, no matter how spectacular, is flawed: Malcolm called the Lansing fire a white-on-black crime, while he blamed the conflagration in New York on the Nation of Islam.

THE LEADING THEME IN MALCOLM'S LIFE was actually intra-racial conflict, which, in the last analysis, took his life. Like Americans who lack a conceptual category for black respectability, Malcolm X (and black nationalists generally) found it difficult to envision a Negro race made up of people of different classes and clashing convictions. Malcolm much preferred to speak in the singular, as though all twenty-two million African Americans had identical interests and needs. The Nation of Islam offered solutions to "the black man," no matter what "his" education or income. Women in the Nation were to accept the interests of Muslim men as their own.

Racial unity is the great ideal of the various strains of black nationalism, and it is usually considered an attainable goal. If black people were united, so the reasoning goes, they could challenge racial oppression effectively; if black people were united, they could advance economically; if black people were united, they would represent a potent political influence. In this ideology, the impediment to unity is not the implausibility of tens of millions of people without their own governmental institutions or police power acting together in unison. Instead, racial unity is seen as being prevented by the actions of traitors who are in cahoots with whites. Malcolm X identified race traitors as educated blacks and house Negroes, and he usually treated these two kinds of people as one.

While he was proud of his own self-education and wanted young black people to educate themselves, Malcolm X denied that formal education was good for African Americans. He labeled black Ph.D.s "Uncle Thomases" and called them fakes and traitors, asking his audiences what a black man with a Ph.D. was called. Answer: "A n---er!" As if to say that for a black person, formal education serves for naught.

For Malcolm X before 1964, formal education served for less than naught, because he saw a close connection between blacks with education and what he called "the house Negro," the slave who loved his master better than himself or

other black people, that is, the traitor to his race. These lines always got a laugh when Malcolm appeared on television or on college campuses, and they still do in the movies that have appeared since his assassination. Even those who were skewered managed to laugh at their own expense, for, despite his harsh rhetoric, Malcolm X remained a good-humored man whose razor wit never became personal. This, at least, is my memory of seeing him in the early 1960s.

When he spoke at the University of California at Berkeley, I was one of a handful of black students in his audience, and I recall my realization that he was not really talking to us. Malcolm X spoke around us to white people, even though educated blacks like us were his rhetorical *bête blanche*. Like "the white man," we were a stereotype, but we were not nearly so interesting. As stereotype, we had a part to play in the drama of foiled race unity, but his real engagement was with the vast majority of his audience, whom he could bait and smile at with devastating effectiveness. As sidelined players in his American drama, we nevertheless relished Malcolm's appearance, for he was able to discomfort white people with an enviable skill that we did not possess. He was smart, assertive, funny, and, all in all, very entertaining. After he left the Nation of Islam, he realized what we had hoped, that he could do better than tailor his analysis to fit the demands of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's creed.

The second and last time I saw Malcolm X was in West Africa in the fall of 1964. Perhaps because ideologically he was becoming more like us—the well-educated Afro-American community sheltering in Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana—our existence seemed to annoy him no longer. He was at home intellectually, but he was also utterly exhausted physically. When he returned to New York, Malcolm tried to implement what he had learned by founding new organizations that were still black nationalist. He also moved to the left politically, which, had he lived, would have ultimately strained his racial ideals.

Given the Nation of Islam's willingness to shed blood, I doubt it would have been possible for Malcolm X to survive much longer. He certainly felt, when he finished his work with Alex Haley, that he would not live to see the publication of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, and he did not. Had he somehow managed to preserve his life, his intellectual trajectory would probably have continued leftward and away from black nationalism. Would he still have inspired Huey Newton and Bobby Seale to found the Black Panther Party, which repeated much of the Nation of Islam's tragic history? Probably not, for by 1966–1967, Malcolm X would have seen the danger inherent in a fascination with guns and come to resemble the Nelson Mandela of the late 1980s. Nelson Mandela, another symbol of race and manhood, is the figure with whom Spike Lee closes his film. The vision—still pan-African—raises hopes for another round of consciousness-raising among black nationalists.

“Myth” and the Making of “Malcolm X”

GERALD HORNE

IN COMMON ORDINARY USAGE, to engage in myth making suggests falsification, factual inaccuracies, and the like. However, from another vantage point, myths are not necessarily lies, they are explications. These narratives extracted from history perform a symbolic function essential to the culture that produced them. Myths, in this sense, are useful parables and allegories containing lessons for today. They help to explain the world.

That is the good news. The bad news is that myths, at times, can be misleading, not so much for mangling the facts but for neglecting certain facts or distorting the relationship between facts. As we have been reminded repeatedly and accurately, the negative value of myth is reflected in the traditional story of the “Old West.” And Hollywood, the anchor of the West, has been a major producer of myths.¹

What is called the civil rights movement or the post–World War II trajectory of African-American history has developed a certain mythology that Spike Lee’s estimable and worthy epic, *Malcolm X*, seeks to replace with an alternative mythology. The traditional myth is centered on Martin Luther King, Jr., with Rosa Parks and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) playing pivotal supporting roles. All of a sudden, in the mid-1950s—during a period, we are told, for some reason otherwise somnolent—Negroes, led by Dr. King and assisted by brilliant attorneys and related law enforcement personnel, not to mention sympathetic white elites, started marching and getting their rights.² The U.S. film industry, in *Mississippi Burning*, *The Long Walk Home*, and

¹ Richard White, “It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own”: A History of the American West (Norman, Okla., 1991); Richard Slotkin, *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800–1890* (New York, 1985); Patricia Nelson Limerick, et al., eds., *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence, Kan., 1991); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987); Arna Bontemps and Langston Hughes, eds., *The Book of Negro Folklore* (New York, 1958); Alan Dundes, comp., *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel: Readings in the Interpretation of Afro-American Folklore* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972). Myth making is not peripheral; it can be central. See Dan Moldea, *Dark Victory: Ronald Reagan, MCA, and the Mob* (New York, 1986).

² Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America’s Struggle for Equality* (New York, 1976); David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York, 1986); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York, 1988); Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Fred Powledge, *Free at Last? The Civil Rights Movement and the People Who Made It* (New York, 1992); Peter B. Levy, ed., *Let Freedom Ring: A*

other films, has presented a variation of this theme, featuring ever-pious, long-suffering blacks and heroic whites, in a fashion not unlike anti-apartheid epics such as *Cry Freedom* and *A Dry White Season*. During these seasons of racial strife and conflagrations in Los Angeles, such images can be quite soothing and reassuring.

With his usual audacity, Spike Lee has dared to create a competing myth, akin to what Oliver Stone attempted in his alternative myth of Camelot, *JFK*. *Malcolm X* presents angry, not meek blacks. It suggests that Jim Crow violence and exploitation were eroded not only by smart lawyers and adroit FBI agents but by angry black Muslims and nationalists as well. In this alternative view, the nonviolence and passive resistance of Dr. King is juxtaposed with Malcolm X's language of militant self-defense. The narrative focuses on the many transformations of Malcolm, from terrorized child to hustler to prisoner to narrow nationalist to progressive nationalist.

Neither the King nor the Malcolm myth is an outright falsification (although some of the celluloid versions of the former come perilously close to this shifting border). However, both neglect highly relevant and persuasive evidence because it does not necessarily comport with the contemporary lessons that one is to draw from these myths. For example, in a nation where the Cold War and the Red Scare have been the defining postwar paradigms, the attacks on the civil liberties of black leftists—which were taking place as civil rights for blacks generally were being expanded—are not part of either myth. It is as if W. E. B. Du Bois, Paul Robeson, Ben Davis, Claudia Jones, and William Patterson did not exist. That Spike Lee, a filmmaker, could not transcend in *Malcolm X* limits that have ensnared many historians and activists should not come as a surprise.

JUST BEFORE THANKSGIVING DAY in 1948, the man who was to become Malcolm X sent a form letter to Elijah Muhammad of the Nation of Islam seeking to join this religious sect. At that juncture, membership was relatively small and the Nation's fiery anti-white rhetoric had failed to strike much of a chord.³ W. E. B. Du Bois had just been ousted from the leadership of the NAACP because of his refusal to go along with accommodation to the gathering Cold War consensus. He was still playing a key role in the Council on African Affairs, the leading organization in

Documentary History of the Modern Civil Rights Movement (New York, 1992); Carl T. Rowan, *Dream Makers, Dream Breakers: The World of Justice Thurgood Marshall* (Boston, 1993); Kay Mills, *This Little Light of Mine: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (New York, 1993).

³ Karl Evanzz, *The Judas Factor: The Plot to Kill Malcolm X* (New York, 1992). Evanzz, a reporter for the *Washington Post*, has written the most informative book on Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam to date. For a sampling of the literature, see Bruce Perry, *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (Barrytown, N.Y., 1991). For my critical review of this book, see *New York Amsterdam News*, November 30, 1991; Joe Wood, ed., *Malcolm: In Our Own Image* (New York, 1992); James Cone, *Martin and Malcolm and America: A Dream of a Nightmare* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1991); Peter Goldman, *The Death and Life of Malcolm X* (New York, 1974); C. Eric Lincoln, *The Black Muslims in America* (Boston, 1973).

the United States involved in seeking to critique and alter U.S. policy toward colonialism and apartheid.⁴ Ben Davis, a top black Communist, was still a member of the New York City Council, with substantial support from the Harlem community that was to cheer Malcolm X a few years later. Claudia Jones, an Afro-Trinidadian Communist leader in New York City, was becoming increasingly concerned about being deported, and William Patterson was just assuming leadership of the Civil Rights Congress (CRC), which was to defend Du Bois, Davis, Jones, Robeson, and the numerous other black leftists who were prosecuted, jailed, or harassed in the post-1948 era. At this juncture, the CRC was well respected and was collaborating with the NAACP and other centrist formations.⁵

By 1958, Malcolm X was attracting throngs to the Nation of Islam, especially in New York City, headquarters of the black Left. His ideas of "white devils," the tale of Yakub, and the evils of melanin-deficient people drew a generally favorable response in areas where, less than a decade earlier, disputed heirs of the Enlightenment—black Marxists and radicals—were attracting adherents with a narrative that did not stint on identification with Africa but did not embrace anti-white rhetoric, either. What had happened?

What had happened was something that neither the King myth nor its alternative presented in *Malcolm X* confronts. How could the United States dare to posture as the paragon of human rights locked in Cold War competition for "hearts and minds" with Moscow, when African Americans were treated like third-class citizens? Jim Crow had to go.⁶ But an obstacle was the presence of this militant and leftist black leadership, who were all too friendly to Moscow. They had to go, too.

The attack on Du Bois and the undermining of black radicalism generally, not unlike the pattern now obtaining in Eastern Europe, created favorable conditions for the rise of various forms of nationalism, some progressive and some xenophobic; it is ironic indeed that many who cheered the demise of the Left are now acting as if its defeat had nothing to do with the rise of nationalism.⁷ The

⁴ Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944–1963* (Albany, N.Y., 1985).

⁵ Gerald Horne, *Communist Front? The Civil Rights Congress, 1946–1956* (Rutherford, N.J., 1988); Gerald Horne, "The Case of the Civil Rights Congress: Anti-Communism as an Instrument of Social Repression," in Judith Joel and Gerald M. Erickson, eds., *Anti-Communism: The Politics of Manipulation* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1987); Gerald Horne, "William Patterson, 1891–1980," in *Research Guide to American Historical Biography*, vol. 5 (Washington, D.C., 1991); Gerald Horne, "Ben Davis, 1904–1964," in *Research Guide to American Historical Biography* (Washington, D.C., 1991); Martin Baum Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York, 1988).

⁶ Gerald Horne, "The Bolshevik Revolution and Afro-American Liberation," in Marilyn Bechtel and Daniel Rosenberg, eds., *Nations and Peoples: The Soviet Experience* (New York, 1984); Gerald Horne, "Civil Rights/Cold War," *Guild Practitioner*, 48 (Fall 1991): 109–15.

⁷ Gerald Horne, "Re-educating the US Working Class on Race and Class," in Joseph F. Wilson, et al., eds., *The Re-education of the American Working Class* (Westport, Conn., 1990), 171–82; Gerald Horne, *Studies in Black: Progressive Views and Reviews of the African-American Experience* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1992); Robert M. Hayden, "Yugoslavia: Where Self-Determination Meets Ethnic Cleansing," *New Perspectives Quarterly*, 9 (Fall 1992): 41–46. A variation of this trend arose recently when the eminent anthropologist and president of Spelman College in Atlanta, Dr. Johnetta Cole, was criticized sharply by certain forces within the Jewish community after her name was mentioned as a possible secretary of education in the cabinet of President Bill Clinton. Attacked were her alleged ties

assault on Left-led CIO unions served to undermine their tradition of militant, interracial struggle.⁸ As unions condoned or promoted racism, the Nation's message about starting businesses—not working for someone else—began to make more sense. When televised violence erupted, featuring white racists beating black protesters, the black Left narrative that sought to explain such bestiality in terms of class, race, and capitalism was barely visible. A competing narrative that featured denunciations of "white devils" could be received more readily in the absence of the black Left narrative. The anti-white rhetoric had an obvious downside for U.S. elites, but, considering the alternative of challenges to property spearheaded by an exceedingly competent black Left, this rhetoric was deemed tolerable and acceptable. It had the added advantage of allowing black youth to blow off militant steam, without unduly jeopardizing property relations.

Spike Lee deftly portrays the avid reception of Malcolm's anti-white language, but, like most, he does not provide a proper context that might help to explain why the black leader's words fell on such receptive ears.

WHEN THE LENGTHENED SHADOW OF THE BLACK LEFT reappeared in the 1960s in the Black Panther Party, which was aided in its formation by William Patterson, it, too, had to go.⁹ When Malcolm X turned away from narrow nationalism to embrace a more progressive form of nationalism—when he followed in Patterson's footsteps by seeking to take the Black Question to the United Nations—he was killed by narrow nationalists who may have been manipulated by others. Malcolm and a number of Panthers were murdered by narrow nationalists who today—according to the newspapers—have ideological hegemony among black youth.¹⁰ In other words, progressive nationalist forces in the black community were liquidated by narrow nationalists (possibly in league with others), who now

to specific left-wing organizations critical of U.S. foreign policy. (I should add that I had or have actual ties to the groupings in question.) Although there is much hand-wringing in New York City about the state of Jewish and Afro-American relations, Dr. Cole, a black woman, was also assailed for speaking in praise of a Jewish man—Herbert Aptheker. *Forward*, December 11, 1992; *Washington Post*, December 14, 1992; *New York Times*, December 17, 1992.

⁸ James J. Matles and James Higgins, *Them and Us: Struggles of a Rank-and-File Union* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974); Charles P. Larrowe, *Harry Bridges: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States* (Westport, Conn., 1972); Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619–1981* (New York, 1982).

⁹ Huey P. Newton, "War against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Cruz, 1980); Bobby Seale, *A Lonely Rage: The Autobiography of Bobby Seale* (New York, 1978); Elaine Brown, *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story* (New York, 1992); David Hilliard and Lewis Cole, *This Side of Glory: The Autobiography of David Hilliard and the Story of the Black Panther Party* (Boston, 1993); William L. Van Deburg, *New Day in Babylon: The Black Power Movement and American Culture, 1965–1975* (Chicago, 1992); Kenneth O'Reilly, *Racial Matters: The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972* (New York, 1989).

¹⁰ *New York Times*, January 18, 1993: "Their perception that [Martin Luther] King was a sellout is rooted in two factors. First, it reflects the continued influence of certain varieties of 1960's black power and black nationalist rhetoric, which often cast the debate about race in narrow, dualistic terms. Either one was for black separatist racial strategies or one was a pawn of white America." See also *In These Times*, January 25, 1993: "Among black students on college campuses no black person is more popular than [Louis] Farrakhan."

hold sway. It may be fair to conclude that the life expectancy of narrow nationalists is and has been longer than that of the progressive nationalists. At present, this relevant fact is absent from most discourses, narratives, and myths in the African-American community.

That is not all. Black youth, in their myth making, have decided that the ideological descendants of the revered Malcolm X are those same forces who worked to kill him. I had a firsthand experience with this belief on September 9, 1992, when I interviewed Preston Holmes, a producer of the *Malcolm X* film, on my radio program on the Pacifica station in Los Angeles; repeatedly, I was instructed by callers and other participants that Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam leadership, including Louis Farrakhan, were about to reconcile just before Malcolm X was murdered in February 1965. The truth is, during a radio interview on February 18, 1965, on WINS-AM in New York, days before he was killed, Malcolm assailed his former comrades in the Nation of Islam in harsh terms, more than once. This story of reconciliation is part of a myth that promotes a form of contemporary black unity. But it happens to be inaccurate.¹¹

In his memoir detailing his construction of *Malcolm X*, Spike Lee concedes that he approached the question of Louis Farrakhan and the minister's mentor, Elijah Muhammad, gingerly. Tampering with the myth that Farrakhan is the ideological descendant of Malcolm X could conceivably upset the core audience for his film, black youth. So Minister Farrakhan is the unseen but looming presence in this film. He is absent because to include him would have been too difficult to explain and would have disturbed a major myth.

Despite the involvement of Nation of Islam members in Malcolm X's murder, the sect was a beneficiary of his legacy. For example, when Watts exploded in rebellion in August 1965, the authorities had difficulty blaming the "Red Scare" or Communist agitators—too good a job had been done in eliminating them—so the "Black Scare," or the Nation of Islam, was blamed. The murder of Malcolm had settled a major issue: it was determined that the Nation would not become involved in secular politics. But the incessant effort by local and national elites to point to anything but the deteriorating socioeconomic climate in south-central Los Angeles as a cause for the revolt led them to blame the Nation of Islam. In turn, this increased the sect's visibility and boosted its ideology and religion. Watts 1965 not only featured random "anti-white violence," or, more precisely, attacks on the melanin deficient (since lighter-skinned blacks such as H. Claude Hudson of the NAACP and Congressman Augustus Hawkins were also apprehensive about being in the streets at that time), but the concern caused as a result of this fracture in the black community also presumably helped to forge a black unity that many felt a besieged minority could not live without.¹²

¹¹ Malcolm X, *February, 1965, The Final Speeches*, Steve Clark, ed. (New York, 1992); Bruce Perry, ed., *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* (New York, 1989).

¹² Spike Lee with Ralph Wiley, *By Any Means Necessary: The Trials and Tribulations of the Making of Malcolm X* (New York, 1992), 50–58; Gerald Horne, "Hell in the City of Angels: 1965–1992," *Guild Practitioner*, 49 (Summer 1992): 65–72; Gerald Horne, "African-Americans 'Riot' in Watts," in Frank N. Magill, ed., *Great Events from History II* (Pasadena, Calif., 1992), 1301–04; see also Gerald Horne, *Fire This Time: The Watts Uprising and the Meaning of the 1960s* (forthcoming); Gerald Horne, "1965–1992: No Leap Forward," *Crossroads*, 1 (June 1992): 15.

SPIKE LEE'S UNWILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE THE NUANCES of Malcolm's story did not assuage some critics. Yusef Salaam, writing in the December 5, 1992, edition of the *New York Amsterdam News*, the black-oriented weekly, condemned Lee for suggesting in an interview that "the Hon. Elijah Muhammad and Minister Louis Farrakhan had something to do with the death of Malcolm." In the November 21, 1992, edition of the same paper, Farrakhan himself is reported to have alleged that the film may be part of an effort to destroy him and the sect he leads.

Because the Lee film tracks so faithfully Malcolm X's duly praised autobiography, one might have expected certain black critics to have applauded this movie. Instead, former SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael, speaking from West Africa, condemned the film and Lee personally in incendiary language.¹³ Armond White, writing in the Brooklyn-based black weekly, the *City Sun*, of December 2–8, 1992, was equally unkind. In New York City, where Lee resides, where Malcolm lived, and where knowledge of him is at its zenith, a number of forums were held in which the speakers heaped vitriolic criticism on the film.¹⁴

A repeated complaint about the film is reflected in the words of Maulana Karenga, a founder of the African-American holiday Kwanza, a popular speaker on college campuses, and whose organization, US, was implicated in the murder of Black Panthers. The December 26, 1992, edition of the *New York Amsterdam News* quoted him as saying, "Nowhere in the movie did Lee show Malcolm meeting with world leaders, especially on the African continent." This complaint happens to be valid. Karl Evanzz reveals and FBI documents show that, during the last months of his life, Malcolm was meeting repeatedly with African leaders and diplomats. Even before then, Malcolm was interpreting the heralded 1955 Bandung conference of African and Asian leaders as spelling doom for the "white devils." This is a glaring omission in the film, but the critics apparently forget that neither the dominant King-driven myth nor the alternative Malcolm myth gives a proper account of the play of international forces. Lee's flaw is not his alone.¹⁵

¹³ *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1993.

¹⁴ *New York Amsterdam News*, December 5, 1992; *New York Amsterdam News*, December 12, 1992. This sensitivity about discussing difficult issues in the black community also was manifested during my 7 p.m. (PST) Pacifica Radio show in Los Angeles on January 20, 1993. I was interviewing Professor Bruce Tyler of the University of Louisville, who is writing a book that concerns in part the sharp conflict that erupted in the 1960s between the Panthers and the black "cultural nationalists" of the United States. A number of callers instructed us that this was not a worthy subject for discussion and that it threatened to disrupt black unity.

¹⁵ See Merton L. Dillon, *Slavery Attacked: Southern Slaves and Their Allies, 1619–1865* (Baton Rouge, La., 1990). From the beginning of their presence on these shores, it was feared that blacks would ally with the enemies of prevailing Euro-American elites, be they in Madrid, Paris, Port-au-Prince, Mexico City, or elsewhere. See also Alexander DeConde, *Ethnicity, Race, and American Foreign Policy: A History* (Boston, 1992); Alexander DeConde, *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797–1801* (New York, 1966); Alfred N. Hunt, *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America: Slumbering Volcano in the Caribbean* (Baton Rouge, La., 1988); Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1961); James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783–1870* (London, 1976). The subsequent fear that Du Bois, Robeson, et al. would align with Moscow should be viewed in this overall context of insecurity about the real loyalties of African Americans.

Indeed, with the dawning of the Cold War, the preeminent civil rights organization, the NAACP, drifted inexorably away from the international arena; since the eclipsing of Du Bois and the demise of the Black Panther Party, few African-American organizations, activists, or intellectuals work consistently with and write critically about international affairs, although the country from which they hail plays an outsized and frequently negative role in the global arena.¹⁶

Having said that, however, there is little question that the film could have been enhanced immeasurably if more attention had been paid to the global dimension. Karl Evanzz argues provocatively that the Black Dragon Society of Japan had a hand in the founding of the Nation of Islam in the 1930s and influenced its line of anti-white rhetoric.¹⁷ One scene framing this explosive connection with its manifold contemporary resonances would have greatly added to the drama of the film and the understanding of the Nation of Islam itself. Now it seems that the forthcoming filmed version of Michael Crichton's novel *Rising Sun* will touch on this question of anti-whiteness. This dark story about U.S.-Japan relations features the popular black actor Wesley Snipes in a crucial role, one in which he is opposed to Tokyo; interestingly, this black character is absent from the novel.¹⁸

Other scenes detailing Malcolm's meetings with leaders in Egypt, Tanzania, Ghana, and elsewhere would have given a fuller understanding of the slain martyr and his times. Dramatizing Malcolm's meeting with Fidel Castro in Harlem in 1960 would have been worthwhile.¹⁹ The construction of the Malcolm myth—and it is heavily influenced by a pervasive narrow nationalism quite different from internationalism—is still in process, but as of now, like the King myth, it has not encompassed the international dimension. To do so might necessitate encompassing a now taboo history involving the Council on African Affairs and the black Left; and, unfortunately, this important history has yet to be subjected to the systematic inquiry it deserves.

There is another complex political question involving internecine conflict

¹⁶ Gerald Horne, "Racism and the New World Order" in Stephanie Baker, ed., *New Walls in Europe: Nationalism and Racism—Civic Solutions* (Prague, 1992), 31–35; Gerald Horne, "Hands across the Water: Afro-American Lawyers and the Decolonization of Southern Africa," *Guild Practitioner*, 45 (Fall 1988): 110–28. There are exceptions, for instance, Congressman Ronald Dellums of Berkeley, Samori Marksman of Pacifica Radio, Don Rojas, editor of the *New York Amsterdam News* and former press secretary to slain Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Admittedly, there has been activity on certain "black" issues: apartheid, Haitian refugees, etc. But my opinion is that the response has not been commensurate to the challenge. Where was the response to Star Wars, the B-1 bomber, the U.S.-backed coup in Chile in 1973, tacit support for the genocidal Khmer Rouge in Cambodia? The list is long.

¹⁷ Evanzz, *Judas Factor*, 138; A recent study disputes the widely held belief that during this century blacks closed ranks with Washington against Tokyo. Reginald Kearney, "Afro-American Views of the Japanese, 1900–1945" (Ph.D. dissertation, Kent State University, 1991); John Dower, *War without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, 1986); Gerald Horne, "Imperialist Rivalries," *Political Affairs*, 71 (November 1992): 9–15; Gerald Horne, "The Thomas-Hill Hearings and the Nexus of Race, Gender and Nationalism," in Robert Allen and Robert Chrisman, *Court of Appeal: The Black Community Speaks Out on the Racial and Sexual Politics of Clarence Thomas vs. Anita Hill* (New York, 1992), 92–95.

¹⁸ Michael Crichton, *Rising Sun: A Novel* (New York, 1992); *Los Angeles Times*, January 24, 1993.

¹⁹ Rosemary Mealy, *Memories of a Meeting: Fidel and Malcolm X* (New York, 1992).

between Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam that the myth Lee weaves does not embrace. His final speeches are a reflection of the fact that Malcolm to his last days appeared frequently on "white-owned" television and radio denouncing the Nation of Islam. Speaking personally, as a longtime political activist in the African-American community, I can attest that part of the protocol for at least the past two decades is that when one leaves an organization, one may try to organize to dislodge the leadership, but going public in the mainstream media is considered a gross error. Malcolm X, with his rapid-fire speech, biting humor, and quick mind, was a master of the electronic media; this was part of his appeal. But his media appearances inflamed the followers of Elijah Muhammad and fueled the perception that Malcolm was a traitor.

This level of conflict does not, however, fit the developing myth. The rift between Malcolm and the Nation of Islam is not given the sort of all-sided scrutiny it needs because raising the issue is perceived as tearing at some form of black unity; also absent are the distinctions drawn in Malcolm X's final speeches between Nation followers, whom he often describes as being not sufficiently concerned about domestic and international politics, and black nationalists, like himself, who are. On February 21, 1965, this clash reached a murderous end when Malcolm X was assassinated. Today, there has evolved a united front, a historic compromise, between followers of Farrakhan and black nationalists who reject vital aspects of the Chicago-based minister's outlook. The developing Malcolm X myth seeks to maintain this unity, and many critics are upset with Spike Lee precisely because his depiction of the murder of Malcolm X reflects a conflict that some would prefer to erase from the pages of history.

THE MOST SEVERE CRITICS of *Malcolm X* have to concede that the film does a marvelous job of depicting social and cultural questions. This is all the more striking since Lee has been criticized repeatedly for his drawing of women characters.²⁰ But even, and perhaps particularly, his staunchest feminist critics (and I am among that group) had to admire the scene featuring Denzel Washington, playing Malcolm Little, sticking his head in the toilet to douse his scalp, which was burning because of a botched effort to straighten his hair. Before the rise of the "black is beautiful" movement, which was anticipated by the post-Mecca Malcolm, this often painful process was devised in part to make the hair of blacks appear more like that of certain whites. As this event occurs, the police burst into his apartment to arrest Malcolm for various crimes. The question of hair, which has been an essential though contradictory component of African-American identity, helps to create a scene that is an instant classic of African-American cinema. Many black men no longer press their hair, although many black women for various reasons find it necessary to do so. Lee's film forces the audience to contemplate these complexities of a gendered racial identity.²¹

²⁰ *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 1991; Gerald Horne, Review of Spike Lee, *Five for Five: The Films of Spike Lee*, in *Wide Angle: A Quarterly Journal of Film History, Theory, Criticism and Practice*, 13 (July–October 1991): 140–42.

²¹ Kobena Mercer, "Black Hair Style Politics," in Russell Ferguson, ed., *Out There: Marginalization*

This is part of the value of Malcolm X as a historical figure. He is an integral part of the scaffolding that supports a contemporary African-American identity. His fascination with music and dance and night clubs undergirded his bond with blacks. A significant development that is accelerating in Afro-America in the postwar era is cool or hip philosophy. It involves a manner, a language, a mode of dress, and more. It is reflected in Malcolm's well-known fascination with what is called jazz music and that milieu. Quite properly, the figure of Billie Holliday is represented in Lee's film. There is substantial time spent on dance and music, though this is not unusual for Lee, whose father is a noted bassist. Lee also shows how the world of cool and hip can devolve. Malcolm Little's plight—he found it better to hustle, to engage in petty crimes than to work at low-paying jobs where crass exploitation is the watchword—resonates with many contemporary black youth in urban areas.²²

The problem with this cool or hip philosophy and its present-day descendant, hip-hop, is that the heavily male orientation can shade easily into misogyny or at least insensitivity on gender matters. Again, Spike Lee's flaws in drawing female characters in this film and in his other works are not his alone. It is the inevitable result of a philosophy that arises when the Left is weakened and various forms of narrow nationalism are ascendant.

IN 1993, MALCOLM X STANDS AS AN ICON; many believe that he stands in the pantheon with Martin Luther King, Jr., himself. His figure is so luminescent that he can inspire an alternative myth. A recent poll reported by the black press states that 84 percent of those African Americans between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four who were queried felt that he was "a hero for black Americans today." However, that same poll found that a substantially smaller percentage of that age cohort knew much about him. This circumstance presents both a situation ripe for myth making and an indictment of how history is taught in this nation. To the extent that accurate and comprehensive knowledge of the past is useful in formulating tactics and strategy for economic betterment, distorted aspects of the Malcolm myths and other myths can be seen as a co-factor in explicating the continuing economic decline among blacks particularly and the U.S. working class generally.²³ It also presents a challenge that the film may not be able to overcome. Research conducted for Warner Brothers, the film's distributor, showed in

and *Contemporary Cultures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 247–63; Gwendolyn Brooks, "Helen," in Margaret Busby, ed., *Daughters of Africa: An International Anthology of Words and Writings by Women of African Descent from the Ancient Egyptian to the Present* (New York, 1992), 269–71.

²² Douglas Henry Daniels, "Schooling Malcolm: Malcolm Little and Black Culture during the Golden Age of Jazz," in James Gwynne, ed., *Malcolm X—Justice Seeker* (New York, 1993), 45–58; John Horton, "Time and Cool People," in Thomas Kochman, ed., *Rappin' and Stylin' Out: Communication in Urban Black America* (Urbana, Ill., 1972), 19–31; Richard Majors and Janet Mancini Billson, *Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood in America* (New York, 1992).

²³ *Los Angeles Sentinel*, January 7, 1993; *City Sun*, November 11–17, 1992; Gerald Horne, "Race Backwards: Genes, Violence, Race and Genocide," *Covert Action Quarterly*, 1 (Winter 1992–93): 29–35.

December 1992 that three-fourths of the members of the audience for the Lee production were twenty-five or older.²⁴ Blacks and other youths may have been sporting Xs on their baseball caps and t-shirts, but apparently they were not streaming to view this 3-hour, 20-minute epic. And even though the film was doing reasonably well at the box office—it grossed a hefty \$38 million in the first five weeks after release in mid-November 1992—it was lagging behind films as diverse as *A Few Good Men*, *Aladdin*, *Home Alone 2*, *The Bodyguard*—even *The Mighty Ducks*.²⁵ If the alternative myth of Malcolm is to have the "crossover appeal" of the traditional myth—which may mean appealing to a U.S. population with notoriously low levels of political and ideological acumen—sharper, more insightful, analysis of black nationalism and the Nation of Islam may be necessary. But such analysis may only serve to enrage the same influential black critics now criticizing Lee's handiwork.

I recall when I was interviewing the producer of *Malcolm X*, Preston Holmes, a caller joked about how the furor surrounding the film might lead to Lee being a "black Salman Rushdie." That has not happened, fortunately, but there have been incidents not typical for multi-million-dollar Hollywood productions. A "powerful pipe bomb" was found under a seat in a Dallas movie theater in December 1992.²⁶ There have been other unusual incidents. Lee charged that some patrons who went to multiplex theaters to buy tickets to *Malcolm X* were being given tickets to other movies instead, thereby depriving his film of revenue.²⁷ The *New York Amsterdam News* of January 16, 1993, reported that "bootleg" video copies of the film were being sold in black communities such as Hempstead, Long Island.

Other profiteering is above board. Malcolm X's widow, Betty Shabazz, has signed an agreement with the Curtis Management Group of Indianapolis to capitalize on the now runaway merchandising of the slain martyr; Curtis is controlled by a staunch conservative with past ties to the South African government and hostility to the local African-American community. Or so says *New York Newsday* of November 6, 1992. Despite its alternative status, the Malcolm X myth is as subject to that most traditional force of commodification as any other "alternative" phenomenon.

A suggestive trend in that regard is the black conservative idea that Malcolm is one of them because of his "insistency on black self-sufficiency."²⁸ Such a conclusion on their part may help to explain the future course and present utility of the Malcolm X myth. The idea that blacks should pay taxes yet not argue about the distribution of these funds but instead pay twice by then starting separate institutions should appeal to a deficit-ridden government and powerful elites with designs on this tax booty themselves. Xenophobic nationalism of various sorts can

²⁴ *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1992.

²⁵ *Daily Variety*, January 5, 1993; *Daily Variety*, January 6, 1993; *Hollywood Reporter*, January 4, 1993; *Hollywood Reporter*, January 5, 1993.

²⁶ *Los Angeles Times*, January 3, 1992.

²⁷ *Jet*, January 11, 1993.

²⁸ *New York Times*, January 6, 1993.

be useful to various elites in both south central L.A. and South Central Europe.

Other trends seem more heartening. Black booksellers in New York City are arguing that the Lee film has spurred a number of families and children to purchase books about Malcolm X.²⁹ The relentless study and pursuit of history may prove to be the best guarantee that the magnificent Spike Lee film does not generate yet another empty myth but instead inspires a search for a full and complete history.

²⁹ *New York Amsterdam News*, January 2, 1993.

Featured Reviews

ROGER SMITH. *Inhibition: History and Meaning in the Sciences of Mind and Brain*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 333. \$45.00.

Mind, brain, or their interrelation somehow figured into nearly every study of human nature in the nineteenth century. Few problems or projects did not entertain, at some point, the instrumental functioning of (neuro)physiological or mental apparatus. It is obvious that conceptions of mind and brain were central to the emergence of the new scientific disciplines of physiological and experimental psychology, and were similarly influential in occupational developments in medicine and psychiatry, including the new psychoanalysis emerging at the end of the century. What can collectively be called the "brain sciences" were deployed to describe the conditions of social and political order as well as to explain the effects of phrenology, insanity, dreaming, alcohol and other drugs, hypnotism, race, and gender. These ubiquitous concerns with mind and brain were intimately tied to two pressing intellectual questions: on the one hand, they became central to philosophical debates about materialism, specifically about the fate of what is known as the mind-body problem, and on the other hand, they became relevant to questions about control, from matters of individual bodily control to those of the social body or state.

The sustained importance of mind and brain as explanatory devices and as an extended intellectual problem throughout the nineteenth century makes all the more apparent the need for historical analyses of the subject. Overlooking the multiple uses to which the brain sciences were applied is partly due to *historiographical habits*: the tendency for intellectual historians to eschew subjects of an apparent scientific nature, and a parallel tendency for historians of science to curtail forays into larger intellectual and cultural matters, confining their studies mainly to developments and discoveries within scientific disciplines. Added to this persistent historiographical attitude, one that routinely divides science from the rest of culture, is the complicating factor of the present state of knowledge on the subject. Despite nearly two centuries of modern scientific interrogation of the

nature of mind and brain, the languages and theories used to describe them and their relation to each other remain contested.

With this book, Roger Smith has produced a history that resituates the brain sciences in their cultural contexts. He has given us an account that artfully illuminates the relevance of neurological theory to a vast array of nineteenth-century ideas and events; his study also offers a route out of our present historiographical impasses. Smith's accomplishments are all the more impressive given that the book concentrates on a single concept in the brain sciences: the notion of "inhibition" and its diverse applications both in the specialized sciences and in popular discourse. By examining its usages in Britain, Europe, and North America, Smith locates the contexts in which the term and its cognates came to represent the *regulation* of natural phenomena and to perpetuate a system of *evaluative meaning*. By mining the interconnections of common and professional languages, the uses of inhibition reveal a history of concepts of control that, in turn, are central to the conditions of the human subject and social order. In the last century "There was a gradual reformulation of religious, moral, and political 'higher' powers of control in terms, initially psychological, of the mind's control over the body and, later physiological of the brain's control over the nervous system. Language changed: speaking loosely, spirit became mind, and mind became the upper brain; flesh became body, and body became the spinal nervous system" (pp. 2-3). Thus, just as the history of inhibition demonstrates the growing cultural and intellectual reliance on the brain sciences to render explanations of human conduct, so it also clarifies the dependence of those sciences on cultural understandings of regulation, control, and the functioning of (putatively social and natural) systems.

Prior to publication of this volume, the history of the brain sciences (including accounts of the concept of inhibition) has consisted mainly of internalist narratives of significant experiments, discoveries, and

prominent scientists. Many of these historical studies are restricted to work in specific disciplines, say, neurophysiology or experimental psychology. What is lost in these piecemeal accounts is how the concept of inhibition was important not only to studies of nervous reflex or cerebral functioning but also to the ambitions of mesmerism and psychoanalysis; how inhibition was conceived not only by experimental physiologists like Marshall Hall and Johannes Müller in their independent theories of the hierarchical control of reflex actions in the 1830s but also to the medical psychology of Henry Maudsley with its moral as well as medical application of inhibition (as "loss of control") to conditions of insanity thirty years later, and to Sigmund Freud's use of inhibition to explain the repression of those experiences that are incompatible with consciousness nearly sixty years afterward.

Smith's book encompasses these and other efforts to explain moral and abnormal human functioning. The persistent prominence and utility of inhibition is made intelligible in this thematic history by showing how the concept was both fitted into and outfitted by nineteenth-century conceptualizations of control. In its various uses, inhibition aided the constitution of knowledge about control and order by denoting processes of regulation and hierarchical functioning in the body, mind, and even in societies. The concept of inhibition implied competition between different forces, conflict, and even suggested mechanisms for the actualization of one force or the suppression of another. The language of inhibition, then, "often suggests that control, expressed as inhibition, whether internalized or coming from without, is a fundamental condition of social life" (p. 5). Inhibition ultimately offered a metaphor and model whereby regulation is taken as a natural fact and a necessity—both scientific and moral—for the realization of ordered action; its history, then is "a dialogue between the desire to exercise moral control and the description of natural control" (p. 10).

In comparing diverse disciplinary enterprises and in connecting work on inhibition to cultural preoccupations with control and order, Smith has given historians of the sciences a radically new perspective on their subject, one that demands a recalibrated historiography. The study captures the historical relevance of the sciences to culture, a reconfiguration that Smith accomplishes by making three methodological innovations. The first is a focus on language, or, more specifically, on its uses in seemingly varied contexts. Contrasted with histories of ideas, scientific discoveries, or rhetoric, this book comprises a history of language as an integrated system of meaning that, in the case of inhibition, encompasses the scientific,

moral, social, and political, and constitutes both descriptive and evaluative claims. The second and third methodological innovations of this work involve eschewing the distinctions between the various intellectual disciplines being formed in the nineteenth century, and those between the sciences and the rest of culture. While remaining attentive to the special interests and demands of occupational communities, Smith has recovered the interdependence of these varied communities of thought as well as the processes whereby meanings are shared among them. In this regard, he is able to show how the language of inhibition came to belong to a discourse of natural "fact" but, in doing so, functioned to convey evaluative meanings in and through that world of fact. Although focusing more on scientific activities, the study is unencumbered by divisions between the "scientific" and "social" or "cultural," and precisely because of this it shows how inhibition was "a conceptual vehicle for integrating scientific and everyday meanings" (p. 227).

The cultural connections woven through a history of just one scientific concept promise to fascinate and enlighten historians of science, although some undoubtedly will be reluctant to transgress the boundaries of what is conventionally taken to be science or its disciplinary subunits. For historians whose specialty is not science, the volume initially might seem remote because of its concentration on scientific actors and terminology. It is just such an emphasis, however, that makes this book an important account of nineteenth-century thought, bringing together the interconnections of political and moral projects with those of the modern sciences. Like Aron Rabinbach's history of energy and fatigue (*The Human Motor* [1990]), Smith's study demonstrates the power of metaphor as well as cultural dependence of science in extending the meaning and usefulness of such linguistic devices. In a concluding chapter, Smith reflects on the limits as well as the possibilities of such histories; here as in the rest of the book his questions as well as his answers fascinate.

Smith begins to rewrite the history of the brain sciences, but in doing so he beckons a rethinking of intellectual history more generally. He encourages us to move beyond formulaic conceptions of control and order which we have found to be readily applicable to the recent past. He asks us to reconsider dichotomies of mind/body, individual/social, and science/culture, dualisms that structured thought in the nineteenth century and continue to haunt our own historical conceptions.

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TED W. MARGADANT. *Urban Rivalries in the French Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 511. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

In this impressive book, Ted W. Margadant has brought his usual thoughtfulness, thoroughness, and meticulous research to bear on a problem central to an understanding of the French Revolution and its impact. In 1789–90, the French revolutionaries set about the task of redrawing the map of France. At first glance this might seem to have been a relatively mundane and straightforward project, even if consequential: the abolition of old, provincial boundaries, laden with tradition and privilege, and their replacement by new departments that would organize administrative, judicial, and even religious services on a more rational and efficient basis. It was a quintessentially Enlightenment project. But it was also both more and less, as Margadant suggests quite aptly with this quotation from Rabaut Saint-Étienne: “the French people ‘must be renewed, rejuvenated, changed in their institutions to change their ideas, changed in their laws to change their morals. Everything must be destroyed, yes destroyed, since everything must be re-created’” (p. 84). The new map of France was to assist in this rejuvenation of the French people, in this change of their morals. But as with so much else about the revolution, the deputies of the National Assembly were thwarted in their desire to create something entirely new and rational by the fact that they could not completely destroy the old. Provincial boundaries, trade networks, and urban rivalries all influenced the redrawing of the map of France.

Margadant is explicit about the scope of his study and its central focus. As he states, “the history of this movement offers a unique vantage point for studying the regional context of town life, the social perceptions of urban elites, and the political dynamics of bourgeois leadership during the French Revolution” (p. 3). The main thrust of the book “is to study the relationship between national and local politics in the context of the collapse and reconstruction of the French state” (p. 9). Margadant is interested in the way that parochial interests influenced national politics. Drawing a new map of France was a national project with clear local implications, and the task challenged the deputies to act as representatives of the nation at the same time that they served their own constituencies. Inherent in this was one of the central dilemmas of the French Revolution: “How could the will of the people be discovered amidst the clash of interests and opinions?” (p. 215)

Margadant explores that clash of interests and opinions systematically. The book is divided into three sections: the first deals with “The Institutional Crisis of the Old Regime”; the second with “The Rhetoric and Politics of Space”; and the third with “The Fate of Small Towns.” The first section begins

with a chapter on the role and function of towns under the Old Regime. Here Margadant sets up his methodology and interpretive structure, and he acknowledges his intellectual debt to several other scholars. From the geographer E. W. Fox, among others, he has borrowed the notion that towns under the Old Regime served either as “instruments of royal power” or as “agents of capitalist development.” But whereas Fox based his geographic analysis of French history on a firm distinction between the two (*History in Geographic Perspective: The Other France* [1971]), Margadant asserts that “the institutions of the French state overlapped to a considerable extent with the commercial networks of merchants” (p. 30). For a sophisticated analysis of commercial networks, extending down to the level of local markets, Margadant turns to G. W. Skinner, whose work has been so influential among scholars of Chinese history (G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* [1977]). Central place theory, the political implications of marketing networks, and the importance of navigable waterways to regional systems all emerge from Skinner’s work and influence Margadant’s analysis in fruitful ways. I should finally note the French geographer, Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier, whose analysis of the spatial preconceptions and territorial goals of townspeople under the Old Regime also figures prominently in Margadant’s discussion (*La Formation des Départements* [1989]). Throughout this first chapter one encounters a series of maps and tables that serve both to illustrate the author’s analysis of the function and institutional ranking of towns under the Old Regime and to confirm Pierre Goubert’s observation that “the quintessence of the ancien régime is confusion” (*The Ancien Régime* [1969], 17). By the end of this chapter, one has the feeling of having endured the first six weeks of a graduate seminar—a bit bewildered, but grounded in the literature and methodology that are needed to profit from what is yet to come.

In the chapters that follow, Margadant discusses the general debate that occurred in 1789 over the new division of the kingdom; the strategies employed by townspeople all over France to defend their interests; the rhetorical themes that underlay the rivalry between towns as they laid claim to be centers of the new departments and districts; and the disputes that developed over the creation of departments, the designation of departmental seats, and the location of district administrations and tribunals. The last chapters take the reader to the level of local government and small towns, and to the years of the Directory, the Empire, and the Restoration. These chapters touch on some significant developments, but as with other aspects of the revolution, it is in the earlier period,

and the earlier chapters, that the drama of the story occurs.

The heart of the book, in my view, is in the chapter on "The Rhetoric of Contention." Margadant begins by observing that "the abolition of the old regime confronted townspeople with a unique moment, when discourse seemed more powerful than institutions" (p. 143). He parts ways with François Furet and Keith Baker, however, in insisting that discourse was not an independent agent, that rhetoric must be firmly situated in its social context and amidst the parochial interests out of which it flowed. Drawing on the work of Ozouf-Marignier, Margadant points to the three themes of *rapprochement*, *vivification*, and patriotism in the rhetoric of deputies and local notables in the debate over the drawing of departmental boundaries and the designation of *chefs-lieux*. By *rapprochement*, Margadant means essentially the ideal that the services provided by local administrative and judicial bodies ought to be as accessible as possible to their constituencies. Thus, "by applying the idea of *rapprochement* to marketing areas, spokesmen for small towns and bourgs could develop a functional argument for the possession of royal courts" (p. 146). *Vivification* embodied the notion that administrative restructuring should take as one of its goals the stimulation of economic development. The revolutionary ideal of equality was often cited in this regard by those who asserted that small towns should be favored in the distribution of district seats and tribunals of various sorts. Such petitioners were given to denunciations of the "aristocratic despotism" of provincial capitals (p. 155). The theme of patriotism was enunciated by those who argued that administrative and judicial establishments were important not simply as institutions that served the state and its constituents but also as vehicles for the mobilization of patriotic enthusiasm through public service. Thus, the more numerous the establishments created, the greater the patriotism that might be generated.

A number of interesting observations emerge from this discussion. It seems ironic that in a revolution which we think of as principally urban, the partition of France into departments revealed a widespread opposition to the dominance of provincial capitals, a sort of championing of the towns against the cities. In the rhetoric of this debate, we see the tension between governmental rationality or efficiency on the one

hand (favoring the primacy of large towns), and the ideal of equality and the spreading of "public spirit" on the other (favoring the claims of small towns). A similar tension would later be apparent in the debate over how to distribute the *biens nationaux*, in which the needs of the state squared off against the revolutionary ideal of equality. Under the Directory, and even more so under Napoleon, the goal of bureaucratic efficiency prevailed, and the proliferation of politically powerless cantonal officials contributed to the political alienation and depoliticization that marked the collapse of the revolution and the path to Bru-maire.

This is a book that is rich in detail—indeed, that richness may overwhelm the uninitiated reader. For the serious student of the French Revolution and modern French history, however, Margadant's argument holds a number of broader implications. Let me mention just two in closing. First, Tocqueville's pessimistic conclusions about the tendency of the centralizing state to suppress political liberty are called into question by the author's analysis of this early period of the revolution, in which "political liberty fostered a veritable explosion of civic initiative in provincial towns" (p. 442). Indeed, while political liberty has languished at times over the course of modern French history, the map that the deputies drew in 1790 has persisted and has arguably played a significant role in fostering the peculiar French genius for preserving the human scale of its government and economy. Second, Margadant challenges Furet's "extraordinary claim that a terrorist ideology, detached from social interests, emerged as the dominant discourse of the Revolution as soon as royal authority collapsed in 1789" (p. 452). He argues quite eloquently that the "politics of parochialism" was firmly entrenched in social interests and exerted a powerful influence on revolutionary discourse.

Like all good books, this one calls out for future research, and Margadant emphasizes the need for more studies of urban politics and the relations between towns and the countryside in the revolution. One can only hope that such studies will not become mired in the parochial but instead will integrate the social and the political, the local and the national, as well as Margadant has done in this work.

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GWENDOLYN MIDLO HALL. *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 434. \$29.95.

Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's massive study is a pathbreaking work. No other historian has done such prodigious research in the voluminous records of French

and Spanish colonial Louisiana, or summarized it in such copious detail. Together with Daniel Usner's *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Econ-*

omy: *The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (1992), and Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, eds., *Creole New Orleans, Race and Americanization: Africans in Colonial Louisiana* (1992), Hall's book makes up an important burst of scholarship on the non-English colonies of mainland North America that promises to open up new avenues of debate about slave societies in colonial America.

According to Hall, the French colonial period from 1699 to 1763 (1769) is the critical era in the formation of community and culture. Under John Law and the Company of the Indies, the colony was thinly settled by prisoners, vagabonds, military deserters, and the "rejects of French society" (p. 27). Poor, unhealthy, violent, dangerous, exploited by a brutal and corrupt clique of military-bureaucrats, the struggling settlements survived by forming alliances with powerful Indian nations and by enslaving Indian war captives and Africans. Despite French efforts to drive a wedge between Africans and Indians, strong ties developed between the two groups. Although formal alliances between them ended after the Natchez revolt in 1730–31, matings between the two groups were common throughout the eighteenth century and produced a "distinctive, self-conscious group" (p. 118) known as *grif* in Louisiana.

The first documentary evidence of black slaves in Louisiana dates to 1709, but the bulk of the slave trade occurred between 1719 and 1731 under the auspices of the Company of the Indies, a private company that enjoyed an exclusive trade monopoly in Senegal and Louisiana. In contrast with the English Atlantic coast colonies, where the original slave population was drawn from the British West Indies, Hall's demographic data demonstrate that almost all of the Africans imported by the French slave trade were directly from Africa. Her confident assertion that fully two-thirds of them were from Senegambia, the area between the Senegal and the Gambia rivers, is based on the assumption that embarkation points such as Gorée or Bissau are reliable indicators of origins, when in fact caravans often brought slaves with other goods from the interior. After 1726, slaves from Bambarana, located on the upper reaches of the Senegal River, made up a sizable proportion of all slaves. Hall's analysis of Africans brought to Louisiana during the Spanish period (1769–1803) is derived from inventories from Pointe Coupee, a remote region upriver from New Orleans, which do not, as she is fully aware, necessarily describe the slave population in other parishes. The Pointe Coupee inventories show that African imports between 1771 and 1803 came from four main areas: Senegambia, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and Central Africa.

The proportion of Africans in the population and the continued importance of Senegambians, combined with conditions in French Louisiana, shaped the region's economy and culture. Hall has turned up clear evidence that Africans from the Gambia River

region, where rice had been produced since the sixteenth century, provided both the skills and the technological knowledge for the development of the Louisiana rice industry. Although the evidence is less clear, she also concludes that Senegambians long familiar with indigo probably first introduced indigo culture in Louisiana. Creole slaves played a prominent role in the development of Louisiana's cypress industry, the center of which was the Bas du Fleuve, a heavily black region located on the east bank of the Mississippi River below New Orleans. There runaway slaves led by a charismatic black named St. Malo developed a unique form of *marronage*. Instead of the customary survival strategy of raiding plantations, creole maroons "acted as independent contractors for their labor and their agricultural and craft products" (p. 212), trading their labor with white sawmill owners, their products with free blacks and mixed-bloods from New Orleans and with slaves from the plantations that surrounded *la ciprière*. In New Orleans, slaves worked as laborers on public works projects while skilled slaves were trained as medical doctors or surgeons.

The book's major contribution, and its central concern, is with broader social themes. A combination of factors—prominent among which were the preponderance of groups like the Bambara and later the Mina, and their concentration on large estates—contributed to the development of "the most Africanized slave culture in the United States" (p. 161). Among the African ingredients in Louisiana creole culture are songs and folk tales and the retention of African names by slaves of French Louisiana, in some cases by children born in Louisiana of African parents. The most important and controversial evidence for Africanization of Louisiana culture is the Louisiana Creole language. Drawing on the work of sociolinguists, Hall argues that although the vocabulary of Louisiana Creole was French, "its grammatical structure is largely African" (p. 188), a sweeping statement for which she offers no grammatical evidence whatsoever.

Until recently most linguists have assumed that Louisiana Creole was imported from St. Domingue by Haitian refugees who began to arrive in Louisiana near the end of the eighteenth century. Hall takes a fresh look at Ingrid Neumann's linguistic argument for the independent development of Louisiana Creole and offers in support of it several sentences in Louisiana Creole taken from a 1758 publication by Le Page du Pratz, a former director of the Company of the Indies in Louisiana. She joins forces with Margaret Marshall in dating these fragments of a Creole or Creole-like language to the period between 1718–34, when Le Page du Pratz lived in Louisiana (Margaret M. Marshall, "The Origins of Creole French in Louisiana," *Regional Dimensions*, 5 [1990], 30–31). Her suggestion that the patterns of rhythm and tonality of Louisiana Creole were African, while still speculative, is a fresh and seminal idea.

The same conditions that allowed the development of a coherent slave community made Louisiana a racially flexible society. Although French Louisiana was a brutal and violent place that tolerated excessive brutality toward slaves, it also had a higher tolerance for race mixture and social fluidity than anywhere else. Nowhere was that social fluidity more pronounced than in Pointe Coupee, a frontier post thinly populated by small planters, their slaves, and their Indian allies, who were driven to racial cooperation, even intimacy, by episodic warfare and the constant threat of raids by hostile Indians. Hall's claim that Pointe Coupee was "one of the most racially flexible societies in the Americas, regardless of the colonizing power" (p. 241), is based on evidence of extensive concubinage and race mixture between white men and nonwhite women, a fairly widespread practice of racial passing of racially mixed slaves into the white population, and a comparatively high emancipation rate, a conclusion admittedly based on "the mere fragments of emancipation documents" (p. 273).

This study is not, nor was it intended to be, a comparative work. But Hall—no stranger to comparative slavery—does make frequent comparative references to the English colonies of North America to discover and interpret the unique character of colonial Louisiana. Some of her broad generalizations call for careful scrutiny. A case in point is her tendency to make a specific locale paradigmatic for the colony as a whole, as she does, for example, in contrasting French Louisiana's flexible racial order with the bipolar racial culture that characterized the Anglophone colonies of North America. Patterns of race relations in Pointe Coupee, until the nineteenth century a region of small-scale farming, and with a black-white ratio of over three to one until the turn of the twentieth century, were not analogous to race relations in New Orleans, where blacks never constituted over 58 percent of the population and where Spanish "corporatist, hierarchical concepts of race" (p. 258) clearly prevailed.

Recent work on the free black population of New Orleans indicates that the overall condition of Africans did not vary substantially from 1718 to 1812, nor for that matter were the conditions substantially different from those of their counterparts elsewhere in North American slave societies. French policy as embodied in the *Code Noir* and the supplement of 1751 was aimed at the subjugation of all blacks, slave and free, and at the separation of the races by discouraging emancipation and institutionalizing legal distinctions between the races similar to those existing in Virginia. Spanish policy perpetuated most of the French restrictions except for legalized self-

purchase, not as a humanitarian effort to moderate the slave regime but as part of a capitalistic imperial policy to expand the New Orleans economy. The free black community in New Orleans expanded, but largely as a result of black initiative rather than white benevolence (Thomas N. Ingersoll, "Free Blacks in a Slave Society: New Orleans, 1718–1812," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 48 [1991], 173–200).

One is reluctant to cavil at so awesome a display of research and knowledge. But the very virtues that give the book its merit detract from its general excellence. Sources are often quoted in such copious detail as to form a condensation of the record. These lengthy accounts are almost always interesting, but Hall does not offer an extended examination of their meaning. Nor does she expend much energy on sustained analysis of some of her most important and certain to be most controversial points. A minor case in point is her imaginative proposal that the origin of the term "coonass," used by poor whites of southwest Louisiana, "derives from Louisiana's Afro-Creole traditions" (p. 236) and represents a defiant identification with the "behind of the racoon," whose survival by its wits in the Louisiana swamps was reminiscent of eighteenth-century maroons. One might argue with equal authority—as Ingrid Neumann did—that the word stems from the vulgar French expression "conasse," meaning an idiot or imbecile, as in "*quelle conasse*" (Ingrid Neumann, *Le creole de Breaux Bridge, Louisiane: Étude morphosyntaxique, textes, vocabulaire* [1985], 14, n. 2).

Given the complexity of the subject and the daunting nature of the research, it may be expecting too much to ask for Hall to have done more. She does, however, leave some major questions virtually untouched. What, for example, was the role of religion in the development of Louisiana Creole culture? How did French views on religion affect the behavior of the settlers toward Indians and Africans? Why, if the Spanish were so devoted to proselytization elsewhere in the Spanish empire, were their efforts so feeble, or nonexistent, in Louisiana? How did Afro-Louisiana culture compare with Afro-Floridian culture under the Spanish? Hall's conclusions are always provocative and raise complex questions about the relationship between black slavery and the development of culture. If it is not the last word on the subject, the richness of this sprawling work should establish the importance of the Lower Mississippi Valley, and bring it into focus as a region. For that we are in Hall's debt.

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RICHARD L. BUSHMAN. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1992. Pp. xix, 504. \$40.00.

A generation ago, when they still plied the mainstream, political historians dismissed social history in a derisive epithet. Pots-and-pans history, they called the tantalizing but often antiquarian assemblages that had somehow to do with the way Americans lived their daily lives, although the social historians had not yet figured out how.

Richard L. Bushman has figured out how. From the same offscourings that gave the old social history a bad name, he has wrought a significant story. Out of an astonishing erudition in the arcana of everyday life in early America—costume and conversation, heating and handwriting, parlors and posture, and much, much more—he has fashioned a resonant tale of the rise of refinement in America from the end of the seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth.

More than that, he has made it matter. Beginning from a modest attempt to make sense of a shift in aesthetic sensibility evident around 1690, when Americans started for the first time to live in style, he ends with intriguing things to say about American politics, economic life, literature, and religion. Along the way, he finds his foci in ingenious and challenging accounts of the making of the middle class, of the energies of capitalism and a consumer culture, and of the American character itself.

Almost every historian of early America will find here a feast of fresh data and fresh interpretations. Bushman strews his story with dazzling disquisitions on gardens and city plans, etiquettes and entertainments. He draws with equal facility from floor plans and fiction, art and archives. His work is informed by the eye as much as by the mind, by imagination as much as by intelligence. On almost every count—the grace of its prose, the scope of its synthetic ambition, the power of its informing design—this is the most suggestive and delightful American social history we have ever had.

Yet it is also a most oddly old-fashioned social history, at once more sweeping and sophisticated, more daring and disciplined than the social histories of earlier generations and utterly at home among them. It carries to an extraordinary culmination a project that more recent American historians have, with good reason, abandoned. It looks back to an obsolete agenda, seeking to interpret American culture as though that culture were a unitary entity that could be satisfactorily comprehended and embodied in its northeastern male elite.

Bushman's intricate argument traces gentility from its origins in the courts of continental Europe to its eventual appropriation by the provincial gentry of Britain's eighteenth-century empire. Great merchants and planters in the American colonies took up the new standards of civility emanating from the

metropolitan capitals. At first in their homes and furnishings, soon enough in the way they walked and talked, dressed and ate, the American elite embraced norms of harmony and beauty that they fancied could be found among the aristocrats of the Old World.

Before the revolution, ideals of civility controlled only the culture of the gentry. After independence, they spread to a more diffuse middle class. In the eighteenth century, the Georgian mansions were isolated outposts of refinement in a vast sea of rudeness. In the nineteenth century, they became emblems of a broad cultural movement; the spread of parlor culture constituted "one of the great democratic movements" of the age (p. 273).

The democratization of gentility inevitably entailed its dilution. For the ruling classes of the eighteenth century, refinement ratified power. For the emergent middle classes of the nineteenth century, personal deportment was divorced from public influence. Vernacular gentility pertained primarily to the private sphere. The middle class made no pretension to public office. Its modest refinement allied it with the old elite in the separation of the polite from the plain, but its demure devotion to respectability rather than rule defined a domesticity that idealized "a new kind of family life" (p. 256).

Bushman catches brilliantly the cultural contradictions occasioned by the new social alignments of the nineteenth century: the uneasy coexistence of aspirations to elegance and assumptions of egalitarianism, of visions of leisure and necessities of labor, of conceptions of courtly superiority and republican civic culture. He captures as cogently the ways in which refinement and respectability deepened divisions between rich and poor yet blurred the line between them by specifying the terms of vulgar ambition, precluding the congealing of class consciousness. He elaborates exquisitely the conundrums that trampled the middle class, defining itself yet inexorably subverting itself in its dedication to gentility.

Equally, he appreciates the ambiguities that afflicted individuals. He insists on the power of ideals as well as material existence to transform personality. He begs us to believe that the partisans of politeness took its trappings for "outward signs of what [they] hoped would be an inward grace" (p. xii). But he sees that they concentrated all their concern on outward appearances and the external validation of their own worth. He recognizes that they were always affecting an ease they could not feel because, under the regime of refinement, their every act became a theatrical performance, subject to the adverse judgment of companions who were also critics. He understands how much of American individualism has always turned on impressions and images and how much

anxiety has always attended the management of those impressions and images.

It is an inventive and enthralling account, and doubtless it is true in some degree. But there's the rub. Bushman barely bothers to ascertain that degree. He predicates his entire argument on a conviction "that gentility shaped the structure of society" and that refinement and vulgarity, "more than wealth or kind of work," provided "the most palpable signs of class" (p. 446). But he blithely confesses that middle-class standing rested far more on money than on manners and that middle-class husbands had finally to "heed the main chance—work and business—or their lives would crumble to dust" (p. 443). Similarly, he premises his story on the democratization of refinement. But he never troubles to reconcile his contradictory calculations of the numbers comprehended in the alteration and is quite unperturbed by his own concessions that "the broad mass of the people" were excluded even from vernacular gentility (p. 279).

Although Bushman purports to tell of the emergence of the middle class, he seems scarcely to notice that his account is almost unfailingly—and almost ineluctably—of a two-class system, gentry and commoners before 1800, refined and rude after. His concentration on the cultural conception of class, at the expense of the actual social relations of classes, allows no intermediate term in the bipolar logic of gentility and vulgarity. Indeed, it allows nothing of the fierce ambition or the implacable aggressiveness of the middle class as we know it in other idealizations, let alone of the alcoholism, abusiveness, chicane, evangelical enthusiasm, and other untoward penchants of middling people of the nineteenth century as we know them in reality.

For all his awesome learning, Bushman simply never confronts the many accounts of antebellum

America at odds with his own. Worse, he scarcely considers such staples of the modern historiography of early America as region, race, and gender. His treatments of all three are explicitly rendered as afterthoughts, quarantined from the essential structure of his interpretation. In the paltry pages he devotes to the South, the West, and the free Negro, he acknowledges that his treatment of refinement hardly applies to any of them. In his brief discussion of women, he undoes almost his entire analysis when he finally admits explicitly what has been implicit throughout: that gentility was a cultural code for females far more than it ever was for the males of whom he writes. Males paid civility mere "lip service" (p. 444) because, as he never quite acknowledges, they could do no more. Refined fixations on aesthetic taste, beauty, delicacy, feeling, harmony, and domesticity flew utterly in the face of competing cultural prescriptions for masculinity.

Bushman's rendition of the rise of refinement misses the battle of the sexes as it elides all other unruly contestation in the new nation. It imputes to men a tale that cannot be told without reckoning with gender. It reverts inexplicably to an older history that homogenized America, and it is betrayed not just by changing historical conventions but also by its own data. It should always have been impossible—and it is now impossible—to attribute to "America" a story that does not apply to farmers or to rural areas more largely, to "vast regions" of the cities (p. 365), to southerners, to westerners, to evangelical protestants, to blacks, or, for that matter, to males. In that regard, this study is a magnificent throwback. It points a path for future research and conceptualization more by its omissions and inadvertencies than by its remarkable achievements.

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THEDA SKOCPOL. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 714. \$34.95.

The history of social policy is in the midst of an astonishing revival. Pushing aside futile arguments about whether the architects of social programs sought to control the "dangerous" classes or to help the poor, the history of social policy has become a lively interdisciplinary project. The attacks on welfare programs in the 1980s perhaps made what had once seemed hopelessly inadequate programs interesting again. Within American history, students of women and the working class have produced much of the new work on social provision, which suggests that social policy provides a link between women's and labor history and politics. Whatever the source, most

of the new work concentrates on programs implemented or proposed at the turn of the century, not on the programs of the New Deal and the Great Society usually thought to comprise the American welfare state. Programs such as mothers' pensions and social insurance schemes for male workers are supposed to reveal both the "origins" of welfare policies and the impact of gender, race, and class in the making of public policy.

Theda Skocpol's study might become the benchmark for this developing subfield. The book's timing is right: late enough to take advantage of recent research but before the major lines of debate have

been set. It shares enough of the assumptions of recent work on social policy, especially the conviction that the story is largely over before the 1930s, to win influence. It is massively detailed while also clearly written. Finally, Skocpol offers an original argument about why social policy has followed certain lines in the United States, an argument informed by comparisons with other nations but not trapped by the idea that the United States departed from "normal" patterns of policy development.

The key to Skocpol's argument is the state-centered approach to politics she developed in *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (1979). In that book Skocpol analyzed three revolutions to argue for the importance of state structures in shaping the timing and outcomes of political movements. The opportunities and limitations provided by the state itself, more than social or economic conditions, explain political change or the lack of it. In her new book, Skocpol examines three episodes of policy formation: the extension of pensions to Union Army veterans after the Civil War, various efforts to provide benefits to male workers during the early twentieth century, and the campaigns for protective legislation for women workers and aid (cash and health care) for some impoverished mothers in the 1910s and 1920s. Taken together, the cases illustrate that the United States was not without social welfare legislation before the 1930s. But state structures and the extent to which policy advocates adapted to them determined the particular course of policy development.

The case of veterans' benefits perhaps shows Skocpol's methods at their best. By the 1890s, more than 40 percent of the federal budget went to pensions for Union veterans and their survivors. In the 1910s, the pension program reached about 18 percent of those over age sixty-five, with benefits more lavish than those provided by some European social insurance programs. Politics explains the unprecedented size and scope of the pensions according to Skocpol. Intense competition between the Democratic and Republican parties before 1896 encouraged both parties to enact patronage-driven, "distributive" policies. Thus, both parties at times bid up the value and scope of veterans' benefits. If the parties excelled at parceling out benefits, they slipped when it came to administration: an army of federal Pension Bureau clerks processed claims, but local private doctors vouched for potential pensioners, and politicians intervened to reverse occasional rejections. Yet despite the reach of Civil War pensions, they were not a substitute for workingmen's insurance. Pensions reached all classes of men deemed deserving because of their sacrifice to the nation. They did not provide an entry for a social insurance program. Just the opposite: for turn-of-the-century reformers, Civil War pensions demonstrated that the parties were not to be trusted with large social programs. Party competition to extend benefits brought lax enforcement

and widespread corruption, critics charged. If partisan political considerations expanded the program, reactions against party politics guaranteed it would end with the last Union veteran.

Political structures also shaped policies for male workers and women and they produced different results in the two cases. Skocpol argues that labor intellectuals directed the mostly unsuccessful campaign for workers' programs, initiatives that included a public employment service, public works programs, unemployment insurance, and insurance that covered sick and elderly workers. Tiny, elite groups, especially the American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL), prepared model laws and created networks of like-minded activists within university, business, and political circles both within the United States and abroad. Yet the AALL, unlike similar British groups, rarely received support from organized labor. Concentrating on American Federation of Labor (AFL) President Samuel Gompers, Skocpol argues that American unions supported some programs for unorganized and women workers, but insisted that unionized workers should avoid dependency on the state. The major exception to the AFL's position was its support for old-age pensions, but that proposal was doomed by the memory of Civil War pensions. In the end, all that came of the AALL's agitation was a limited workers' compensation program. The political weakness of the AALL, the AFL's commitment to voluntarism, hostility toward general programs that might become patronage gold mines, the lack of cooperation between unions and labor intellectuals, and a poor fit between the nationally organized AALL and unions active at the state level ensured that a welfare state in the United States would not flow out of programs designed to benefit workers.

A welfare state emerged instead from programs aimed at women. In the early twentieth century, legislation providing minimum wages, maximum hours, pensions, and health care stopped at women. The AFL backed some of this legislation, but most of the effort came from female reformers and women's organizations. College-educated middle-class women housed in social settlements and active in groups such as the Consumers' League drew up legislation and publicized the need for it. But the Consumers' League, unlike the AALL, could count on steady support from large women's organizations, especially the National Congress of Mothers and the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Clubwomen in every state, sharing the activists' ideological concern for the betterment of womanhood and motherhood, became lobbyists for legislation aimed at women and children. According to Skocpol, ideological unity, strength at both the state and national levels, and active elite guidance produced a string of legislative successes. Untainted by partisanship, women's programs evaded the fears of a patronage morass that sunk

old-age pensions. Thus, voteless women nearly succeeded in constructing a "maternalist" state.

Much of Skocpol's material will not surprise historians. The book's value arises not so much from introducing novel material as from putting together policies normally analyzed in isolation. Yet some of the book's problems emerge from its structure. The strategy of examining episodes works reasonably well in understanding revolutions, but less well in analyzing policy. The long-run importance of a new policy is not as likely to be found at the point of passage but in implementation. It is therefore telling that the most successful of Skocpol's episodes, veterans' pensions, follows the effects of the policy over time. The other cases end without explanation. For example, the section on policies for male workers stops before World War I, which means that Skocpol misses the extent to which the AFL and Gompers were willing to work with government when it seemed that government might help labor. Attention to wartime relations between the state and the unions would have highlighted Gompers's opportunism and the reasons for his change of heart about government. Skocpol also drops the matter of veterans' benefits with the Civil War. Yet World War I veterans had the same claims to moral worth as Union Army veterans, and party competition was no stronger after World War II than after World War I. How can differential benefits be explained within Skocpol's framework? If nothing else, following implementation and the long-term context of policies might have complicated Skocpol's story.

Skocpol chides previous scholars for not paying sufficient attention to the process of politics. The criticism is often deserved. But Skocpol, too, sometimes slights political process, perhaps especially in her analysis of the power of female networks. Skocpol places great stock in the political clout of women's clubs. But her evidence consists of resolutions passed at annual meetings. Indeed, Skocpol has done a great deal of research in annual reports of both women's and labor organizations. But how did the women's (and not labor's) resolutions become laws? Annual reports are silent on this question, and they are tricky to use even as evidence for the thoughts of an organization. And even if resolutions were the perfect source, Skocpol is left with the uncomfortable fact that almost half of the state federations of women's clubs failed to pass resolutions in favor of mother's pension bills; most states passed this program without the benefit of resolutions from the State Congress of Mothers. Where was the mighty influence? How exactly were these laws "maternalist"?

None of these shortcomings should take away from what Skocpol has achieved. Her study is a clear advance over works that find simple patriarchal or business control over social policy, or that see welfare systems as the inevitable outcome of industrialization. Perhaps it is now possible to move away from the purported origins of the welfare state to the creation of the programs in the 1930s and after.

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ROBERT DALLEK. *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 721. \$30.00.

A pattern of contemporaneous political history writing appears to have taken hold in the United States that is exemplified in recent books concerning Lyndon Johnson and his times. In the main the actors are principals or insiders in the events of the period, contemporary journalists, and scholars, who are, of course, usually associated with universities. The principals and insiders are primary sources in their words and deeds, as the journalists and scholars may also be, albeit from different postures. For the detachment and independence that are the desiderata of history that we can trust, we have come to expect the more illuminating contemporary perspectives in books written by serious journalists and scholars. But these practitioners, to some extent because they are serious, may or may not be able to be far enough removed in their writings from the passions, concerns, and moral outrages of their subjects' times, which are also their own times—may or may not be able sufficiently to clear their perspectives of their own idiosyncratic or

highly personal characteristics. The onrushing flood of information and points of view in the contemporary situation is a boon for history, and certainly the reliability of the long perspectives that will prevail among our posterity will be improved by it. Perhaps if the serious practitioners would amiably grant that they are learning from each other—that the search for historical truth and perspective is a collective, not a solitary pilgrimage—and if they and the rest of us could admit among ourselves the situation's inherent limitations, we might not have to suffer and tolerate so much of the Sturm und Drang that has characterized the receptions of my *The Politician* (1982), Robert A. Caro's *The Path to Power* (1983) and *Means of Ascent* (1990), and Robert Dallek's *Lone Star Rising* (1991).

This is a review of Dallek's book which I agreed to write only after the editors of the *AHR* dismissed my written expostulations that I might well be deemed to have a conflict of interest. I have often been asked to comment on Caro's work, but, except to say that Caro

is a great investigative reporter, I have studiously refused, because whether what I said was self-serving or not it could fairly enough be seen so to be. Even for this estimable periodical so characterized by probity and high intellectual standards, and with the editors' ruling in hand, I can discuss Dallek's book, requiring, as that does, some remark on Caro's work and my own on the same subject, only after making some to-do, as I have just done, over this feature of the problem.

Dallek, who received a Bancroft Prize for his book *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy* (1977), may be seen as a progressive centrist. He enthusiastically approves of the New Deal, but tells us that Johnson had no patience with those who, in Dallek's approving formulation, "failed to see that the road to progress was along a middle path that quieted passions, promoted consensus, and assured civic order" (p. 368).

Lone Star Rising, the 721-page first volume of a projected two-volume work on Johnson and his times, begins with Johnson's birth in 1908 and continues to his election as vice president in 1960. "The work . . . has taken over seven years," and "additional years of study" will precede the second volume, the author informs us. Hoping that his combined work "will stand as the scholarly biography of Johnson for the foreseeable future," Dallek believes that his first volume already "represents a significant advance" in understanding Johnson and his times (p. viii).

Since the subject matter has been dealt with in scores of books, including the more recent ones, it does not need a summary review. After a somewhat nondescript tour of Lyndon's childhood and youth, the book contains good treatments of, for example, Johnson's use of his public power to acquire personal wealth in the FCC-regulated radio and TV business, Texas Democratic politics in 1944, Johnson's skill in orchestrating the Senate's condemnation of Senator Joe McCarthy, and Johnson's reasoning in switching to join the civil rights advocates in the Senate in 1957. There are some enjoyable new Johnson stories, and the reader benefits in other ways from Dallek's scholarly industriousness.

Has Dallek here made a significant contribution to knowledge? Yes, he has. "I have added," he correctly says, "a fresh body of detail about [Johnson's] political skullduggery and business dealings that made him wealthy" (p. 7). The book, Dallek writes, "rests upon research in over a hundred manuscript collections around the country, hundreds of oral histories, and numerous interviews" (p. viii). In his section on "Sources," he lists collections he consulted at five presidential libraries and the National Archives, the Rayburn Library, twenty university libraries and archives, four other libraries, the FBI, and the FCC, and he cites almost 250 oral histories. His claim of having conducted "numerous interviews" turns out to mean, when he lists them, fourteen persons whom he interviewed and four (two of whom are among his fourteen) who were interviewed by others (pp. 593–

603). That to one side, Dallek has labored hard in the libraries and has spaded up, collated, and presented a very respectable amount of data, basically of minor importance, but not infrequently vivid, which will interest specialists in Johnson, as well as others who have not tired of reading about him and his period.

Whether much of the information in the book is new in the sense that Dallek originated it is a different question to which the answer is no. In that sense, his useful but limited new information arises mainly from his fourteen interviews and occasionally from letters, but the latter so infrequently that he cites them only in his notes, not listing them in his sources.

Dallek advances two broad theses about Johnson: that he was "a populist, who sincerely wished to help the poorest among us" (p. 5), and that he and his mentor Alvin Wirtz "were self-serving opportunists who used their connections to advance themselves." They were not only "shrewd operators with their eyes on the main chance but also men of vision who worked effectively for a larger good" (p. 184).

Dallek originates, so far as I know, an interesting new label for Johnson, "the liberal internationalist" (pp. 258, 312, 378, 509). This is a striking term, but in my opinion it requires, if it is to be sufficiently descriptive ethically, a few more words, such as in, say, the opportunist, the domestic liberal, and the militaristic nationalist.

In the net effect, Dallek endorses liberal domestic policy outcomes while justifying and at times apparently reveling in Johnson's devious, tortuous, and extreme political opportunism. This drives the reader, and should have driven the writer, to confront the problem of the ethically justifiable relationships of means to ends—in Johnson's case, the biographical, ethical, and logical conundrums of justifying his means retrospectively because of his eventual domestic accomplishments, foremost among them his great achievements for civil rights—but other than by implication Dallek does not deal with that, in his first volume.

Dallek's basic tactical argument, as he advances his book to our attention, is that Johnson has been vilified by me and by Caro and this is what has required and called forth his corrective life and times. "No historian has published a major research study of his life, and two journalists promising to do so, Ronnie Dugger and Robert Caro, have merely vilified him in books that only come up to the 1950s, the years of his Senate career," Dallek wrote in the *Wilson Quarterly* concerning the occasion of his book's publication. ("The President We Love to Blame," *Wilson Quarterly* [Winter 1991].) In Dallek's book, in his first paragraph and its footnote, the slam is repeated, but the word "merely" is gone (p. 3). Perhaps that is because in his footnotes Dallek cites, as sources of his text, Caro's work about 150 times and mine about 165.

Although Dallek says nothing more than what has just been quoted against my work, in his footnotes he writes that Caro is "ever ready to put Johnson in the

worst light" and, as he has every right to do, periodically disputes Caro's interpretations and corrects or questions some of his facts (pp. 646, n. 19; and 628, 633, 637, 639, 641, 650). That Dallek's posture here was, at least in his publisher's mind, related to selling another set of books on Johnson became clear enough when Dallek's publishing house arranged a dinner in New York City featuring Dallek on the night before *Means of Ascent* received an award in the same city and Dallek declared on that occasion, in response to a question, that Caro indulged in "terrible hyperbole, terrible bias," and that his Johnson was "one-note . . . a monster" (*Washington Post Book World*, March 31, 1991).

Although Caro has caused to be published some indefensibly unqualified damnations of Johnson, he has also, especially in the introduction to his second volume, credited Johnson's achievements. For an example of these damnations we may cite one of Caro's statements that Dallek uses to castigate him: Caro writes that Johnson had a "hunger for power . . . not to improve the lives of others, but to manipulate and dominate them." But Caro also writes that during Johnson's presidency "great strides" were made toward ending racial discrimination and that Johnson "rammed to passage" sixty separate education laws for the young and the poor as well as medical care for the aged and the poor. "The presidency of Lyndon Johnson," Caro continues, "marked the legislative realization of many of the liberal aspirations of the twentieth century . . . he used the power of the presidency for purposes as noble as any in American history." Dallek, in the course of contending that Caro in his first two volumes portrays Johnson as "an unprincipled scoundrel," tendentiously neglects to mention the passages I have just quoted. Except for the unlikely circumstance that Caro's mind is haunted by the hobgoblin Emerson blamed for foolish consistency (unless, that is, Caro is unwilling to cause and accept in advance some justified criticism of himself for inconsistency), while Caro may be aware of something, I know of nothing that will prevent him in the future from focusing generously on what he calls "the bright threads" of Johnson's life as well as the dark ones. (See Dallek, "The President We Love to Blame"; and Caro, *Path to Power*, pp. xvii, xx, 200–01, and *Means of Ascent*, pp. xix, xxi, xxvi–xxvii, 25, 257.)

Unequivocally, Dallek says Johnson "needed to hold center stage and advance himself at every turn," was "a master of self-promotion," had "a need to be top dog, to dominate, control, or bend others to his will," was "overbearing," if possible intimidated people, thought nothing of yelling at aides in public, wanted to marry a young woman in the late 1920s "partly" because of her family's money and social standing, bought votes, had "a compulsive need" for sexual conquests, had "a clear conflict between his private interests and public position" as he enriched himself in radio and TV, used "hidden, highhanded

means," won his Senate seat to a significant degree because of "tainted means," and put "the premium . . . on winning by fair means or foul" (pp. 6, 393, 44, 589, 352, 354, 81, 111, 189, 251, 437, 348, 589, respectively). Why then might not Dallek's censure of Johnson's vilifiers apply to himself? Evidently he feels that he is exempt because he subtly excuses, rationalizes, or strives to offset Johnson's transgressions against both ordinary personal decency and political ethics.

"Lone Star Rising" is a romanticizing title that all but specifies Dallek's underlying purpose, but he pursues it in a fairly sophisticated way. In general, his authorial strategy so far, in pursuit of his apparent overall aim of tacitly justifying Johnson's means by his achievements, is to warmly celebrate the much good that Johnson did along his way and in the White House, while honestly but minimally and flatly describing his manifestly corrupt actions; by tone, euphemism, and implication, and occasionally by using the argument that everybody played dirty, to invite the judgment that Johnson's deceptions, lies, and manipulations were shrewd, clever, indeed, not so bad; and to pass off even the pre-vice presidential Johnson's grossest outrages against domestic liberalism on the stump and in Congress by recurring reference to an all-exculpating "political expediency."

Space permits only brief specification of these patterns. Dallek describes in flat, neutral tones Johnson's bribes, de facto bribes, and illegal campaign contributions from the construction firm Brown & Root, for which, behind the scenes, he won fat government contracts; his successful back-door attempts to protect Brown & Root and himself from criminal prosecution; his rejection, after calm reflection, of the almost million-dollar oil money bribe offered to him by his friend, publisher Charles Marsh, on grounds that oil wealth and the means of having acquired it would devastate his political career; and his successful blackmailing of his 1954 electoral opponent, Hardy Holers. Writing of automobiles Brown & Root had given Johnson, Dallek comments deadpan: "Gifts of this sort were small payments for the millions Johnson had helped the Browns make. The real payoff would come in the 1940s when Johnson needed help financing . . . campaigns" (pp. 176, 184, 190, 201, 204, 208, 216, 245–47, 253–54, 264, 250, 176 again, respectively).

Dallek describes without even implied evaluation Johnson's public lie in 1954 that he had not been given money by Brown & Root; his private lie when he told a score of leading southern politicians he met with in Nashville before the election in 1960 that they should elect John F. Kennedy "so I, your fellow-Southerner, can defeat his integration proposals"; and his hypocritical and successful public fight for state control of tidelands oil while privately he was saying he believed in federal control. Other lies Dallek presents as the invention of a fiction and "posturing" (pp. 282, 583, 373, 303–04, 512–13).

Concerning LBJ's approach to civil rights throughout his career, Dallek writes: "First and foremost, there were questions of political expediency." Johnson's anti-union and anti-civil rights votes and statements until the late 1950s reflected "his identification with Southern interests"; he served the big oil companies to please Texas voters. Dallek clearly implies his disapproval of Johnson's vicious, McCarthy-like destruction of the regulatory career of Leland Olds in 1949 to please the oil interests, but he is also at pains to suggest justifications for it. Johnson's solution in the early 1950s as to the Soviets (a nuclear attack on them if they supported one more stooge state: "It is foolish to talk of avoiding war," Johnson said) now seems "unthinkable," Dallek says, but, after all, Johnson "did not relish" a nuclear war (pp. 138, 276, 287 and 371–74, 375–77, 397).

Perhaps no one has yet thought through well enough the tension democracy builds into its office-seekers and elected officials between personal integrity and "representing" the opinions of their constituents.

In my further opinions, Dallek mistakenly fails to challenge the extent of the U.S. postwar military build-up led by, among others, Johnson; misunderstands the roles of social activism, idealism, and pragmatism in social change and Johnson's self-serving demands for "unity and harmony" (Johnson meant: behind *him*); and incorrectly arrogates to

himself, among the biographers he is criticizing, an appreciation of Johnson's personal and ethical complexities.

In closing, though, I would like to consider an issue of more immediate interest to historians which is raised by Dallek's implied condescension toward journalists compared to scholars. Often, serious journalists who also read books and use libraries originate more and larger original contributions to contemporary knowledge than scholars who basically limit themselves to the libraries. I believe that, for example, Caro's treatments of Johnson's radio-TV fortune in *Means of Ascent* contain information originating with Caro that well exceeds in importance all the information in *Lone Star Rising* that originates with Dallek. This is not to minimize in any way the great importance and value of patient, faithful library research, whether it is done by scholars or journalists. In the search for contemporary historical truth, journalists and scholars should see themselves as allies, if also friendly rivals and civil critics of each other's work. Politicians all over the world have become far too ingenious and practiced at concealing and denying terrible historical truths for serious practitioners of the truth-seeking professions to waste their and others' time in vainglorious competitions.

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ALEXANDER DECONDE. *Ethnicity, Race, and American Foreign Policy: A History*. Boston, Mass.: Northeastern University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 270.

Two of the most important themes in the history of the United States have been the ethnic and racial diversity of its population and the nation's rise to a dominant position in international affairs. In this book, Alexander DeConde examines the intriguing relationship between these internal and external features of the American past. The result is an impressive synthesis of a wide range of mostly secondary materials that makes a convincing case for the significance of racial and ethnic factors in the construction of American foreign relations from the founding of Jamestown in 1607 to the Gulf War of 1991. DeConde succeeds admirably in opening up this rich but largely unexamined subject to exploration by a broader audience of scholars and students.

This study should be shelved alongside a small handful of books dealing on a similarly broad scale with matters of race relations and foreign policy: Michael H. Hunt's *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (1987), Richard Drinnon's *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (1980)—which DeConde, surprisingly, does not cite—and Paul G. Lauren's *Power and Prejudice: The Politics and Diplo-*

macy of Racial Discrimination (1988). DeConde shares with these authors an appreciation of the centrality of race in world politics; as Lauren noted, international relations in the modern era have, to a considerable extent, become interracial relations. What DeConde adds to this previous literature is an evaluation of ethnic as well as racial considerations. His primary interest lies in the influence of lobbying by Americans of particular racial and ethnic groups on the making of U.S. foreign policy. He pays less attention to the impact of that policy on people abroad.

DeConde's principal conclusion comes in two parts. First, when Anglo-Americans are "counted as ethnics, then we can hardly avoid considering ethnicity a significant determinant of policy" (p. 195). Second, "while ethnoracial considerations have always had an influence on foreign policy, only in specific circumstances can they be considered decisive" (p. x). The argument for significance but not decisiveness is compelling, and the categorization of Americans of British descent as "ethnics," which is central to DeConde's approach, enlightens the book's subject considerably. Anglo-Americans were indeed at least as

attached to the "old country" as any other Americans, despite their typical disdain for such bonds among Americans of different ethnic heritage, and the strength of that commitment to England and things English rightly stands at the center of any analysis of the role of ethnicity in American history.

One problem that emerges from an examination of the U.S.–Great Britain relationship through the lens of ethnic and racial consciousness is a perhaps unintentional discounting of the importance of power and ideology. The history of American foreign policy has been, to no small extent, the story of the United States taking the place of the British empire in world affairs. Emulating London undoubtedly included for American leaders an element of ethnic and racial identification. But the substitution of a *Pax Americana* for a *Pax Britannica* was fueled more fundamentally by an American admiration for the projection of British economic and military power around the globe, and by a desire to carry on the supposed British mission of upholding Western liberal democratic ideals.

Israel and Ireland figure prominently in this book. The next most influential ethnic lobbying group after Anglo-Americans, according to DeConde, has been Jewish Americans. Evidence for this in the unparalleled support of the U.S. government for the state of Israel since 1948 seems incontestable, and DeConde's discussion of the several factors involved in Jewish influence on U.S. policy toward the Middle East is succinct and convincing. Some of the book's most interesting analysis centers on the longstanding efforts of Irish Americans to counter official American Anglophilia on the issues of Irish independence and reunification. Revealing examples of the importance of ethnicity for American diplomacy include the attempts of the Irish government and the Roosevelt administration during World War II to use Irish Americans as go-betweens to influence each other. DeConde's broad perspective also brings in a variety of other stories of "ethnoracial" lobbying on U.S. foreign policy, including those of Americans of Japanese, Polish, Mexican, Chinese, Armenian, German, Greek, Italian, Arab, and Turkish descent.

DeConde accurately notes the importance of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 for stimulating the interest of African Americans in foreign affairs, a shift captured in the subtitle of a recent volume edited by Danny Duncan Collum, *African Americans in the Spanish Civil War: "This Ain't Ethiopia, But It'll Do"* (1992). DeConde does not fully illuminate the momentous decision of most African Americans after World War II, in the face of rising anticommunism, to focus on domestic racial reform, to support therefore the Truman administration, and thus to restrain their criticism of American policy favoring the imperial European powers in Africa. This omission is part of a larger tendency in this study not to evaluate systematically the impact of the Cold War on the relationship between race and foreign policy.

One of the most striking themes of the book is the

international implications of domestic American race relations, including U.S. immigration policy. It is not surprising that the rest of a mostly nonwhite world would pay attention to race relations in the United States, especially given the confluence of three factors: the unusual racial and ethnic diversity of the country, its rapid rise to global economic and military dominance, and its relatively democratic and egalitarian creed. DeConde's early chapters help explain the roots of much of the resentment of the United States evident in the Third World and elsewhere since World War II, as white violence and discrimination against people of color have constituted a pervasive theme in American history. DeConde notes that white American ferocity against the people of China included not only frequent assaults on immigrants in the United States but also "atrocities against homeland Chinese by American troops during the Boxer Rebellion" (p. 72). The Japanese endured a similar legacy of "racial slights coming out of the American government" (p. 101), including Woodrow Wilson's single-handed rejection of a statement on racial equality for the covenant of the League of Nations which had been supported by a majority of delegates. DeConde might also have pointed out that the Nixon administration's warming of the American relationship with the apartheid regime in South Africa coincided with Nixon's color-coded language about reestablishing "law and order" among urban residents of the United States and his campaign's "southern strategy."

Just as domestic racism affected American diplomacy, events abroad influenced race relations in the United States. The civil rights movement undoubtedly provided the engine for desegregation at home, but it was helped along by an international climate increasingly hostile to racial discrimination after World War II. DeConde notes the efforts of the State Department as early as the 1920s to discourage blatant discrimination in the United States because of its negative impact on American relations with other countries. Faced with stiff competition from the Soviet Union for the friendship of the nations of the emerging Third World, the United States government by the 1960s found desegregation a Cold War imperative. The combined pressures of domestic racial reforms and the growing significance of the Third World in international affairs helped move Congress in 1965 finally to eliminate the highly discriminatory "national origins" basis from American immigration law.

DeConde also engages the debate about "assimilationism" and "pluralism": whether Americans of ethnic and racial minorities become fully identified with mainstream "Americanism" (as defined by Anglo-Americans and their supporters), or whether they maintain a continuing identification with the "old country." He observes perceptively that Americans of color and of ethnic minorities often affirm a version of assimilationism in domestic matters, yet maintain a

more pluralist stance on foreign policy. DeConde argues convincingly that recent decades have shown a resurgence in what he frequently calls the practice of "ethnic politics" in lobbying on American policy abroad. He concludes that at least in matters pertaining to the outside world, Americans have continued to demonstrate a considerable degree of racial and ethnic identification and consciousness.

The most significant problem with this careful and interesting book lies in the inherent difficulty of measuring precisely the impact of "ethnoracial" factors on American foreign policy. While asserting that "ethnic and racial sympathies still have much to do with how Americans and their leaders respond to events abroad," DeConde acknowledges that "since these sentiments are often vague, they also continue to make the measuring of ethnic influence on foreign policy controversial" (p. 194). DeConde deals with this problem by avoiding overstatement and by providing sufficient context for the reader to understand the other factors involved in particular policy decisions. Much of the book's considerable strength derives from its careful but suggestive weighing of material which defies quantification.

Minor problems emerge occasionally: a reference

to the origins of the earliest white immigrants to the United States in "northeastern" Europe (p. 100), the use of the colonialist term "native" for African (p. 145), the substitution of "Asians" for "Asian-Americans" in one place (p. 148), and the apparent assumption that abolitionists ("who were themselves believers in white supremacy") were all white (p. 30). A condescending reference to the importance of "eschew[ing] the WASP-bashing popular in some circles in this time of minority sensitivity" (p. xi) strikes a jarring and unfortunate note in the preface. But DeConde more generally deserves praise for his attentiveness to precision in his writing; he notes carefully, for example, that the Haitian Revolution that began in 1791 was a problem only "from the white American point of view" (p. 22).

There will be few readers of this fine book who will not find their knowledge of American foreign policy increased in important and suggestive ways. By gathering so much revealing material into a relatively slim and accessible volume, DeConde has performed an admirable service to the profession.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

S. A. M. ADSHEAD. *Salt and Civilization*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xii, 417. \$39.95.

This book is a quirky masterpiece. S. A. M. Adshead set out to write what he calls a commodity history of salt. Since salt, as he says, "has been an object of almost universal consumption" (p. xi), this requires an account of how salt figured in the lives of all branches of humanity; and since it has often been taxed, Adshead could turn to a body of documentation that makes a salt-centered history of the world feasible—almost. His effort to pursue the manufacture, distribution, and consumption of salt from antiquity to the present in every continent (except Australia) is impressively learned; his command of technology, geography, and economics is extraordinary; and his insights and suggestions are immensely provocative, though they sometimes struck me as excessively idiosyncratic.

The book has two parts. Part I, "Salt and Society," describes the ways salt was produced, distributed, taxed, and consumed. Adshead begins with a chapter on "Primitivity"—by which he means the role of "salt in pre-Roman Europe, pre-Columbian America and pre-colonial Africa." He concludes that "primitive methods of making salt were not simple," and "the basic function of salt in food would seem to be that of differentiation . . . Salt like speech was essentially semiotic. As such it could convey a variety of meanings, of which the clearest in early times was social distance: high cooking, low cooking, above and below the salt" (p. 24).

The next five chapters deal with salt in Eurasia, describing changes in production, distribution, taxation, and consumption in successive ages. An example of Adshead's quirkiness comes out in the titles he gives to his chapters. Thus, for example, "The Dark and Light Ages" succeed "Antiquity" because, according to him, the T'ang era of China was an age of "maximum light," and Emperor Hsuan-tsung (712–56) was "actually known as *ming-huang*, the emperor of light" (p. 47). Yet the 500 years of Eurasian *chiaroscuro* between 500 and 1000 had something in common: the Word of revelation. "Everywhere," he writes, "the Word created new institutions for its

hearers, notably military and monastic institutions strangely linked, and also a new climate of opinion which cut through the elitism, sexism and generalism of antiquity to produce solidarity, feminism and expertise."

Such assertions (and there are many similar ones scattered through the book) provoke reflection. They, too, like the chapter Adshead is here introducing, strike me as dark sayings that are perhaps brilliant, and are certainly dazzling, if true. But are they true? How does he know? How can anyone know or sum up in a phrase the shifts of sensibility across 500 years among millions of persons of diverse religious, linguistic, and cultural traditions? And yet there is a wonderful plausibility to this and his other oracular remarks that makes the book immensely provocative. In this respect it resembles his earlier work, *China in World History* (1988) but improves on it inasmuch as his focus on salt, and the technology of its production and distribution, gives a firm backbone of fascinating (and to me entirely unfamiliar) yet well-documented fact on which Adshead then hangs occasional oracular remarks like the one quoted above.

Perhaps the most important of his general observations concerns alterations in diet and the increased consumption of salt that went along with each of the shifts he detects. According to Adshead, antique diets emphasized carbohydrates, beginning in neolithic times; this was modified by emphasis on proteins (mainly meat) after 500, followed by emphasis on fats (mainly dairy products) after 1400; and then by the introduction of canned and prepared foods (of great variety) in the twentieth century. He locates these alterations of diet primarily in Europe (pp. 100, 141) but finds a parallel to the first of them in China, where "As in Europe, the *limes* life style involved more meat, and more meat involved more salt" (p. 55). But, as before, I wonder how does he know such things? Whose diet does he describe? That of all Europeans and Chinese? Or only of an elite? He may be perfectly right, but what is the evidence? He does not say. Instead he merely sets forth his view as though it were a familiar and well-established fact.

The second part of the book is a good deal more down to earth—indeed it goes beneath the earth's surface, since much of the salt in question was mined.

Entitled "Salt and the State," it consists of a series of essays on how the Venetian, French, and Habsburg governments taxed and distributed salt in early modern times, followed by three essays on the Ottoman, Indian, and Chinese salt administrations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Adshead exhibits an admirably detailed mastery of each of these subjects and has much to say about the importance of salt taxes for each of the states in question. But what I found particularly enlightening was his argument that a "synarchy" between local and European administrators constituted a principal path toward modernization within Ottoman, Indian, and Chinese society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His doctoral thesis, published as *The Modernization of the Chinese Salt Administration* (1970), dealt with this subject, and the present book presumably arose from his effort to set that specific historical experience into context—that is, first into traditional Chinese history, and then into world history.

The book is deformed, however, by a complete absence of maps. This makes it all but impossible to comprehend Adshead's geographic specificity about the sources and routes of distribution for salt without consulting an atlas. Inexpert readers like myself also very much need illustrations and diagrams to make clear what "successive basin solar evaporation" and other technicalities of production were like. But the publisher refused to humor the author by permitting him to provide these essential supplements and surely deserves censure for mutilating such an informative, erudite, subtle, and quirky masterpiece of historical thought and research.

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W. J. VAN DER DUSSEN and LIONEL RUBINOFF, editors. *Objectivity, Method and Point of View: Essays in the Philosophy of History*. (Philosophy of History and Culture, number 6.) Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill. 1991. Pp. 204.

This collection of essays originated with a symposium in honor of William C. Dray and his contributions over nearly four decades to the field of critical philosophy of history. In this expanded version of the original symposium, edited by W. J. van der Dussen and Lionel Rubinoff, and including a critical response by Dray, nine distinguished philosophers and historians address a set of questions central to Dray's work and to contemporary philosophy of history in general: the epistemological status of history, the relationship of theory to the practice of history, the logic and methodology of historical explanation, selection and use of evidence, the nature of causation and objectivity in historical interpretation, the question of conflicting interpretations and their possible resolu-

tion, whether history has any discernible pattern or meaning, and the practical uses of history.

Rubinoff's introductory essay traces Dray's development from his Collingwoodian critique of Carl Hempel's controversial covering-law theory, to his debates with both positivists and constructionists as to what constitutes valid historical analysis and interpretation, to his recent criticisms of currently fashionable theories of narrative for exaggerating the aesthetic and stylistic aspects of historical writing at the expense of its cognitive function. Throughout his work, Dray holds that history is essentially a humanistic discipline, differing from all other sciences by its emphasis on an agent-centered perspective; by virtue of the concepts and techniques of reasoning peculiar to history, its humanism is ultimately compatible with its valid claim to be able to reconstruct the truth about the past.

The contributors to this volume are diverse in their approaches to the philosophical and methodological issues raised by Dray and in their assessment of his positions. On one thing, however, all of them—philosophers and historians alike—seem to agree: what passes for historical truth is less the outcome of epistemological "correctness" than of the discursive formations, narrative strategies, and conceptual paradigms historians use and the norms and assumptions of the interpretive communities to which they belong. As David Boucher puts it: "Not the past, or the manner of explanation, but the historian himself becomes the problem" (p. 42).

R. F. Atkinson and A. P. Fell contest Dray's claim of the relevance of philosophy to history, and they make strong cases for the view that the standards that make such studies valuable are, as Atkinson asserts, "internal to the studies themselves, and are consequently guaranteed to appeal only to the already committed" (p. 20). Paul Christianson cites studies of seventeenth-century England to show that historical inquiry typically proceeds within frameworks themselves generated and sustained by "hidden assumptions which enclose the perimeters of an historiographical tradition and provide it with needed stability" (p. 47). J. F. M. Hunter contends that even the question of whether history has a meaning is meaningful only with reference to the experience and expectations of those who pose the question. Michael Krausz and van der Dussen present formidable arguments for the view that the same evidence can support conflicting but equally plausible interpretations, and that, as van der Dussen asserts: "there are no logical rules either for putting forward a certain interpretation, or for definitely proving a certain interpretation to be the right one" (p. 165). Rubinoff and L. Pompa bring new insights to the old question of how objectivity is possible if, as they (and Dray) believe, historical accounts are always and necessarily written from a perspective that includes the values of the historian.

The positions staked out in this volume, combining the experience of both philosophers and historians,

represent important contributions to contemporary philosophy of history. It is a tribute to Dray (his worries about creeping epistemological anarchy, relativism, and aestheticism notwithstanding) that these contributions would not have been possible without the success of his mission to establish history as an autonomous discipline and a unique form of knowledge, differing both conceptually and methodologically from all other disciplines.

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HOWARD COLVIN. *Architecture and the After-Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xi, 418; 357 plates. \$65.00.

Funerary monuments are among the earliest works of architecture that have survived. Not only has proper burial long been considered a last service the living owe the dead but it was held important also to ensure that the dead would bless rather than harm the living. At the same time grave monuments recalled the community to the powers presiding over it, often testifying to a conviction that the darkness will not have the last word, that life will triumph over death, even as they served to exhibit and legitimate the power of the builders, projecting it into the future. Today such concerns and convictions would seem to have lost most of their former significance. What Howard Colvin says of Great Britain also holds of this country: "Death is no longer an event to be celebrated by major ceremonial, the grave no longer a place to be marked by substantial architectural or sculptural monuments. Indeed, many nineteenth-century British cemeteries lie neglected, vandalized and overgrown" (p. 374). Colvin's readable and generously illustrated study of funerary monuments invites us to reflect on the price for such neglect.

This neglect extends to the history of architecture. Colvin thus mentions as the only comparable study of funerary architecture James Stevens Curl's *A Celebration of Death* (1980). There is indeed a need for a scholarly and comprehensive study examining architecture and its relation to thoughts of an afterlife. Colvin's book, despite its title's promise, is not this study, which would have had to cast a much wider net. To give just one example, every church is a monument to the dead Christ and as such also to faith in the final victory of life over death. Churches figure in this book mostly insofar as they house or are joined to funerary architecture.

Even as an examination of specifically funerary architecture this study is limited, first of all in a geographic sense. Its first five chapters provide a useful survey of the history of funerary architecture from prehistoric megaliths and tumuli to Roman monuments in that part of the world which was once under Roman rule (somewhat surprisingly, ancient Egypt falls outside the author's chosen scope). The

remaining eleven chapters confine themselves to what Colvin calls "western Europe," which turns out to mean Italy, France, and especially England. Except for an interesting discussion of funerary architecture in Protestant Sweden, forays to other countries are cursory and sporadic.

Even within these limits, this book neither is nor claims to be "a comprehensive history of funerary architecture in all its aspects" (p. x). Thus, most of the well-known national monuments discussed in Nikolaus Pevsner's *A History of Building Types* (1976) do not figure in this book. In each chapter Colvin pursues one or two themes he finds important, and he notes: "The result is a series of interconnected essays which, read in order, will provide the reader with a continuous but by no means exhaustive history of funerary architecture in western Europe" (p. x). Most of these essays are, as he points out, "no more than a report to the educated reader on the present state of scholarly knowledge and opinion" (p. x). But every one of them allows us to make new discoveries. I found myself most engaged by chapter 9, "Chantries and Funerary Churches in Medieval Europe," and chapter 13, "The Family Chapel in Protestant England and Sweden." If this is not yet the needed comprehensive study of funerary architecture, whoever attempts to write such a study will be grateful to Colvin for this work and its lengthy bibliography.

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ROBERT J. STEINFELD. *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture, 1350-1870*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 277. \$39.95.

Legal history, like the law itself, can easily topple into the maw of its own argot, so that few outsiders can understand its message, much less fully decode its subtleties. Robert J. Steinfeld's book is one of the growing number of interpretive pieces that have avoided this trap. In lucid and engaging prose Steinfeld applies one of the great axioms of Anglo-American law—the shift from status to contract—to the emergence of the legal concept of free labor.

In medieval England, the worker was rarely "free." Servants, day laborers, journeymen, and cottagers were part of a nexus of obligations. Lords owed duties to their overlords, servants and apprentices to their masters. Even casual laborers were bound by law and custom to finish their tasks or their term on pain of imprisonment or fines. Two social and legal theories supported bound labor—the employer was likened to the worker's parent or the worker's labor was considered the employer's property. The Statutes of Laborers in the fourteenth century and the Statutes of Artificers in the sixteenth century gave local justices of the peace the power to enforce labor agree-

ments. Idle persons could be set to work, servants and laborers bound to their employers, and the terms of employment mandated, all of which strictures gave employers great power over employees.

It was a world very different from our own, where it is commonly assumed that worker and employer may both terminate their relationship "at will" or for cause. Steinfeld's great contribution to our understanding of labor law is to lay out a plausible explanation for the paradigm shift. He identifies himself with the critical legal studies movement but does not "trash" doctrine. Instead, he finds it rooted in a view of society. Then, workers were not independent contractors selling their skill, but rather members of households bound to the head of the household—their employer—in a hierarchy that reached from the top of society to the bottom. At the same time, the courts developed an alternative notion that labor was a form of a lease that could be enforced against the laborer.

The law of employer-employee relations was carried to the British North American colonies, but with a difference. Variants of the statutes of laborers and artificers were retained, but in North America servants were fewer than in England. They came voluntarily, many under indentures—contracts for a term of years. Well into the early nineteenth century large numbers of Europeans still came to labor in the new United States under such contracts, but by the middle of the eighteenth century in England and America the underlying intellectual and economic conditions of the labor relation were changing. Service detached itself from villeinage and set itself up in opposition to slavery. Ideas of possessive individualism, including the notion that labor belonged to the laborer, and concepts of employee self-determination were given weight by political upheaval and commercial expansion. The spread of markets did not free workers from the coils of the statutes, but the increasing formality of economic exchanges undermined the personal jurisdiction of masters. The remaining tie that bound servant to master—the commodification of labor—was susceptible of profound transformation. The United States led the way. After the revolution, simultaneously abrogating the authority of British statutes and giving a sense of empowerment to the laboring poor, servants refused to be regarded as part of the household. Henceforth they were hired "help." Courts would only bind immigrants and minors to indenture and apprenticeship. One jurisdiction even invented a concept of "structural duress" to prevent the virtual enslavement of an indentured servant. Slavery came to be the polar opposite of free labor—but in it the unfree were marked by race, not status.

Why did this sea change occur? Steinfeld argues that a "broad process of transformation" deeply rooted in "a generation of intellectual and social ferment" (p. 147) led to the new understanding of free labor. Free labor was the invention of a demo-

cratic republic. Revolutionary shifts in the common view of government relations, even more than shifts in market relations, opened the way for a new understanding of the governance of laborers. Those who bore the marks of difference were still forced to labor unfairly. The Thirteenth Amendment and the Anti-Peonage Act of 1867 may have legally emancipated these men and women, but unscrupulous local contractors and conniving local magistrates found ways to virtually reenslave African Americans, Mexicans, and Native Americans.

Ironically, the invention of the concept of free labor also allowed powerful employers to claim in labor disputes that the individual workers were free to bargain for their labor, for they were the equal of their employers. It took fifty years for the judicial system to recognize that free labor is not really free when the bargaining power of the employer and employee are not really equal. Steinfeld does not continue his story into this "gilded age" of labor and capital, but he has given us a remarkably convincing portrait of the origins of the idea of free labor that would spawn the changeling called freedom of contract.

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JOHN THORNTON. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680*. (Studies in Comparative World History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xxxviii, 309. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

In this sweeping analysis of the early modern Atlantic world, John Thornton presents Africans as voluntary and central participants in creating the wider world of the great ocean basin. The four chapters of the first section introduce the western coast of Africa as it was drawn into Atlantic commerce and, increasingly, the slave trade. Six chapters in the second section detail the role of Africans in economy, society and culture in the Americas.

Thornton works to validate Africans and their participation in the Atlantic world by emphasizing that "dynamic, independent African societies" were full and voluntary partners in central events during this period. He criticizes "nationalist" historiography for treating Africans as victims, retarded by European coercion. There is no underdevelopment in this book.

Thornton imaginatively underscores unities around the Atlantic and reduces the dichotomies separating continents, racial and religious groups, masters and slaves. He uses maps to create an African-centered vision of the Atlantic world. He situates the origins of creole languages and African Christianity in Africa rather than the Americas. He documents the case for a rough parity of Europeans and

Africans in military affairs, manufactures, and the limits on state economic power.

But his effort to erase the label of victim from Africans, and to emphasize the dynamics of their history, leads to near-denial of one of the continent's important dynamics. Thornton claims that African slavery was "widespread" before European arrival, so widespread that the steady expansion of slave exports did little to change the nature or extent of slavery in Africa. Slave trade "should not be seen as an 'impact' brought in from outside" (p. 74). Slavery developed to such an extent before European arrival, he argues, because African institutions did not permit private ownership of land, but did permit private ownership of labor (p. 85).

Indeed, African slavery existed before the Europeans, although its extent remains under debate. But I question whether African institutions of slavery, and especially of enslavement, could have been as extensive in the sixteenth century, when some five thousand slaves were exported annually, as in the eighteenth century, when ten times that many slaves left Africa each year. Interaction with the Atlantic surely changed slavery in Africa.

Thornton later argues that enslavement did not bring appreciable fragmentation of African states, and that Africans sold slaves not because they were coerced to do so (as with the import of guns) but only because the price of selling slaves was attractive. His review of the middle passage, meanwhile, is thorough and compassionate. For the Americas he argues that slaves, far from being marginal, were prominently utilized in the main economic and political centers. He reviews the diversity of African cultures, but denies that randomizing by slaveowners was able to interrupt the formation of African communities in the Americas.

The best chapters, in my view, center on cultural change and religion. Thornton emphasizes the variance between slow rates of change in language and aesthetic principles and the more rapid changes in material culture, political structure, and especially systems of kinship. For each of these he gives insightful discussions of African continuity and change in the Americas. He asserts that the creator of religion was not religious philosophy but revelation. Proceeding from this assumption, he catalogues the revelations received by Europeans and Africans, Christians and others, and concludes that the revelations ultimately led, in spontaneous and voluntary fashion, to the expansion of African Christianity on both sides of the Atlantic.

Thornton is a specialist on Central Africa, and that region is very well presented in this study. A few lapses slip through in his treatment of West Africa, such as the failure to account for recent reclassification of the languages of the Lower Guinea Coast, plus some spelling errors. Regional specificity is less clear on the American side.

The book was written in part to make available to

Americanists both African details and an Afro-Atlantic perspective. It should succeed in that aim and stimulate debate as well. The author's philosophic approach, emphasizing free will rather than social forces (or predestination?) as the active agent in historical change, works in some ways to enliven his history, and in other ways to smooth it over by downplaying conflicts, winners, and losers.

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THOMAS C. HOLT. *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xxx, 517. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

This is an assiduously researched, intelligent, and stimulating book, but a difficult one to assess objectively. In several key respects Thomas C. Holt goes against the trend of the latest British West Indian scholarship. Only once mental adjustments are made about the author's admittedly presentist motivation, his "imperialist" slant, and his concentration on the role of ideas rather than actions, is one in a position to judge fairly what the book contributes to Jamaican historiography; and even then one comes away with decided reservations.

In his preface, Holt explains that his interpretation of the switch from mercantilist to liberal imperialism, and from slavery to free-wage labor and its peasant corollary in the particular case of Jamaica, was at least partly informed by the experience of living in the United States in the age of Reaganomics. While the parallels are interesting, even illuminating, such a beginning is uncomfortable to any historian inclined to avoid analogies or trained to believe that while the past can shape and help explain the present, the reverse is either irrelevant or obvious nonsense.

More substantially bothersome are Holt's conception and resolution of the essential problematic referred to in his title. His preface admirably points out or claims that "this study is not solely an intellectual history nor even a social history but an attempt to integrate both. It must be both because the struggle to define the content of freedom was at bottom a contest for social power, a struggle at once intellectual and political, social, and economic." We observe, he continues, "not only the conditions of life following slavery but what the various principals involved—British policymakers, Jamaican planters, and freed people themselves—expected freedom for ex-slaves to entail and how those expectations and understandings, or rather conflicts in what was understood or believed, shaped the actual outcome of emancipation."

The text itself, however, scarcely delivers what is promised. The discussion of the idea of freedom and of the contradiction inherent in the attempted con-

flation of ideals of personal liberty with notions of free trade and free wage labor is almost entirely from the point of view of metropolitan theorists, politicians, and policy makers, and from a conception of class relations in the metropole. As Holt himself summarizes, "liberal democratic thought was part and parcel of the rise of capitalism, and it helped to explain and justify the emerging bourgeois social relations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that produced the English working class. These developments form the ideological background for slave emancipation in the mid-nineteenth century, because in many ways the task of compelling the 'voluntary' transformation of slaves into wage laborers bore striking similarities to the problem of creating a white working class."

Whose problem are we, or should we be, concerned with? And what of the possibility (or rather the certainty that informs most modern British West Indian historians) that the colonial planters and slaves (and ex-slaves) themselves had their own ideologies, counterposed with each other and distinct from those of the metropole? The planter class no more accepted the principles of liberal economics than they did those of liberal democracy. Nor did the planters need to adopt the forms of racism that emerged in the metropole as the result of ideological contradictions; they had their own already. Likewise, the black underclass in the West Indies had its own ideology of resistance. This expressed itself variously and sequentially in maroonage and slave rebellion and protopeasant and protoproletarian formations long before emancipation, and in analogous ways thereafter, whenever possible or necessary: flight from estate labor, social and political protest and sheer unrest, squatting and family land tenures, and, failing effective peasant or labor organization, emigration.

Such local matters are the prime concerns of most modern British West Indian scholars, and the context in which they are placed increasingly tends to be regional and global rather than strictly British and imperial. Put one way, what was happening in Cuba and the Caribbean at large was of far more moment to Jamaica than the indifference, post hoc patching, and rearguard concessions that constituted British policy toward the former jewels in the imperial crown; the emergence of an industrialized sugar monoculture, a refining and distribution system, and a similar development in perishable plantation fruit crops that marginalized Jamaica and its people delayed rather than speeded the confrontation between international capital and labor.

It is unfair to impute that Holt ignores these conceptions entirely, and it is grossly unfair to suggest that he does not include valuable material and arguments on Jamaica in each of his chapters. Attentive and well-disposed readers can discern the operation of hegemonic principles at the colonial and imperial levels and give the author credit for recognizing them, if not distinguishing them adequately or relat-

ing them clearly to each other. The plan of the book is excellent, and unlike most of the standard works it does not call a halt at 1865 but rather makes a resolute attempt to bridge the gap between the Morant Bay rebellion and the climactic crisis of the late 1930s. What disappointment there is stems mainly from questions of emphasis and questionable underlying assumptions.

The first of four parts, called "The Mighty Experiment," consists of three chapters dealing successively with the way in which metropolitan ideas and motivations (jolted finally by the slave rebellion of 1831) led to slave emancipation legislation in 1838, and how the transitional system of apprenticeship affected ex-slaves and former slaveowners respectively. The two chapters of the second part, entitled "The Free Labor Economy," make an assessment of the ways that planters attempted in vain to sustain the sugar plantation economy in the face of declining imperial protection, the collapse of world produce prices, and the preference of the ex-slaves for peasant farming over wage labor. Part 3, "The Political Economy of Freedom," analyzes internal Jamaican politics in the last era of self-legislation, in three chapters showing how the conflict between the old white plantocracy and the tentatively emergent brown petty bourgeoisie was overshadowed by the more general sociopolitical distemper among the black majority that led to the Morant Bay explosion, the voluntary surrender of power by the Assembly, and the switch to direct Crown Colony rule in 1866.

As a whole the book is neatly designed to span the century between the slave rebellion that triggered emancipation and the popular unrest that heralded national independence. Within this scheme, however, there is considerable unevenness. Three-quarters of the book deals with Jamaica before 1866. This is the strongest as well as longest section, but also the least original. It mainly adds detail and a different gloss to a copious established literature. The final quarter, "The Road from Morant Bay," treads less-familiar ground, but in attempting to cover three times as long a period in one-third the space falls far short of its ambitions.

One theme is the fluctuating fortunes of the Jamaican peasantry during an era of "beneficent despotism." But a somewhat strained analogy with the Irish case once more shows the author's imperialist bias, while his specific conclusions are dubious in the light of the most recent analyses by local scholars such as Veront Satchell, Verene Shepherd, Swithin Wilmot, and Barry Higman. Given the continuation of laissez-faire principles and the operation of free market forces, neither the noun "despotism" nor the adjective "beneficent" properly apply. The weakest section of all, however, is the penultimate chapter, misleadingly styled "The Making of the Jamaican Working Class." Although Holt acknowledges a debt to the late, great Caribbean labor historian Walter Rodney, there is even less evidence here than earlier that he

has adopted anything from him. This chapter is no more than half the necessary story; it is an interesting examination of capitalistic intensification in the banana and sugar industries with some useful remarks on its effects on the Jamaican peasantry, but contains nothing on labor organization and unrest or the emergence (or perhaps nonemergence) of a true proletarian consciousness. Most damning of all, there is virtually nothing on the ideas and actions—either in Jamaica or on the larger stage—of the greatest of all contemporary Jamaicans, Marcus Garvey.

This ensures that the final section—luckily already very well covered by distinguished local historians, economists, and political scientists—is no more than a perfunctory gallop over sixty years in twenty pages, under the grandest reading of all: “The Problem of Freedom in the Twentieth Century.” The crucial misjudgment was probably the decision to stop the detailed narrative short at the unrest of 1938 rather than at the passage of the new constitution of 1944. This saw Jamaica lead the way for British Caribbean territories to achieve universal adult suffrage and responsible government as a prelude to internal self-government and national independence. That this came not as a direct result of popular unrest but while World War II both shelved the recommendations of the reformist Moyne Commission and ushered in an era of modest but unprecedented general prosperity should have allowed Holt to make a more telling conclusion about when and how changes in Jamaica tended to occur. Here at least it was less because of imperial ideology or even internal pressures than through economic factors and more or less accidental contingencies that, at last, the will or ability to rule was eroded.

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BRUNO RAMIREZ. *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the Atlantic Economy, 1860–1914*. (The Canadian Social History Series.) Toronto: McLelland and Stewart. 1991. Pp. 172.

In this compact volume from the Canadian Social History Series, Bruno Ramirez executes a tour de force, synthesizing his own research with that of others in an artful blend that draws from rural and agricultural history, urban history, immigration history, labor history, and industrial history.

Population movements in late-nineteenth-century Quebec present challenges to traditional push/pull migration theories. There were two forms of rural migration in the province. In one, marginal agriculturalists, day laborers, and artisans were pressed by industrialization and increasingly capitalized commercial farming within established parishes to move to the frontiers within the province. There they could reestablish themselves as independent, if precarious, subsistence proprietors. The other migration sent

whole families south of the border to work in the labor-hungry New England textile industry. At the same time, emigrants left southern Italy's rural villages searching for employment in the expanding economy in and around Montreal. Each of these population movements was part of the fundamental change taking place in the developing North Atlantic economy. Ramirez makes a convincing argument that the traditional explanations, which locate the stimuli for outmigration in uprooting and impoverishment of rural populations and the choice of destination in the availability of employment, will not fully account for Quebec being simultaneously a source and destination for rural emigration.

Ramirez finds his answers to the Quebec paradox in close examinations of the communities of origin and destination for each migration. While macro-level analyses may point to common economic forces at work in both the sending and receiving points, Ramirez' micro-analyses reconfirm the important point that local factors do much to determine who migrates, where they go, what they experience when they arrive, and what the consequences are at both ends of the migration odyssey.

In Quebec, for example, French-Canadian nationalist elites promoted colonization (the pioneering settlement of the undeveloped interior), while decrying the movement to New England as a basic threat to French cultural well-being. They preached repatriation to the participants in the latter movement while celebrating the colonists for fulfilling their moral and patriotic obligations.

Italian national elites were more ambivalent about the emigration from their country. They recognized that the remissions of significant portions of emigrants' wages earned abroad helped finance the expanding national economy. In the end, they attempted to protect their co-nationals abroad from abuse but did little to effectively thwart the exodus. It was local elites in Italy who opposed the emigration. They recognized that it dramatically altered the local labor markets, drove up wages, and threatened their traditional economic base.

Ramirez has chosen to attempt a most difficult type of comparative history. It is grounded in individual narratives that give agency to the actors in the drama of migration. Their actions, while taken within the context of a developing North Atlantic economy, are also set within local situations and have local consequences that are the product of particular local conditions.

Ramirez is sensitive to the uneven quality of his own evidence, as well as to previous scholarship and how it might distort the distinctions he draws between the various migration experiences. Specialists in the several areas of scholarship from which Ramirez draws in crafting this ambitious work may wish to dispute his characterizations of lacunae in their scholarly visions or debate some of his specific conclusions. Still, they should welcome the many instances where

his juxtapositions of different migration experiences suggest important historical work still to be done. This is comparative history as it should be written.

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JACK SNYDER. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. (Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 330. \$35.00.

Jack Snyder has written a complex, ambitious, and often insightful book trying to explain why some states are more likely than others to overexpand in world affairs. His examples are Germany and Japan from the late nineteenth century to World War II, Victorian Britain, the Soviet Union since the 1930s, and the United States since 1945.

Snyder's chief finding is that variations in the pattern of domestic politics best explain whether a government generates "myths of empire" and so overextends itself abroad. Governments that have an "encompassing perspective" tend to make more rational assessments of the costs and benefits to be achieved by aggression, while by definition their broad-based character means their policies are relatively "myth-resistant," that is, open to internal criticism and hence to self-correction when a mistake is made. By contrast, states with "cartelized politics" tend to have policies dictated by coalitions of parochial interests, which seek benefits for themselves while transferring costs to the greater public, and which by the character of their intergroup pacts find a course of action difficult to change once it is embarked on. Hence such countries are relatively "myth-producing."

Snyder identifies three basic regime types (although a variation on the third may be said to constitute a fourth): "democratic," where interests are encompassing and methods of criticism institutionalized; "cartelized," where parochial interests may "hijack" government policy; and "unitary," where either a dictator or an oligarchy (the Meiji genro, the Politburo after Joseph Stalin, the British Whig establishment) have encompassing interests and, in the case of the oligarchy, internal means of changing policy. Snyder further links the first regime type to early industrialization and hence to Britain (and less explicitly to the United States); the second to later industrialization and hence to Germany and Japan; and the third to late-late industrialization, and thus to the "hypercentralized" government of the Soviet Union (although unitary oligarchies may preside over earlier stages of industrial development).

Snyder's book is relevant to three different schools of historical analysis. For those interested in imperial life cycles (the rise and fall of empires), the work sheds light on the dynamics of relatively "self-destructive" political orders. Germany and Japan are obvi-

ously the key cases. A second audience for the book is those interested in the question of whether the spread of democratic governments world-wide would result in a more peaceful international order. Reasoning from the British and American examples, Snyder gives a qualified, non-utopian affirmative reply. And finally, for those interested in how best to study the logic of international relations, this work insists on the necessity of understanding the domestic origins of a regime's policy, thus offering telling criticism of the "realist" analysis of world affairs, which tries to explain a state's behavior in terms of the logic of the international system and the state's prospects for survival.

While it should be obvious from these comments that Snyder's book is worthwhile, the study falls short of being the key to history that its self-assured manner at times implies. Its primary problem is that it tries to do too much; ironically, this study of overextension is itself overextended.

The locus of the problem is the ambiguity inherent in the three regime types on which the book depends. Since any country may exhibit characteristics of two or even three regimes (p. 311) the categories appear to begin to be manipulated to produce a "cartelized" identity when a mistaken policy occurs. But as the examples of both Adolf Hitler and Stalin suggest, unitary governments may also make terrible mistakes. Snyder seems to recognize that his categories of analysis have trouble explaining Hitler, but his account of Stalin is not persuasive either. Although the Soviet dictator may well have had an "encompassing perspective," this did not save him from wreaking havoc on his country during its forced collectivization and industrialization (measures justified by the specious argument that the Soviet Union could not have developed economically otherwise, a claim Snyder does not make). Again, it may be a matter of debate whether Stalin's policies of the late 1940s constitute only "moderate overexpansion" as Snyder indicates. If one believes to the contrary that Stalin's behavior launched the Cold War and locked his country into a path leading to its eventual collapse, then how "moderate" in fact was it? Or again, despite the suggestiveness of Snyder's account of how the United States oversold itself on its Cold War rhetoric as various "cartels" of elites got parochial benefits for themselves in the process until the Vietnam War brought everyone to their senses, the use of similar categories to explore German and Japanese politics of an earlier epoch may strike others, as it does me, as confusing more than clarifying.

These criticisms made, the value of the book far outweighs its shortcomings. Snyder not only helps the scholar understand better the complex process by which foreign policy is made but also alerts policy makers to a set of questions that well deserve analysis. States behave differently from one another not simply because of their place within a system of world politics, as the realists would have us mechanistically

believe, but also because of their domestic political processes, some of which turn out more belligerent policies than others. By sensitizing us to the range of different regime types, and by illustrating his categories through a complex analysis of the five most important countries in world affairs over the past century and a half, Snyder has ably demonstrated how "myths of empire," themselves dependent on self-interested groups seeking to serve their parochial concerns, can lead a country, or the world, to disaster.

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DOROTHY V. JONES. *Code of Peace: Ethics and Security in the World of the Warlord States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 208. \$24.95

Trying to get states to follow a code of behavior based on mutually agreed on principles has often been seen as a key to maintaining peaceful relations. In an account that is more analytical than chronological, Dorothy V. Jones traces how the recent international system has created a consensus on ethical principles of behavior. Beginning with the Paris Peace Conference (1918–19) and ending with the agreements of the Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe (CCSE), she delineates the basic principles that states have demarked as a guide to peace. These principles constitute the modern nation-state vision of peace. They are: the sovereign equality of states, territorial integrity and political independence, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, nonintervention in internal affairs, peaceful settlement of disputes, abstention from the threat or use of force, fulfillment of international obligations, cooperation with other states, and respect for human rights (pp. 163–64). Although these principles are basically Western in origin, Jones shows how non-Western states have emended them so that they now have a universal quality.

What is significant about these principles is that they are not simply the philosophical prescriptions of utopians but have been embodied in the agreements made by the states themselves. These principles, although often used for legitimation and propaganda, are more than just rhetoric. They constitute an ethical framework around which states have from time to time built institutions to implement the principles. Jones's account is best in showing how this was done for the peaceful settlement of disputes, especially in the League of Nations period, which too often is dismissed as a failure. Readers will find her discussion of the Åland Islands disputes and the claims of minorities following World War I particularly relevant to the post-Cold War disputes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Jones's thesis is that these principles are ethical standards that can and have been applied to the actions of states, that they have been universally

accepted by states despite cultural diversity, and that they form a code of peace that may serve as a bridge between the world of war that states have made and the world of peace that they have dreamed (p. 166). For Jones, the principles are a foundation on which an international culture has been erected.

The main contribution of the book is the delineation of the principles from legal documents and diplomatic actions. Such efforts, however, are not uncommon and historians of this period, as well as scholars of international relations, will find little that is new here. What is of greater interest are the theoretical claims that couch the analysis. Unfortunately, these tend to be confined to the introduction and a few concluding pages. In addition, the theoretical claims remain underdeveloped. Much more sophisticated arguments that international law and norms constitute a global political culture that restrains behavior can be found in the work of William Coplin, Hedley Bull, Charles Kegley, Jr., and Gregory Raymond. Jones's argument would have benefited from building on their work. General readers may find the book a useful overview and will benefit from the bibliographic essay, but more informed readers will be better served by looking at the standard works in the literature on international law and international relations theory.

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APRIL CARTER. *Peace Movements: International Protest and World Politics since 1945*. (The Postwar World.) New York: Longman. 1992. Pp. xv, 283.

In the history of the international peace movement, the four and a half decades from the end of World War II to the collapse of communism throughout Eastern Europe constitute a well-defined epoch: a period of cold war and of confrontation between two power blocs entailing the threat of nuclear war on a global scale. This is the era covered by April Carter in her survey of antiwar protest and world politics since 1945. Carter has herself been a peace activist; in her writing, however, she maintains a scholarly detachment combined with obvious sympathy for the ideals prompting men and women to take part in antiwar protest.

After introductory chapters devoted to classifying peace organizations, activities, and beliefs and to presenting in outline the framework of international relations since 1945, the author moves on to her central theme: the world-wide movement for nuclear disarmament. To this she devotes three chapters centering on its successive "waves" of 1957–64 and the 1980s. These chapters form the core of the book, and rightly so, since nuclear disarmament in one form or another has remained the major objective of the peace movement emerging after 1945. She as-

signs, however, only thirty-three pages to the antiwar movement, American as well as "transnational," which was generated by the Vietnam War. North American readers may find such treatment too brief. But in compensation we have a valuable section on peace protest in the Soviet Union and the other (formerly) communist lands of Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, a country on which Carter has previously published a monograph. Her knowledge of conditions in that area is reflected in her discussion of antimilitarism in Slovenia where "Peace campaigning and criticism of the military became more inextricably linked with the struggle for civil rights and pluralist democracy than in other parts of Eastern Europe" (p. 200).

A lengthy chapter deals with "absolute" pacifism, including nonviolent action, and the struggle since 1945 to establish the right of conscientious objection to military activities, including taxes for war and selective objection to particular conflicts—the latter a sensitive issue in countries like South Africa and Israel. Whereas Quakers crop up occasionally in Carter's narrative, the other two "historic peace churches," Mennonites and Brethren, are not discussed at all. In fact, the emphasis throughout the book is on the political impact of peace movements rather than on the ethical or religious foundations on which peace activists of various kinds have based their programs and protests. Carter ends with a brief discussion of opposition to the Gulf War and an assessment of the role of peace movements since 1945. She concludes that "The fact that peace activity has spread to so many parts of the world [since 1945] suggests a growing awareness of the need to organize across national frontiers to prevent major wars and promote measures of disarmament" (p. 269).

The author bases her narrative on the periodical publications of the peace movement in English as well as on a wide selection from the growing secondary literature on the subject. Charles DeBenedetti and Charles Chatfield's important study, *An American Ordeal* (1990), although listed in her "Bibliographical Essay," clearly reached her too late to be used in her chapter on the Vietnam War. And she does not mention Guenter Lewy's controversial *Peace and Revolution* (1988). That is a pity, since one would have liked to know her reactions to Lewy's treatment of (what he has called) "the moral crisis of American pacifism" resulting from the tension among peace activists from the 1960s to the 1980s between the demands of reconciliation and of social justice.

Carter's tightly packed narrative tends to be rather impersonal; human beings often seem to be swamped in a plethora of facts, figures, and acronyms. But we must be grateful to her for providing a balanced, well-informed, and comprehensive account of one of the most interesting political phenomena of the post-1945 world.

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ROBERT FRAZIER. *Anglo-American Relations with Greece: The Coming of the Cold War, 1942–47*. New York: St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. xii, 233. \$65.00.

In this work, Robert Frazier argues that Anglo-American policies toward Greece both during and immediately after World War II led to the Truman Doctrine and the consequent aggressive tone of the Cold War. The White House, he argues, formulated the Truman Doctrine as the centerpiece of a new foreign policy that rested on anticommunism in an effort to persuade the Republican Congress to authorize an aid program designed to save Greece. This tactic, Frazier concludes, "required the preaching of an ideological crusade against the Soviet Union in the form of the Truman Doctrine, which in turn began the real Cold War" (p. 181).

The central issue in postwar Greece was whether the king should return to the throne. The British Foreign Office preferred a plebiscite because it believed, contrary to reports of people on the scene, that he enjoyed widespread popularity. Winston Churchill insisted on the immediate reinstatement of the monarchy. Further complicating the matter was the United States's support for a plebiscite as an expression of the wartime goal of self-determination. Frazier insists that Britain and the United States should have resolved the issue before the liberation of Greece. By failing to do so, they provided the Left with a rallying point against a king long impervious to reform. Had the Left won the civil war, Frazier declares, Greece would probably have fallen under Soviet domination.

Frazier is especially critical of U.S. policy. Even though the king agreed to a plebiscite, civil war broke out in December 1944 because, says Frazier, President Franklin D. Roosevelt failed to proclaim support for a plebiscite and to participate in the liberation. Had he worked with the British, the Left would have confronted both the Americans and the British and might not have started the December war. If the Americans had facilitated Greece's rehabilitation before mid-1946, Frazier declares, "there might have been no Greek problem" (p. 180).

This is hardly a fair analysis. Indeed, Frazier undermines his own argument by stating that the United States regarded Greece as unimportant and lying within the British sphere of interest. Moreover, can the United States be faulted for not following the British when, as Frazier admits, they pursued more than one policy at the same time? Could anyone have expected the United States to shift its focus from Germany and Japan to a military effort in Greece aimed at defeating a wartime resistance group that now ostensibly supported self-determination?

Frazier's criticisms of the Truman Doctrine as the first shot of the Cold War constitute still another attempt to revive an all too familiar and tired refrain. The Cold War did not begin in Greece, nor was the Truman Doctrine the culprit. In numerous places

around the globe, the Americans and Soviets had already taken opposing sides. The Truman Doctrine constituted a flexible and restrained response to perceived totalitarian aggression in Greece and Turkey. America's global campaign against communism did not come until after April 1950, when State and Defense department analysts presented the president with NSC-68.

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ANCIENT

C. WILFRED GRIGGS. *Early Egyptian Christianity: From Its Origins to 451 C.E.* (Coptic Studies, number 2.) 2d ed. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill. 1991. Pp. vii, 276.

This is the second edition of a book first published in 1990, written by C. Wilfred Griggs. The work reads like the classical type of dissertation, carefully and logically stated, meticulously footnoted, and strictly within the self-stated definitions of purpose. Greek, Latin, and Coptic texts are exhaustively investigated and cited, and Griggs supplies elegant translations. He gives special attention to noncanonical texts and recent discoveries, tellingly adducing the evidence of the papyri. Griggs selects the main episodes in the history of Christianity in Egypt from its misty beginnings in New Testament times and discusses the major steps in the development of the religion in its early plurality in governance and dogma onward to the days when the bishops of Alexandria ruled supreme over the dioceses, the monks, and the determination of orthodoxy. These "Pharaohs of the Nile" were even able to terrorize the emperor's representatives at home and abroad. Griggs shows himself thoroughly acquainted with the written and archaeological material, as well as with the German, French, British, and American critical scholarship that has developed so voluminously during the last century and a half. In all the book is a superb specimen of its type.

Is it unfair for a historian to ask of a monograph with this title something more? The Egyptian form of early Christianity is one of those where we can present considerable detail about the social and economic situation and background. Much could be told us by experts like Griggs of the daily life and interests of the pioneer rank-and-file Christians, including the women. We even know what some of them may have looked like, what they ate and wore. We need to be reminded of the ever-present hunger, disease, and disaster; the exploitation of the women, children, and the poor. We need not be locked into "the ballet of bloodless categories" of one top ecclesiastical dispute after another as if we were dissecting a cadaver rather than studying a living organism that is alive today having survived and even prospered under a millen-

nium and a half of Islam. We do not need the hypothesis of some Western plot to establish orthodoxy; rather, there remains to be described the mystery of how the great popes of Alexandria could be profoundly mystical yet ringleaders of an effective gangsterdom. There is the unfolding of the programming of the life of a living organism to produce a native, locally rooted people's church that somehow reflects Egypt in its immense antiquity and its inimitable idiosyncrasy. This church helped Christianity to be planted in Ethiopia and Nubia, it was in contact with fellow-believers in India (although Western scholars insist this means south Arabia or Socotra). The church in Egypt gave the Mother of God a title and iconography that may go back to Isis and Horus, and whether we like it or not it is reflected in the portrayal and cult of black and brown Virgins from Mexico to Mindanao. Thus, the church subordinated, as Griggs so capably shows, the monks to the bishops. This was the instrument that carried civilization and Christianity to the barbarians of Britain, France, and Germany and then from Moscow to Vladivostok and on to Russ River.

As the center of gravity of Christianity moves back to the African continent and to Latin America, the lessons taught us by the Marxist historiographers—such as the study of proletarianism, subaltern studies, and contextualization—need to be set side by side with the great achievements of the German history of dogma and church history schools. Influences from ecological and feminist studies need to revolutionize our thinking. While commending Griggs's sterling achievement, it is necessary to say that historians of religion still lack a monograph on early Christianity in Egypt that they can put into the hands of their students and the interested public, and that will bring out the spirit and corporeality of this most curious and fascinating ecclesial body in its world context. Is it too much to hope that an Egyptian or Ethiopian or Keralan might be encouraged to undertake the task?

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JEAN-NICOLAS CORVISIER. *Aux origines du miracle grec: Peuplement et population en Grèce du Nord.* (Histoires.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1991. Pp. viii, 315. 268 fr.

Only a courageous person willingly enters the contest over the origins of the Greeks. It takes a clever person to find new terrain on which to engage battle. Jean-Nicolas Corvisier is both in looking to the north of Greece (Thessaly, Macedon, and Epirus) for clues to explain the origins of "le miracle grec."

Seeking an explanation for classical Greek civilization, Corvisier studies for each region, first, the process of settlement, then habitat and organization of space, and, finally, the size and nature of popula-

tion. Each section begins with an overview of positions on major issues, continues with a review of current evidence, and concludes with a possible reconstruction and a summary of findings. Throughout, Corvisier balances the parts played by humans, territory, and the hazards of history.

Corvisier proceeds with praiseworthy caution. Admitting the paucity of data, he believes that at least long-term process is discernible. Without exacting too much from his sources, he ranges widely in search of clues to gather "an important body of presumptions" (p. 48) or "a quasi-certitude" (p. 254), ever willing to admit that the evidence in certain cases does not permit even this much certainty. Where he takes a stand, he treats the positions of others fairly. The evidence—archaeological, linguistic, legend, written sources—is fully presented and examined. The book contains meticulous catalogues of data that can be used for specific purposes (the identity of the ten acropolises of eastern Thesprotia) or comparatively (the degree of Mycenization in Thessaly compared with Macedon). Tables and maps provide useful compendia of basic information.

In consequence, Corvisier's conclusions are persuasive, despite the controversial nature of the issues. Maintaining that the proto-Greeks who arrived at the end of the third or the start of the second millennium brought the Kurgan culture (p. 129), Corvisier sketches a process of gradual sedentarization and urbanization from the end of the Bronze Age into the fourth century B.C. The late twelfth through the ninth centuries were particularly important: by the late Bronze Age Epirus had become "a reservoir of men" that began to spill out both into other northern territories and southward, the "traditional phenomenon known as the 'Dorian invasion'" (p. 122). The Catalogue of Ships of the *Iliad* reflects the tenth-century situation following these repositions.

Corvisier argues infiltration and the role of geography, rather than massive invasion and "mécaniste" theory, in positing that the cultures of infiltrators and earlier inhabitants were not fundamentally different and in emphasizing the continuing importance of a pastoral way of life. The several generations required for settlement intermingled cultures in antiquity. The process also obscured the role of newcomers in the surviving record. One especially valuable conclusion is Corvisier's comparison of the process of urbanization in southern and northern Greece. He sees two forms of the same process: not only the polis of the south but also the northern village was "an essential element of the Greek miracle." I have been a vocal opponent of the usual view of invasion—Dorian and other—but Corvisier's version is both sensible and convincing.

In his concluding remarks, Corvisier looks to the end result of the long process, asking plausibly whether the north of Greece did not produce a second Greek miracle (p. 298). His revised calculation of Macedonian population in the fourth century, for

example, positing growth from 250,000 to 700,000 in little more than a century, does indeed show that the north's subsequent dynamism in Greek affairs is not surprising (p. 274). But Corvisier has not staked a sufficiently large claim for his study. It provides, as he hoped, "a key to understanding what happened in southern Greece in the earlier period" (p. 297). More than that, he also reveals the significant role of people and regions of the north in and of themselves. The contest will continue, but Corvisier has turned it in a fruitful new direction, offering fundamental data to those who remain in the battle.

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W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT. *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*. Volume 6. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben. 1991. Pp. x, 228. Hfl./DM 145.

This is the sixth in a series of books on Greek topography written by W. Kendrick Pritchett, who has also published several volumes on Greek military practices. The author's interest in the military is apparent since his topographical studies are mostly related to military roads. This observation is particularly true for this volume, in which six of the eight chapters are devoted to military campaigns. The last chapter contains four "postscripts and ripostes" in connection with the author's previous publications.

Most topographers survey intensively a given geographical area through the sampling of sherds, identifying and dating farmsteads, defense posts, village sites, roads, and so on. Their purpose is to draw a picture of the economic, social, and political structure of a region mostly limited by the boundaries of a city-state. Not so with Pritchett. Very eclectic, he covers all of Greece and all of the periods up until and often including the Roman period. He identifies military roads and by doing so the ancient sites along them.

The main military campaigns in this volume are related to northwest Greece. The study of Philip of Macedon's march of 219 B.C. into Acarnania leads to the identification of six sites: Phoitiæ, Metropolis, Ithoria, Paianion, Elaos, and Proschion. In 426 B.C., the well-known campaign of the Athenian general Demosthenes in northwestern Greece leads to the identification of eight sites in Aitolia: Poteidania, Oineon, Erythrai, Eupalion, Krokyleion, Teichion, Aigion, and Apollinia.

Not all of these identifications are new, of course, and the author generally accepts the main theories. But where there are divergent views on the identification of a site, he will discuss the literature in detail, giving lengthy extracts that do away with the need of looking for the books or articles. He has an intimate knowledge of the Greek landscape, and his arguments are not merely based on the discussion of literature but also on autopsy. They are illustrated

with numerous photographs of roads and ruins. There are also many drawings and sketches, and each campaign has an excellent map derived from the difficult to obtain Greek military staff maps. All this makes it easy for future researchers to verify Pritchett's identifications. Unfortunately, although the author occasionally mentions sherds, he does not provide any drawings, profiles, or pictures of them. There is a short topographical index, but no bibliography or index of names.

Those who know Pritchett's work and are interested in ancient Greek topography will find this book, as the previous ones, stimulating and resourceful. It will also be of value for those who study ancient military architecture or the topography of Acarnania and Aitolia. These identifications of sites by Pritchett contribute to local topographical studies such as those from the Dutch archaeological service for Aitolia.

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PAULINE SCHMITT PANTEL, editor. *A History of Women in the West*. Volume 1, *From Ancient Goddesses to Christian Saints*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 572. \$29.95.

A History of Women in the West is an ambitious title for a work that is nothing more than a collection of eleven discrete articles about goddesses, mortal women, and female imagery in Greece and Rome. Although the title and publicity intimate that the book is encyclopedic, it is no more so than similar collections of essays that have been published on both sides of the Atlantic during the past twenty years. In fact, some of the gaps are remarkable: Sappho, Aspasia, and Cleopatra VII are not discussed.

As in so many current collections in this area, articles on the Greeks outnumber those on the Romans, and the Hellenistic world is not treated at all. With the exception of religion, the same topics are not studied in both their Greek and Roman context. Thus, a student could not be given this book as a textbook and asked, for example, to compare Greek and Roman legislation concerning women. Not only the incomplete coverage but also the bizarre arrangement of the assembled essays precludes the use of this work as a textbook for courses in history. Neither maps nor chronological charts that could have assisted the novice are offered. Both historical change and the vast differences between the Greek world and the Roman are ignored; instead the essays are printed according to themes. Part 1, "Feminine Models of the Ancient World," includes Nicole Loraux, "What Is a Goddess?"; Giulia Sissa, "The Sexual Philosophies of Plato and Aristotle"; Yan Thomas, "The Division of the Sexes in Roman Law"; and François Lissarrague,

"Figures of Women." Part 2, "Traditional Rituals Women Share," includes Claudine Leduc, "Marriage in Ancient Greece"; Aline Rousselle, "Body Politics in Ancient Rome"; Louise Bruit Zaidman, "Pandora's Daughters and Rituals in Grecian Cities"; John Scheid, "The Religious Roles of Roman Women"; and Monique Alexandre, "Early Christian Women." The third part, "Yesterday and Today," consists of Stella Georgoudi, "Creating a Myth of Matriarchy"; and Pauline Schmitt Pantel, "Women and Ancient History Today." The quality and originality of the essays varies widely. Among the best is Loraux's study in which she asks new questions and takes another look at traditional assumptions about gender and the divine. Lissarrague's well-documented ninety-page article fills a gap in our knowledge of representations of female figures on Greek vases. Unfortunately, the accompanying photographs look no better than photocopies.

A final section presents as a triumphant climax part of "The Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicity," excerpted from *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. This section is titled "The Woman's Voice," and the introduction draws attention to the absence of texts written by women and to the authenticity of this expression of a woman's feeling. In fact the transmission of the text was indirect. Prevailing scholarly opinion is that an anonymous author probably combined Perpetua's account with that of another martyr, Saturus, and Tertullian, in turn, revised it and added a final section. This volume adds one more layer of remoteness to the transmission: Arthur Goldhammer's English translation is of P. Monceaux's old French version, rather than a direct translation from the Latin.

Errors and half-truths abound. For example, on the fourth page of print: "Even the census neglected women. In Rome only heiresses were counted" (p. x, see also p. 298). Yet a glance at the census lists recorded on papyri from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt proves that women were included as early as the third century B.C. The format of the Ptolemaic population records is fairly standard. Only in a few all-female households does the name of a woman appear at the top of a census report. Men are the heads of household and their names come first with patronymic. A wife is listed just below her husband; usually her name is given, but sometimes she is referred to merely by her role, that is, "wife" (*gune*). Grown children are listed below their parents. The name of the wife of a married son follows her husband's name. With the exception of *hetairai* and women who play an official role in religion, only the occupations of men are regularly reported. When the head of the household dies, his widow is sent to the bottom of the list, beneath her sons and their wives. Sometimes she appears there simply as "mother" (*meter*). Inelegant and laconic, such documents clearly demonstrate the official view of gender hierarchy,

and of women's placement in the family and society.

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CHRISTER BRUUN. *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome: A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*. (Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, number 93.) Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica. 1991. Pp. viii, 456.

Of the surviving Roman monuments in Italy and the provinces, the aqueducts are at once the most visible testimony to the ingenuity of ancient engineering and the most romantic evocation of Roman power in the territory the legions conquered. Building on the work of R. Lanciani (1880) and more recent specialized studies, Christer Bruun sets out "to shed light on the administrative and social aspects" (p. 6) of the most extensive of these hydraulic systems, the eleven aqueducts that supplied the city of Rome during the first two centuries of the empire (from Augustus to the Severans). Through a meticulous reexamination of the evidence—the treatise *De aquae ductu Urbis Romae* composed by Sex. Iulius Frontinus around 100 A.D. and the stamps on Roman lead pipes (*fistulae*) from Rome and its environs—Bruun offers a fresh assessment of water distribution within the capital and a detailed analysis of the alliance between the state and private interests that assured a reliable supply.

As *fistulae* from less than 10 percent of all private conduits in Rome survive, any estimate of water distribution must begin with Frontinus's calculations (64.4–78): the aqueducts in his day had a capacity of 24,000 *quinariae* (with a diameter of 9.25 centimeters the *quinaria* was the smallest of twenty-five "legal" pipes); the water supplied was distributed through the network of pipes for imperial (17 percent), private (38 percent), and public use (45 percent). Unfortunately, Frontinus's calculation of the capacity cannot be trusted. As Bruun points out (p. 99), the Romans did not take velocity into account and were "therefore unable to calculate the actual water delivery." Moreover, Frontinus has accounted for only 14,018 of the 24,000 *quinariae*: Rome received 9,955, its environs 4,063. Even if one accepts the tripartite distribution within Rome, the "missing" *quinariae* undermine any calculation of water availability per capita based on his figures, including Bruun's estimate of 67 liters per day (pp. 101 and following).

The epigraphic evidence (*fistulae*) Bruun marshals in support of his analysis of the administration of the water supply is less problematic. Everyone involved appears on *fistulae* found in Rome: the emperor (who financed the entire system), senators (including, from Claudius on, some who, like Frontinus, served as *curator aquarum*), equestrians (after Trajan), and the "work force" of imperial slaves and freedmen (some

of the latter with the title *procurator aquarum*). As one would expect, the chronological distribution of the *fistulae* reflects peak periods of construction activity in the capital (pp. 37 and following). It was during these peak periods that the emperors expanded and/or modified the bureaucracy (*patrimonium*) to make it more responsive to their needs and aspirations. Bruun's treatment of these trends is sound, but novel only at the margins.

A more original contribution is his analysis of the social status of the *plumbarii*, the Roman lead manufacturers who appear on *fistulae* in sufficient numbers (290 individuals) to "constitute the largest known group of artisans from the city" (p. 304). These artisans, Bruun demonstrates, were freedmen and slaves (male and female) attached to the imperial household. That they belonged to the emperor may have conferred some distinction, but these people clearly were not individuals of high social status. What we would like to know, of course, is whether those who supervised the construction and administration of the water system found ways to exploit the manufacturers' inferior status. The conditions were favorable for peculation to be sure, but nothing points unmistakably to the kind of bid-rigging and kickbacks that shape modern contracts in arid zones. This is a disappointment, but it is hardly Bruun's fault. Indeed, he deserves credit for his refusal to fall back on mere technical display and his insistence that the important historical questions must be asked even when the data are fragmentary and fugitive. As a result, historians will find in this monograph new evidence of the "administrative habit" on which to launch fresh topographic explorations of the Roman imperial bureaucracy.

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STEPHEN L. DYSON. *Community and Society in Roman Italy*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 383. \$39.95.

This book by Stephen L. Dyson is a general study of the small rural towns of Roman Italy from the end of the Hannibalic war through the sixth century A.D. It stresses the vitality of life in the rural communities, both in their urban centers and their hinterlands, and draws insight and inspiration from the work on local communities of modern historians and social scientists. Dyson adduces three types of evidence, epigraphical, archaeological, and literary, the relative importance of which falls, in Dyson's view, in that order. Dyson's central thesis, persuasively argued, is that the local communities of Italy were not gradually overtaken by a gnawing social and economic decay, as earlier historians have thought, but that they were cohesive, resilient, and adaptable entities that remained dynamic throughout the period.

Dyson treats the Italian towns first from a chrono-

logical perspective, taking three chapters to consider the effects on them of the main events of Rome's history—the results, for instance, of colonization and land redistribution, conscription and proscription, civil war and imperial peace. Dyson then describes the physical structures that characterized the rural landscape, first in the town's *territorium* and second in the *urbs* itself. Dyson follows with a chapter on the life cycle of the rural town's residents. Finally, he returns to the chronological mode to sketch Italian community history from Trajan to the end of the period, emphasizing throughout community vitality even as new conditions obtain.

Overall the book is a valuable example of how archaeological data can be used alongside conventional sources to produce compelling social and economic history. Not the least of its virtues is the synthetic exposure it gives to a broad range of recent work from archaeologists and historians alike, and for this reason alone the book will be widely consulted. Dyson's conclusions in his chronological chapters (conventional narratives for the most part, more Romanocentric than one would have expected) are not as radical as the author intimates, and he tends to emphasize the positive too much in my view (his rural Italy is not that of the *Moretum*, a piece of evidence he nowhere discusses). But in the chapters on landscape in particular Dyson is very good, using an enviably rich knowledge of Italian archaeology to re-create the atmosphere of life in the local community. His remarks on the social meanings conveyed to observers by the "streets of the dead" (p. 153) that typically lay outside a city's walls are especially successful.

Readers, however, will need to guard against some dubious generalizations and insubstantial arguments, blemishes that seem to me particularly glaring in the book's treatment of slavery. Dyson alleges, for instance (p. 131), that many slaves imported to Italy from beyond Rome's frontiers were unsuitable for heavy agricultural work under the hot Mediterranean sun, but he offers neither evidence nor argument to support his view. He believes that slavery brought many slaves "personal satisfaction" (p. 201), but the fact that slaves themselves have left no evidence to suggest such a thing does not trouble him. In taking the minimal attestation of slave dealers as a sign that slavery was not central to Italian rural life (p. 38), he omits to mention that traders in slaves simultaneously traded in other commodities and did not promote themselves as slave dealers per se. And when he argues (pp. 132, 200) that manumission rates had to be high because former slaves are often named in sepulchral inscriptions, he fails to distinguish between the frequency and the incidence of manumission while recognizing in any case that the inscriptional evidence is skewed. He assumes (for example, pp. 115–16) that whenever slaves and masters lived or worked together the result was always a warm personal relationship that brought the slave advantage, but there is a mass of evidence to show that slaves

close to their masters were more likely to be physically abused or otherwise maltreated than to be indulged or loved. Slaves, it seems, had always to be "ambitious," striving to prosper in ways laid down by the established order. The possibility of an alternative slave mentality is not admitted.

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MEDIEVAL

BARBARA M. KREUTZ. *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*. (Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1991. Pp. xxxi, 228. \$29.95.

The history of southern Italy in the early Middle Ages has been largely neglected by Anglophone scholars, and so Barbara M. Kreutz's general study ought to be very welcome, above all as a convenient introduction for students whose lack of linguistic skills prevent them from exploring the growing body of specialist studies by historians from continental Europe. While Kreutz's book is the product of wide reading of the secondary literature and close study of many of the printed sources, however, it cannot be considered entirely successful. The project is an ambitious one and the author's approach often intelligent, but her powers of organization and exposition are not always equal to the task she has set herself.

The main problem is the geographical focus of the work. Despite the title, this is not really a history of the whole of southern Italy in the two centuries before the arrival of the Normans. By far the greater part of the study is devoted to the Campania, and for the tenth century the author's attention is largely confined to the Principality of Salerno and the Duchy of Amalfi. The picture provided is thus inevitably unbalanced. It is all very well to say that a number of scholars have already devoted attention to Byzantine Italy (p. xxv), but their works are virtually unknown to British and American students, and this is no excuse to relegate the Byzantine provinces, and particularly their internal development, to such a subordinate role as Kreutz does. (It is notable, too, that Kreutz does not refer to the extensive documentary material from Calabria now being edited by André Guillou.)

More serious still is the virtually complete neglect of the principalities of Capua and Benevento after 900. Admittedly the sources for these areas are scanty and difficult to interpret. But given that the combined principalities (ruled together from 900 until 981, and again for a few years in the early eleventh century) formed the dominant power in the south for much of this period, and certainly in the Lombard area, such neglect distorts proper analysis. (Kreutz is incidentally probably in error to suggest that Capua and Benevento were ruled separately by different members of the princely dynasty [p. 104]. There was

rather a family *condominium* over both principalities together.)

One should not be entirely negative. This book does have virtues. Generally, its treatment of the ninth century is more successful than that of the tenth, when the chronicle sources become sketchier. The Arab attacks on southern Italy are effectively discussed, with Kreutz rightly drawing attention to the importance of slave trading as a motive for the raids. She also points to evidence for more peaceful contact between Christians and Muslims and, as other scholars have done before her, emphasizes the importance of trading links between the cities of the Tyrrhenian coast and the Islamic world. Her discussion of the southern interventions of Emperor Louis II and Pope John VIII is generally sensible and informative (by contrast she is much less successful when she deals with the Ottonians). She has made good use of the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, the most ambitious and interesting of the chronicle sources of the time, and of the charters from the Salerno region contained in the *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, for example in her analysis of peasant freedom and bondage (pp. 131–34), although this subject merits a more extensive discussion.

But Kreutz's preoccupation with the Campania probably leads her to overestimate the significance of Amalfi to the region as a whole, and outside the southern Campania her touch is much less sure, leading to a number of factual errors and misunderstandings. For example, the monks of Montecassino returned to their mother house from exile in Capua in 950, not 934 (p. 60); the significance of the Cassinese *placita* of the 960s is largely misunderstood (pp. 108–09); too much credence is given to monastic chroniclers' estimates of desertion and devastation ca. 900 (p. 112); and the brief discussion of *incastellamento* is unsatisfactory (pp. 134–35). It was certainly not just occurring on the lands of the great southern Italian monasteries—indeed, there were relatively few *castelli* on their lands until well into the eleventh century—while the process elsewhere probably played a significant part in the decline of princely authority in Capua/Benevento.

With the publication of the French thesis of Huguette Taviani Carozzi on the Principality of Salerno (*La principauté lombarde de Salerne (IX^e–XI^e siècle): Pouvoir et société en Italie lombarde méridionale* [1992]), and the imminent publication of that of Jean-Marie Martin on early medieval Apulia ("La pouille et la basilicate orientale du VI^e^{me} siècle à la fin du XI^e^{me} siècle" [1990]), the history of Lombard southern Italy may at last be placed on a proper footing to rival that of the Byzantine south. An effective synthesis may then be possible. Kreutz's book is a brave attempt, but only partly successful.

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M. M. HILDEBRANDT. *The External School in Carolingian Society*. (Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, number 1.) New York: E. J. Brill. 1992. Pp. xii, 169. \$62.26.

As M. M. Hildebrandt's study acknowledges, from the days of the great Benedictine scholar Jean Mabillon (1632–1707) to the present, the concept of the external school has occupied an important place in both early medieval monastic and intellectual history. The imprecision of the concept as well as its usefulness account for its longevity. The external school has been located outside the precincts of monasteries where children not destined for monastic life could come for schooling without disrupting the monastic routine. It has also been situated within monasteries where "external" students could be educated apart from monastic students. Finally, historians have described as external those schools in which both young monks and non-monks were educated together. Wherever the school has been fixed, all have agreed that it played a significant role in communicating learning and literacy to the larger world outside monastic enclosures.

Not surprisingly, the few ninth-century Carolingian sources that mention external schools have contributed to the opacity of the institution. And wishful thinking by historians intent on celebrating the contributions of monks to society have built the external school into a major cultural institution. Two documents, both connected to the monastery of Saint Gall in modern Switzerland, mention the external school. The Plan of Saint Gall, a detailed early ninth-century sketch of a monastic complex that is preserved today at Saint Gall, includes an outer building clearly labeled as a school. The other document, an eleventh-century history of Saint Gall, mentions external students at the monastery in the mid-ninth century. A third document has been interpreted as providing impetus for the establishment of external schools. In 817, bishops and abbots meeting at Aachen agreed to a reform agenda promoted by Louis the Pious and Abbot Benedict of Aniane that aimed to restore purity to monastic life by disengaging monks from the world. One canon of the Aachen council mandated that only children intended for monastic life were to be educated in monasteries. This was a drastic measure with important implications for the education of the secular clergy. Who would educate future priests if monks could not? Politicians were slow to support schools and even bishops complained that they lacked the resources to maintain schools. Furthermore, not all monks agreed with the Aachen decree. Abbot Hatto of Reichenau, to whom Hildebrandt credits the Plan of Saint Gall, conceived the outer school illustrated on the plan by way of obeying the letter of the decree, but not its spirit. In the end, Hildebrandt argues, the reforms of 817 expressed an ideal. Secular and monastic clergy continued to interact; monks even ran schools in rural parishes. Despite

its posthumous history in the literature, the Plan of Saint Gall's outer school was "neither paradigmatic nor typical of later ninth-century educational practices" (p. 99). Monks continued to be heavily involved in society all through the ninth century, but not through the external school.

Hildebrandt's perceptive and rigorously argued book limns a less schematic and more nuanced portrait of ninth-century intellectual and cultural history. Although Hildebrandt finely sifts the ninth-century evidence for the existence and function of the external school, she also offers much more than its narrowly focused title suggests when she anchors her argument in the broader history of monastic spirituality and education, Carolingian educational reform and monastic policy, and the individual histories of major Carolingian monasteries. And it is as much for what she writes on these subjects as for what she writes on the "elusive institution" of the external school that Hildebrandt has made a significant contribution to Carolingian history.

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ROBIN FLEMING. *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 15.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xxi, 257. \$49.50.

Robin Fleming's study of aristocratic power in late tenth and eleventh-century England is founded on a computer-assisted analysis of the distribution of the landholdings of major families. It is divided into two almost equal sections, one dealing with the pre-1066 English aristocracy from the reign of Edgar onward, and the second concerning the land settlement that followed the Norman Conquest. Fleming's main thesis is that the destruction of a tenth-century aristocracy, with aristocrats closely bound to one another and to the kings by kinship ties, and its replacement by parvenu families, instigated the "waning" of the Old English monarchy. The second thesis is that the Norman Conquest inaugurated a "tenurial revolution" that cut across and frequently destroyed pre-1066 landholding patterns.

This important book deepens our understanding of the late Old English state and clearly shows the violent and redistributive nature of the Norman Conquest. The political differences between England before and after 1066 are forcefully outlined in a way that deserves to refocus discussion of the effects of the Conquest. The data base that is central to the book's arguments is nonetheless sometimes overbearing. Alternative analytical possibilities are overlooked. For example, the idea that the aristocracy which failed in 1066 lacked roots and cohesion grates against Fleming's own statement that the families concerned kept the kingdom intact in the time of Cnut's sons, and also against the argument that

military force and generalship were decisive in 1066. Godwine power in the Confessor's time is treated as monolithic, whereas the literary sources suggest that it might not have been. For example, the question of why Edward was apparently able to send Harold on the fateful mission to Normandy is one among several problems that are never faced.

On post-Conquest land distribution, the image of Englishmen seeking new lords is compelling. The explanation of how land was redistributed may, however, be too schematic. Faced with some of the problems discussed (the redistribution of the lands of Ansgar the Staller, for example), I can construct an alternative hypothesis that puts more emphasis on local negotiation. Consideration of what the Normans were doing "on the ground" could be valuable. For this reason, the operation of "free enterprise" in the counties most securely under royal control may need to be modified; among other things, it does not take account of Domesday Book's great variations in the treatment of land disputes and can minimize its well-known weaknesses as a source for Anglo-Saxon landholding.

I am also not convinced about the general applicability of the thesis of distribution by hundred and wapentake. There are a number of typographical errors and Fleming regrettably neglects David Roffe's work. My instinct is to treat some of the book's conclusions as provisional. But on many matters, scholars will be profoundly in Fleming's debt. She brings into general focus much that has previously been treated only in local and unsystematic terms. It is now up to those with local knowledge to answer back.

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MIRI RUBIN. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 432. \$59.95.

In this book Miri Rubin traces the historical trajectory of the eucharist, the bread and wine of Christian ritual, persuasively arguing that through this symbol later medieval culture eloquently reveals itself. Rubin commands a vast range of materials—"the theology of the eucharist formulated in the schools, the ritual and liturgy designed for it, legislation on access to it, teaching and preaching of its meanings, legislation and correction of its liturgical practices at the provincial, diocesan, parochial levels, the imagery which surrounded it in paintings, and eucharistic artifacts" (p. 2)—and maintains control over these materials with a theoretical framework from cultural studies.

In her introduction Rubin succinctly sets out her goal of creating a "thick description" à la Clifford Geertz by extracting an "ethnography of eucharistic understanding and practices" (p. 9) from her materials. Her underlying premises are that medieval cul-

ture is religious culture and that "all culture, all meaning can be usefully studied as a language and through its salient symbols" (p. 6).

Beginning with theology, Rubin adduces evidence for interest in the eucharist in the eleventh century, but she gives much more weight to twelfth and thirteenth-century discussions of its nature. She traces a gradual hardening of positions from a rather unexamined notion of the eucharist as commemorative to the one acceptable position that at the moment of consecration a miracle transformed the substance of bread and wine into Christ's flesh and blood without changing the accidents that human perception continued to experience as bread and wine. Now a sacrament, the mass claimed that "through sacerdotal ritual action matter could be transformed into something quite different, a repository of supernatural power" (p. 13).

Next Rubin examines texts that communicated the new teaching to the clergy and that "offered a symbolic system, a sacramental world-view, taught in word and image and sound" (p. 103) to the laity. Miracle stories proved especially effective in fostering "acceptance or adherence to the church as prime and single cultural mediator and channel to salvation and well-being" (p. 115). Her good use of visual evidence shows the many ways in which eucharistic imagery pervaded the culture, including biblical correlations, scenes of the elevation of the host (the moment when the white wafer of bread is lifted above the priest's head), and scenes of infanticide in the form of images of the child in the host.

In chapter 3 Rubin tracks the stages by which the feast honoring the eucharist, the feast of Corpus Christi, was introduced into the liturgy. Rubin places Juliana of Cornillon's eucharistic vision of about 1208, which motivated her campaign for the new feast, within the spiritual climate of strong devotion to the eucharist in Liège, especially among women. Delayed by the untimely death of Pope Urban IV in 1264, the feast did not become universal in the Catholic church until the early fourteenth century. Its liturgy, whose composition bears the "personal signature" of Thomas Aquinas, was gradually introduced into liturgical books. From this point, beginning with a subsection entitled "The Feast's Arrival in England," Rubin concentrates on English manifestations of the cult of the eucharist, although only in the book's conclusion does she acknowledge this narrowing of range.

Rubin surveys in chapter 4 the feast's cultural expressions in sermons, fraternal organizations, processions, and dramatic activity. Her reading of processions, which were carefully organized so that the most powerful elements in the town were positioned closest to the eucharist itself, refutes theories of *communitas* in favor of the idea that by "laying hierarchy bare [a procession] could incite the conflict of difference ever more powerfully sensed in a concentrated symbolic moment" (p. 266).

In chapter 5, on "the variety of eucharistic meaning" (p. 288), Rubin explores specific cultural practices, such as the exposition of the host, paraliturgical rituals, and private devotions, and shows how widely meanings could range. Some of Rubin's most trenchant observations on a number of subjects currently central to medieval studies, such as the body, mysticism, and heresy, come in this chapter.

The conclusion quickly sketches the post-medieval history of the eucharist, but it also draws generalizations from what comes before. Here Rubin delineates her understanding of cultural theory, forcefully rejecting the separation of religious from social as well as "the establishment of hierarchies of determination which privilege one domain over the other: the social determining the political determining the cultural simply will not do" (p. 358).

It is exciting to see the insights and reconfigurations that result from Rubin's readings of medieval culture. The theoretical framework drawn from anthropology enables her to read comparatively, to stand outside of the medieval, Christian tradition as many medievalists still fail to do. In spite of the understandable lack of total comprehensiveness in covering secondary materials, which was necessitated by her vast topic, Rubin's book stands as a major new reading of the later Middle Ages for specialist and nonspecialist alike.

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AMLETO SPICCIANI. *Capitale e interesse tra mercatura e povertà nei teologi e canonisti dei secoli XIII–XV*. (Storia, number 24.) Rome: Jouvence. 1990. Pp. 262.

In this book Amleto Spiccianni makes available in a single volume nine previously published articles. It is useful to bring these essays together, for as a group they outline the emergence over two centuries of clerical thought on economics and capital as autonomous categories and of a new awareness of the relationship of economics to social change in late-medieval Italy.

Spiccianni shows that the church increasingly justified the collection of interest in response to the urban, cash-based economy in northern Italy and to the dilemmas of Christian conscience it engendered among wealthy merchants and bankers. In the late thirteenth century, the Franciscan spiritual Piero Giovanni Olivi made an important distinction: simple money is sterile by nature, and to loan it at interest is usury; capital, however, because it is money intended for investment in productive enterprise, may indeed be lent at interest. Under pressure caused by the creation of a funded public debt and interest-bearing bonds in Florence (1345), lending money at interest became a civic spiritual issue debated by Franciscans

and Dominicans. In the fifteenth century, San Bernardino da Siena, the most famous preacher of the day, and Sant'Antonino, the influential archbishop of Florence, appropriated Olivi's positive valuation of investment capital. All of this is convincingly supported by ample textual evidence.

The second thread that runs through Spicciari's essays is that, beginning in the thirteenth century (five centuries before Adam Smith!), many clergy, including some who unequivocally condemned the taking of any interest, recognized the existence of purely economic mechanisms operating in society, including some that cause poverty. Sinibaldo Fieschi, later Pope Innocent IV (1243–52), reasoned that the contemporary crisis in agriculture had been brought on by the growing practice of usury and was leading to deepening poverty and starvation. And two centuries later San Bernardino suggested the decidedly unmedieval concept of economic causation when he said that money is to the city what blood is to the body; usurers absorb money, thus desolating the city. Sant'Antonino likewise explained that problems in long-distance commerce (dominated by the wealthy international merchants) caused involuntary unemployment at the local level among Florentine workers, especially in the cloth industry.

Deft in his analyses of literary sources, Spicciari nevertheless makes the common mistake of depending on religious writings as evidence in nonreligious matters. When discussing the social and economic conditions that he suggests are the engine of the intellectual evolution he is chronicling, he gives his complete and uncritical trust to spiritual and rhetorical writings never intended as economic or social analysis. He uses neither contemporary documents nor modern research to evaluate clerical descriptions of the economy and society.

Spicciari is at his best as an intellectual historian, but even then his sources are too limited. We see little of the contemporary confessional manuals or sermons (except Bernardino's) that he rightly claims were the means by which clerical intellectuals' ideas were conveyed to the laity. This must be charted more fully if his pregnant assertions about the relevance of these ideas to lay society are to carry the weight they deserve.

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MODERN EUROPE

CORNELIS AUGUSTIJN. *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence*. Translated by J. C. GRAYSON. (Erasmus Studies, number 10.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1991. Pp. x, 239. \$39.95.

With current scholarship focused on the critical edition of Erasmus's work, a thoughtful biography for general readers is most welcome. Cornelis Augustijn

proposes to synthesize modern research; to evaluate Erasmus independently of others, especially Luther; to locate him in the context of biblical humanism; and to emphasize his essential cultural contribution of integrating humanism and theology. The exposition is documented in the texts, with generous quotations and a good bibliography. The style mixes the academic and colloquial. Augustijn's aims are more laudable than successful, however. The volume might serve well as corrective background for students of the Reformation, but less so as substantial instruction for those of the Renaissance.

This is a moral and not an intellectual biography, long on piety, short on concept. Erasmus's character is defined by toughness, not intelligence, of purpose. Humanity is better delineated than humanism. Erasmus's uniqueness is affirmed as religious individualism and interiority to the neglect of the social, indeed civic, character of his rhetorical culture. The analysis fails seriously to comprehend the intellectual importance of his discursive paradigm or the anthropological significance of his displacement of agonism with deliberation. The conscientious integration of Christianity and culture is asserted as the central theme of Erasmus's entire production, but not argued in principle.

On particulars, the *devotio moderna* is misstated as an intellectual movement and misrated with scholasticism and humanism, although its influence on Erasmus is correctly deprecated. Erasmus professed as an Augustinian canon regular, not as a monk; hence his critique of monasticism is from related but not personal experience. "Meditative contemplation" (p. 115) is a contradiction that questions the author's knowledge of religious experience. The volume would have benefited from better acquaintance with American scholarship: Charles Trinkaus's research on Lorenzo Valla for the equality of vocations; Amy Seltzer's analysis of the rhetorical failure of the *Enchiridion*; John Gleason's discrediting of the influence of John Colet; or John Olin's similar assessment of the sentiment of Ignatius Loyola. But Augustijn is broadly read within Erasmus studies and decent toward its diverse interpretations.

Although Erasmus speaks fairly in his own voice, even on controversial issues, his measure remains Luther, as in Augustijn's gratuitous declaration: "It is natural that he fell short of it" (p. 6). The elusiveness of Erasmus typical in this interpretation repeats Luther's judgment of him as an eel. A humanist would have called his art versatility. The book is a cautious update in a field now in a conservative mode. Erasmus is deemed a failure without a legacy, with the recent revival of interest in him attributed beyond scholarship to pious motives of immediacy and emotion. The commonplace conclusion about his optimism and superficiality seems simply wrong.

"It is a piety of the lowlands rather than of the mountains, intimate rather than passionate" (p. 200). Intimacy and passion are not opposites; nor was

Erasmus's piety intimate (he was no mystic) but familiar, like Robert Campin's artistic introduction of the infant and Madonna into a bourgeois home. The dualism of spirit and flesh that determines this interpretation is deduced from the early, insipid *Enchiridion*, without study of the development, theoretical and circumstantial, that altered Erasmus's mentality toward incarnational belief. Criticism founded on absolute transcendence as religiously normative belies the mystery in which the God who thundered on Sinai descended in Christ from the mountains. And as Fernand Braudel cogently reminds us (*The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, vol. 1, p. 43), civilization is an achievement of the lowlands. Mountains are aloof, without history.

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HAVA TIROSH-ROTHSCHILD. *Between Worlds: The Life and Thought of Rabbi David ben Judah Messer Leon*. (SUNY Series in Judaica: Hermeneutics, Mysticism, and Religion.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 385.

The life and thought of David Messer Leon (ca. 1470–ca. 1535) provide us with a marvelous vantage point from which to observe the changing worlds of Renaissance Jewry. Raised as a "Jewish Renaissance gentleman" by his father, Judah Messer Leon (arguably the leading intellectual of Jewish Italy in the previous generation), David sought to develop a syncretistic system that blended Jewish law with scholastic and humanist assumptions on the one hand, and with new kabbalistic teachings on the other. Later, as a rabbi and teacher in the Ottoman east, he was an aggressive advocate of the Italian humanist synthesis while confronting the challenge of Sephardic communal and cultural hegemony.

Hava Tirosh-Rothschild's book is really two volumes in one. The first part (chaps. 1–4) is a path-breaking and systematic bio-bibliographical study of the Venetian-born rabbi and scholar. The second part (chaps. 5–7) analyzes David Messer Leon's positions on issues of dogma and theology very much in the tradition of *Ideengeschichte*. In both sections, Tirosh-Rothschild is careful to present each issue in elaborate context, and her book thus becomes a useful introduction to, and evaluation of, the "state of research" on many of the central issues of early modern Jewish history and thought. She gives us, for example, excellent overviews of the history, ethnic divisions, and cultural programs of Jewish communities in fifteenth-century Italy and the early sixteenth-century Ottoman empire. Tirosh-Rothschild summarizes even complicated issues nicely and gives the reader access to the major controversies that preoccupied Messer Leon and shaped his career: the institutional history of the medieval rabbinate, the traditional literary debate over the relative merit of

women, Jewish attitudes toward non-Jewish branches of learning, the Maimonidean controversy, and so on. Finally, Tirosh-Rothschild offers a summary of Messer Leon's own experience or his writings on each issue.

In the second part of the book, Tirosh-Rothschild explores Messer Leon's religious and theological positions. She places him within the Italian-Jewish tradition of religious philosophers who incorporated Thomistic definitions of reason and faith in order to "protect the rabbinic tradition against . . . radical Jewish rationalists . . . [and] Christianity" (p. 120). Messer Leon emerges as a moderate fideist: for him, faith perfects reason and reason facilitates the attainment of faith. As a "hakham kolel" or *homo universalis*, Messer Leon eagerly pursued the broad range of Renaissance scholarly disciplines. But because for him faith that derived from God remained always superior to the philosophy attainable through mortal reason, Messer Leon's religious stance as an observant and believing Jew was protected from destructive challenge.

In this first comprehensive treatment of his thought, Messer Leon stands revealed as a sophisticated Jewish thinker and one of the central figures in the transition from philosophy to kabbala. Indeed, Tirosh-Rothschild suggests that it was his type of "philosophization" that actually paved the way for the ultimate dominance of kabbala among Jewish thinkers and the eclipse of philosophy.

One caveat: Tirosh-Rothschild is remarkably ill-served by her editor and press. The book is marred by scores of typographical, grammatical, and spelling errors that are sometimes amusing, often confusing, and always distracting.

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FRED K. PRIEBERG. *Musik und Macht*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1991. Pp. 313. DM 26.80.

Fred K. Prieberg's first significant book was a study of music and musicians in the Third Reich, which documented the social, economic, and political dependence of the fairest of all arts on Hitler's totalitarian regime (*Musik im NS-Staat* [1982]). It remains his most important work. In 1986, he presented an empathetic biography of the great German conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler, empathetic because in Prieberg's view Furtwängler, while a nationalist at heart, had no liking for the Nazi regime yet decided to pursue his illustrious career in Germany as a kind of clandestine resistance to the new totalitarian trends (*Kraftprobe: Wilhelm Furtwängler im Dritten Reich*). As Prieberg told it, Furtwängler tried to put in a good word for controversial modernist composer Paul Hindemith and attempted to save as many Jewish musicians as possible.

The author's ambitious new book highlights the difficulties one encounters when dealing with the artist's station in traditional and modern society. Prieberg has now shifted his emphasis from the Third Reich and included in his purview musicians' working situations in the last three centuries, and in scenarios set mainly in Germany, Russia, France, and England. As in the case of the Furtwängler volume, the author concentrates on the political qualities of music and musicians, yet social and economic perimeters still inform his questions. Prieberg is interested in temporal rulers as musicians (Frederick II of Prussia) or officious protectors of music (Ludwig II employing Richard Wagner; Adolf Hitler as patron of the Bayreuth Festival), yet equally so in musicians willing to "sell" their products to the powers that be, like any ordinary piece of commerce. Because musicians are hardly ever economically secure, argues Prieberg, they often come close to prostituting themselves in the service of some political action or creed, and this has been so throughout the ages.

Such is a sobering view, and it makes the reader take another look at the Bachs, Beethovens, and Bruckners, even though since the late nineteenth century the relationship between state and art has become more objectified, as the author can well demonstrate. In the place of an absolute-paternalistic ruler at the end of the eighteenth century who would capriciously vent his rage on an out-of-tune violinist, there now was a town council or a festival directory that governed a composer's or musician's, often contractual, employment much more rationally. But did the modern, "rational" conditions mitigate the compromise? Certainly for the present Prieberg includes, among the corrupting agents, commercial networks and conglomerates, as exemplified by the recording industry, and in this context he cites the example of pianist Justus Frantz as a Porsche-obsessed manager type, interested less in interpreting Mozart than earning a fortune and wielding media power. Another negative paragon is millionaire Herbert von Karajan, whose strenuous exercises in denying his formal Nazi past Prieberg had painstakingly documented in his 1982 volume.

If I have a problem with Prieberg's temperamental and by and large elegantly presented analysis, it is his tendency to contrast black with white and to omit the gray tones. He sometimes jumps to conclusions in cases where the evidence would point in an opposite direction or counsel moderation, evidence which—and here is the rub—Prieberg has either chosen to ignore or never bothered to unearth. Carried away with the obvious climax of his theme, namely the fateful intersection between National Socialism and the musical arts, he sees mainly heroes and villains, and the villains predominate. Prieberg's assertion, for instance, that two-thirds of all German musicians had joined the Nazi Party at least by 1933 is not documented, and neither is his claim that Munich composer Carl Orff was eager to supplant the Jewish Felix

Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream* music with an ersatz rendition of his own (it is true that Orff, since the late 1930s, was at work on an original *Sommernachtstraum* and that he was aware this would not be unwelcome given the times, but he had started working on it as early as 1917, something Prieberg could have checked out himself at the Munich Orff Center).

Moreover, in view of his benign treatment of Furtwängler, Prieberg's broad condemnation of Richard Strauss, whom he falsely pictures in Nazi Party uniform, appears out of balance. His allegation that the commercial interests of the Strauss family "lobby" (pp. 229–30) to this day are preventing research in the matter of Strauss's Nazi connections is unsupported and probably traceable to the author's own failure in securing access to the much-vaunted family archive in Garmisch. Yet merely on the basis of documents available in several public archives, which Prieberg has obviously not consulted either, it might be much more justified to liken Strauss's predicament in the Nazi era to that of Prieberg's idol Furtwängler, for both men had similar political inclinations (nationalist but not fascist), and an equally strong rootedness in German traditions and in German soil precluding emigration. Furthermore, they enjoyed a comparable measure of national prestige that facilitated close contacts with Nazi ideological "enemies," and, yes, accustomed to success, they ambitiously entertained nearly identical economic objectives.

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ROBERT TITTLER. *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1500–1640*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 211. \$65.00.

Not the least notable of Robert Tittler's achievements in this fine book is to have demonstrated that his subject really exists. We normally associate the town hall, whether as memorable architecture or as an expression of significant power, with late-medieval Flanders or Victorian Yorkshire, not with the tiny, often stagnant or declining provincial towns of Tudor and early Stuart England. Yet Tittler has, by an exhaustive search through county record offices and other manuscript archives, found evidence of no fewer than 202 municipal buildings in 178 towns erected, purchased, or significantly altered during the 140-year period of his study. While few of these have survived to the present, even in an altered state, he has uncovered enough contemporary documentary evidence, together with drawings and photographs of subsequently demolished buildings, to gain a fair notion of their size, structure, and appearance. As historical documents, his buildings are as instructive in what they do not say as in what they do.

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw a large-scale transfer of political authority from manorial and ecclesiastical bodies to newly constituted municipal corporations. If royal charters gave legal expression to their new dignity, the buildings used to house their activities gave symbolic expression to the changed order of things. They were, Tittler argues, at once practical responses to the requirements of local administration and visible manifestations of political autonomy, civic pride, and the power of the governing elites.

Political autonomy did not in itself bring wealth, and the power it provided the corporations was of a very limited nature compared to that of the landed classes. If the new town halls were consciously "symbolic of civic authority, power, and legitimacy" (p. 96), they also testify to the economic weakness and cultural backwardness of the communities they served.

Civic pride was there, but lack of funds muted its expression, and the period's town halls were very different indeed from their elegant successors of the Georgian period, not to speak of the vast and assertive palaces from which the Victorians would rule their towns. Of timber construction, with a minimum of ornament, mostly employing the forms of the local vernacular tradition, "they exhibit an emphasis on utility rather than on aesthetic considerations" and "reflect practical rather than theoretic training on the part of their designers" (p. 42). Compared to the prodigy houses erected by the Elizabethan aristocracy or even the less ambitious dwellings of the Tudor and Stuart gentry and yeomanry, the buildings Tittler has documented show how modest the wealth and precarious the power of the provincial urban elites were. They lacked the rich and sophisticated vocabulary of either ecclesiastical Gothic or the new classicism to impart messages of any degree of complexity. But they speak nonetheless, if quietly and cautiously, and Tittler has listened and understood.

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FRANÇOIS LAROQUE. *Shakespeare's Festive World: Elizabethan Seasonal Entertainment and the Professional Stage*. Translated by JANET LLOYD. (European Studies in English Literature.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 423. \$64.50.

The purpose of this book, originally written in French by François Laroque and translated into English by Janet Lloyd, is to discover and describe the major festive data and then to analyze the extent to which William Shakespeare drew on them for his plays. The sources are numerous and wide-ranging: travelers' journals, private diaries, public data such as parish registers and other church records and royal decrees, as well as iconography. The author admits to some research limitations, for much evidence about festivity remained unwritten until well after the Tu-

dor period; even in the cases where texts have survived, they offer only a partial glimpse of the rituals. Unlike anthropologists, Renaissance historians cannot see, hear, or record performances.

The book is divided into two main sections. Part 1 describes festivals during the Elizabethan age, treating, among other things, popular beliefs and calendar and noncalendar festivals. Laroque highlights the increasingly secular spirit of festivals that resulted from the suppression of traditional cults and saints following the Reformation. As he also confirms, the calendar can be divided into a secular half, beginning in June, and a religious half, commencing in December. The disparate material he draws on supports his contention that diverse local customs marked most festivals.

This section contains interesting observations, among them that Christmas and Easter probably coincided with former pagan celebrations not because the pagan calendar was Christianized, but because many cultures "share a common tendency to anchor the religious festive and civic year in the cycles of nature" (p. 80). Unfortunately, however, Laroque, a professor of English, resisted setting festivals within a theoretical historical framework, limiting himself to pointing out two current theories without speculating on their validity: that they operated as a safety-valve for society, or that they served as models or excuses for violence. He also declines to define Puritanism, leaving its meaning somewhat vague and in part 2 even labeling Shylock the Jew as a type of Puritan.

In the section on Shakespeare's plays, Laroque points out that all of them have scenes in which the playwright drew on festivals for dramatic effect, although he seldom copied prevailing customs exactly and relied more on private than public celebrations. In his chapter on *Othello*, Laroque refers to his analysis as an "archaeological approach" (p. 282). Laroque claims that Iago at times played the "festive role of the fool" (p. 282) and at other times the part of the doctor of the Mummers' plays. The scene Laroque identifies as recalling a charivari demonstration is another interesting example. The public protest of the marriage of Desdemona and *Othello* was twisted, however, in that it was directed against the father rather than the couple.

Adopting festivity as a framework to analyze Shakespeare's plays offers scholars the possibility of new insights. Laroque does his readers a disservice, however, by failing to come to terms with the controversial historiography concerning festival and the public support or challenge to it.

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ALDEN T. VAUGHAN and VIRGINIA MASON VAUGHAN. *Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xxviii, 290. \$42.50.

Few literary texts can have enjoyed so rich and contradictory a reception history as *The Tempest*: conceived at a crucial moment in the European colonial experience, and declared one of the crown jewels of English-speaking culture at an early stage in the development of the British empire, its terms have pervaded the discourses of expansionism and anti-imperialism alike for nearly four centuries, in Britain, in the Americas, and indeed wherever Prospero's experiment of imposing his own language on the islander he enslaved has been repeated. The first impression produced by Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan's impressively comprehensive survey of responses to the play's "savage and deformed slave," consequently, is of its sheer range of reference. Here are Calibans imagined by stage designers, poets, filmmakers, literary critics, and liberationists from London to Lusaka, variously reptilian, Darwinian, pro-Jacobin, and postcolonial. Its scope and pertinence guarantee that this book will henceforward be a mandatory first stop on a wide range of scholarly journeys, whether into the appropriation of Shakespeare's texts or the appropriation of Africa's territories, the post-Enlightenment reconception of the primitive or the postwar representation of the African American.

If it will be the first stop for such enquiries, however, it certainly should not be the last. Paradoxically, the very richness of the Vaughans' material, ample testimony to the fascination and importance of their subject, has hindered them from producing anything but a comparatively superficial study. Despite its subtitle, this is less a "cultural history" than an illustrated bibliography, the large number of versions of Caliban to be discussed denying the authors the space to offer a searching analysis of any one of them. The book's organization, unfortunately, only reinforces the cursoriness imposed by its scale. After a section on Caliban's possible literary and historical antecedents (by far the least interesting part of the book, a rather pedestrian run-through of material covered with more élan in the introduction to Stephen Orgel's Oxford edition of *The Tempest* [1987]), the book divides into a series of chronological lists, several successive catalogues of briefly described Calibans segregated by genre or topic ("literary criticism," "colonial metaphors," "stage history," "artists' renditions," and so on). This procedure largely sabotages the Vaughans' ambitions to be genuinely interdisciplinary, reimposing rather than crossing the barriers between generically different but culturally proximate materials, and effectively preventing the book's various forays into theatrical history, art history, colonial history, and other avenues from providing much mutual illumination.

Furthermore, by forcing the authors to repeat several times the necessarily simplified account of the last four centuries that all of this disparate material is assumed unproblematically to confirm, the organization tends to expose the historical *idées reçues* on which

much of the book is based. In general the Vaughans display a surprisingly condescending view of the past, serenely confident as to what is really "in" Shakespeare's text and what is merely an(other's) interpretation. Their account of Caliban's mutations describes not so much a continuing debate about his significance (in which they are themselves participants) as a succession of univocally misinformed agreements: everyone in Enlightenment Britain suffered from "eighteenth-century moral certainties" until they all experienced "the Romantic movement," everyone in the late nineteenth century was "complacent," and so on (pp. 99, xxii, 114).

This failure to recognize their own interestedness in the stories they tell distinguishes the Vaughans' work sharply from other recent studies of Shakespeare's reception (by Gary Taylor, Terence Hawkes, Michael Bristol, and others). Few of these others would speak so glibly, for example, of "Shakespeare's unmatched universality" (p. 171; is not this familiar transcendent claim itself implicated in the English-speaking imperialism the book elsewhere decries?), and few of whom would chronicle the vast bulk of nineteenth and twentieth-century criticism determined to prove that *The Tempest* is definitely "about" the New World without pointing out that most of it has been produced by American scholars with an obvious vested interest in thereby claiming a stake of their own in the Bard. This volume presents a body of information that will be of use to scholars throughout the humanities, and it is likely to remain an invaluable work of reference for many years to come; but as a "cultural history" it remains strictly a Gonzalo in Caliban's clothing.

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DAVID LEVINE and KEITH WRIGHTSON. *The Making of an Industrial Society: Whickham 1560–1765*. (Oxford Studies in Social History.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xviii, 456. \$98.00.

This remarkable volume by David Levine and Keith Wrightson forces one to rethink the meaning of the Industrial Revolution. Modern scholarship has tended to locate the origins of the Industrial Revolution in a handful of changes in the technology of production in the Lancashire cotton industry during the 1780s and beyond. After the first round of changes, innovation in production and work practices radiated out from Lancashire to other sectors of the economy and other areas of the country and the globe. Levine and Wrightson move the discussion of origins back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and from the textile to the coal industry. In making the case for this double shift, the authors are not totally original, as they are well aware. The coal

industry has always played a significant role in any account of the Industrial Revolution, but in most modern accounts the rapid expansion of coal production is regarded as a nineteenth-century phenomenon. In arguing that the first industrial society developed in the coal-mining areas of the Tyne valley during the period 1560–1765, Levine and Wrightson have also, as they note, revived the long out-of-fashion arguments of J. U. Nef.

The revival of Nef's ideas suggests, once again, that there is nothing new under the historical sun. Nef argued, on the basis of the rapid expansion of the use of coal as a fuel, that there was an industrial revolution in England during the century 1540–1640. While Levine and Wrightson do not necessarily agree with all of Nef's assertions about the nature of economic change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the underpinning for their work is an acceptance of his emphasis on the growth in coal production from the sixteenth century onward as the fuel that powered economic and social change. But their study goes far beyond Nef's work in providing a comprehensive treatment of a major Tyneside coal-producing parish, Whickham, over two centuries as it underwent profound economic, social, and cultural changes consequent to the rapid increase in coal output.

That rapid increase can be followed in the port books of Newcastle, which record the coastal shipment of coal from the Tyne valley largely for sale in the growing London market. At best the records provide only a partial accounting of total coal production, but they indicate the magnitude of the increase over time. For the year 1563–64, the port books record 32,951 tons shipped. By 1597–98 the tonnage increased to 162,552. In 1633–34 it was 452,625 tons, and in 1684–85 it was 616,016 tons. At the beginning, the development of Whickham's coal seams appeared to be simply the continuation of existing mining practices that had medieval roots. Long before the late sixteenth century, bishops of Durham had regularly leased out the rights to mine coal, and the agricultural population regarded coal mining as a routine, income-supplementing activity in their midst. During the reign of Elizabeth I, the crown, in an effort to maximize resources and reward its supporters, received a lease of the coal mines in Whickham and then assigned the lease to one of its officials, who in turn sold his rights to mercantile interests in Newcastle. The way was now open for a rapid increase in output.

In their drive for increased production the Newcastle lessees, at least in the early seventeenth century, were sensitive enough to the rights of Whickham's copyholders that monetary compensation was regularly paid for any damage to agricultural land. At the same time the copyholders and their families prospered as a result of the increased income supplements available to them because of the development of the mines. Before long the copyholders of Whickham found themselves caught in a web of rapid

economic development, which they could not escape and which eventually ruined or marginalized their agricultural land. By the beginning of the eighteenth century Whickham was inhabited largely by a floating population of landless wage laborers who followed the coal industry as it moved from one parish or township to another, while at the top of the social scale wealth accumulated in the hands of a few powerful individuals.

Perhaps the most striking achievement of this book is the way it manages to convey the restless motion of economic development. By the mid-eighteenth century Whickham was no longer the center of the Tyneside coal industry, investment and mobile workers had moved elsewhere in the region, but the remaining inhabitants were enmeshed within an apparently irreversible system of production.

One can raise some points of criticism. The community of Whickham on the eve of the rapid increase in coal production seems to be sentimentalized. The evidence of copyholder resistance to the rapid development of coal mining appears to be exaggerated and could more accurately be described as adaptation. Finally, there could have been more detailed comparisons made between the social circumstances of textile workers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with their contemporaries in the mining districts. The assertion that textile work was simply a by-employment flies in the face of considerable evidence that, at least in the areas producing for export, textile workers were overwhelmingly wage laborers. But such minor points aside, this is an excellent book that will stimulate rethinking of a major point of historical transformation.

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MICHAEL ROPER and JOHN TOSH, editors. *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*. New York: Routledge. 1991. Pp. x, 221. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$15.95.

As Michael Roper and John Tosh suggest in the introduction to this volume, British masculinity has been continually in crisis over the past two centuries. Until comparatively recently, historians usually examined this crisis as a self-contained phenomenon, divorcing the construction of manliness from the contemporaneous construction of womanliness. Lately, however, the trend has been toward viewing masculinity in the context of both genders, neither separate nor monolithic, but conditioned alike by feminine presence and feminine absence. It is the latter outlook with which Roper and Tosh ally themselves and their contributors.

While the editors' position is that women's absence from "work on all-male institutions and on manliness" represents "the crucial problem" with such

studies (p. 3), the essays in their collection often define women in a symbolic rather than literal way. Of the eight ensuing chapters, one (Graham Dawson's essay on the Lawrence of Arabia legend) locates femininity within Lawrence himself, identifying it as a source of mythic potency; another (Roper's discussion of the mid-twentieth-century "company man") locates it within the fetishized corporate product; and a third (Kelly Boyd's disappointing description of interwar story papers) ignores it altogether.

Another three essays examine the interplay of masculinity and femininity within highly specific contexts. Norma Clarke analyzes Thomas Carlyle's construction of the "man of letters" as hero in biographical terms, contrasting Carlyle's rejection of overly feminized role models such as S. T. Coleridge and Edward Irving with the reworking of his domineering Philistine father "to fit the form his son desired" (p. 37). Tosh considers Archbishop of Canterbury Edward White Benson in his role as husband and paterfamilias, attributing the Benson sons' subsequent "flight from domesticity" to their parents' maintenance of separate emotional spheres (p. 67). And Peter M. Lewis provides an account of his own experience in male institutions (prep school, public school, army, and Oxford) to illustrate the effects of "a system in which masculinity is defined by absence of the feminine" but in which femininity still plays its covert part (p. 168).

The remaining contributors, Keith McClelland and Pamela J. Walker, concern themselves with larger movements. McClelland's essay on mid-nineteenth-century artisans examines male employment patterns in terms of expectations regarding women's role at home. Walker analyzes the construction of masculinity during the first twenty-five years of the Salvation Army, foregrounding the ways in which the organization at once accepted women's right to define ideal working-class manliness and sought to present that manliness as enhanced rather than as feminized.

As this summary suggests, the articles collected here are wide-ranging rather than all-encompassing. In part the somewhat sketchy impression conveyed by the whole may result from its genesis. According to a prefatory note, "All the contributors have been members of an informal study group on the history of masculinity which has been meeting monthly in north London since November 1988" (p. vii); perhaps this circle provides an overly limited pool from which to draw. Although the standard of the essays is in general high (Dawson's and Walker's stand out as particularly imaginative and provocative), the task of tracing the evolution of masculinities over two centuries and a wide range of experiences cannot be accomplished in eight chapters—or, indeed, in eighty.

The absence of any sustained discussion of sexuality, for instance, is disappointing. Likewise, the decision of many of the contributors to focus on individual instances is both understandable and sensible,

making for tightly wrought essays. At the same time, however (as in the case of Tosh's piece on Benson), it tends also to foster a misleading impression that an enormously complex phenomenon such as middle-class paternity may be boiled down to a single representative case: "the mid-Victorian family" rather than a mid-Victorian family (p. 65).

But if Roper and Tosh's volume does not provide a comprehensive introduction to the immense and varied question it addresses, it nonetheless stands as a welcome addition to scholarship in this field. Particularly valuable is its emphasis on masculinity within the domestic context. While the past two decades have seen fine work on American men as family members, only a few researchers have devoted themselves to examining male domesticity in Britain. Similarly, the examination of masculinity as a social construct still lags behind that of femininity. This study thus represents a useful and timely contribution to an unjustly neglected area.

CLAUDIA NELSON
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PATRICIA ANDERSON. *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790–1860*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 211. \$59.00.

Interdisciplinary studies ought to be treated by reviewers with some indulgence. It is hard enough to keep up with scholarship in one field, much less several, and multidisciplinary perspectives often rescue specialists from professional tunnel vision. Patricia Anderson's effort to identify a transformation of popular culture in mid-nineteenth-century Britain is therefore welcome.

She argues that between 1830 and 1860 "the printed word and its associated imagery" (p. 2) reached out to a huge new audience (made up of people from many occupational groups and traditional classes) which must be understood as a mass audience. The "hallmark" of this mass culture was its pictorial character, and the people played an active role, not a passive one, in their own socialization. Her evidence is the files of four illustrated weekly magazines that reached one million or more readers: Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine* (1832–45), George Stiff's *London Journal* (1845–1906), *Reynolds's Miscellany* (1846–69), and *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* (1853–1932). Through these organs, sometimes dominated by organizations devoted to particular social agendas, "economically and politically powerful members of society informally and not necessarily deliberately exercised their social, moral, and intellectual leadership" (p. 5).

Such an ambitious thesis requires careful theoretical grounding. Anderson identifies with Antonio Gramsci and David Vincent; she takes issue (largely in footnotes) with the Frankfurt School, E. P. Thomp-

son, and Raymond Williams. She does not believe that all working-class persons were degraded in taste or coerced into accepting "civilizing content"; but she never confronts Foucauldian arguments about cooptation. Moreover, her notions of class seem somewhat outdated: she identifies occupations and implicitly income as determinants but never considers the newer behavioral classifications or the variations among regions, religions, and adherents of various social projects from literacy campaigns to dietary revolutions. Schoolteachers (and presumably governesses and private tutors) were evidently readers of these periodicals, but they are misleadingly classified by income alone. She argues that the readership of these "mass circulation" periodicals comprised "the occupational spectrum from clerks to labourers" (p. 143), living in major cities and regions and small towns and villages, earning adequate livings and on the verge of starvation, males and females, young and old. She does not, however, analyze how this agglomeration of workers became the first "mass" audience, segmented not into smaller interest groups but melded into a vast textually and visually voracious consumer pool.

I do not think the evidence entirely supports such conclusions. Anderson's notion of a visually bankrupt proletariat before 1840 is not supported by the work done recently on revolutionary imagery, radical propaganda, and cultural theater. Repeatedly, Anderson takes the bare walls of the St. James parish workhouse as characteristic of the visual impoverishment of Georgian workers (pp. 16, 198). They had no access to high art, she maintains, and such pictorial material as did come their way was connected with other forms of entertainment, religious culture, and secular radicalism. "The popular printed image," she concludes, "was in form and content far removed from original art, quality prints, and expensive book illustration" (p. 43). Did no worker see Lord Nelson's richly iconic sarcophagus, either in procession or in prints? Did no Londoner view the illuminated transparencies erected to celebrate the centenary of the House of Hanover? Anderson's version of visual culture prior to 1840 ignores much contrary evidence.

Moreover, in positing that verbal literacy preceded visual literacy and brought pictures along in its wake she runs counter to the arguments of art historians who maintain that the pictorial record suggests the opposite, namely, that in the 1820s and 1830s pictorializations helped newly and awkwardly literate working-class students to read. Although it is true that these new readers may not have been as familiar with "high art" as their coffeehouse predecessors, not all were visually illiterate and those learning their letters were likely to rely on pictures: hence the rage for illustrated alphabet books in the 1820s. It does not help Anderson's thesis that she is vague and sometimes misleading about dates. She puts, for example, George Cruikshank's famous woodcuts advertising

Warren's blacking in a paragraph about mid-century publicity, whereas they appeared in the 1820s.

On closer examination, Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine* proves to be the only sustained model of a high-minded publication socializing a newly literate working class through and into pictorial art. The later publications, as Anderson concedes, "provided a saleable main course of light amusement and little of the sustenance of art" (p. 85). Moreover, two of the three most popular mid-century weeklies were unillustrated, and one of these was by the same editor-publisher who issued *Reynolds's Miscellany*. By 1855 the unillustrated *Family Herald* sold as many copies as Cassell's *Paper* (pp. 181–82). On the subject of illustrations to periodicals or literature, Anderson has not consulted primary sources: her generalizations about the pictorial and historical Jack Sheppard, for example, are inadequate. They could be corrected by consulting Keith Hollingsworth's study of Newgate fiction.

Some of Anderson's arguments seem naive. If proprietors of journals are not themselves fearful of popular revolution, she maintains, they cannot be said to be participating in social control (p. 129). Since few working-class autobiographies mention pictures, she concludes both that this is not evidence against or for pictorial influence (pp. 13–14) and also that the two extant citations (from Robert Louis Stevenson and from the costermongers whose story Henry Mayhew records/composes [pp. 153–54]) constitute evidence for the enthusiasm of the working classes for illustrated magazines. The *Newgate Calendar* and other sensation fictions are said to have entertained and civilized simultaneously (p. 178). Much more discriminating work has been done on female readers and sensation fiction by feminists and theorists, none of whom evidently influenced this presentation.

Anderson is tackling a huge subject, and although her arguments seem in some instances to be disproportionate or unpersuasive, she makes some shrewd points about the shifting, if not "transformed," visual literacy of the vastly more numerous mid-century consumers. Implied is a thesis about political representation, and how an earlier satirical and self-consciously pictorial vocabulary addressed to the working class was subverted and subsumed by commodity fetishism (advertising for products that convert the body into a marketable item), and by the deployment of newly interpreted "high art" imagery (trade union certificates and Temperance pledge cards, for example). This imagery expresses a consensual union of all classes in the service of a classical ideal of nationhood, one deliberately effacing the division of labor and the inequalities of capitalism and industrialization. This, however, is not what she wants to maintain, and is only one possible reading prompted by my sense that the evidence she presents is insufficient to support her own conclusions.

One of the odd things about this production is the author's acknowledgments: Anderson indicates

which portions of the text were previously published, and that is all. She does not explain how this project began, who advised her along the way, or how it relates to any larger project of her own or others. She might have made a more persuasive case had she worked out of a more sophisticated theory, subjected her analyses to greater skepticism and rigor, and entered into dialogue with her colleagues in other disciplines who have so much to contribute to Anderson's laudable project.

ROBERT L. PATTEN
Rice University

JOHN RUSSELL STEPHENS. *The Profession of the Playwright: British Theatre, 1800–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 254. \$54.95.

The life of the nineteenth-century English playwright was not easy. Despite a huge new mass market for plays and an unprecedented increase in the urban population, the number of theaters built, and the audience, the profession of dramatist was not remunerative until the 1880s and 1890s, and then only for a small number of authors popular in London's West End. The position of playwrights early in the century, when they received relatively generous sums from the major theaters for performance rights and from publishers for the copyright of printed plays, steadily deteriorated from the 1820s onward, as Drury Lane and Covent Garden struggled with hard times and large deficits; fees became progressively lower, accurately reflecting the state of the national and theatrical economy.

There was also a long struggle for copyright protection for the performance of a play. Before 1833 dramatists had no legal rights whatever in a performed piece, and any theater could act a produced or published play without payment to the author. There was also another kind of struggle, against autocratic managers and selfish actors who treated the playwright as an inferior species and paid scant heed to the writer's wishes or what was actually written. Finally, with sharing and royalty agreements, authorial control over rehearsals, and satisfactory English, American, and international copyright legislation, successful playwrights earned new respect in theaters as well as large incomes.

This complicated story is well told by John Russell Stephens with authority, a wealth of detail, and lively supporting evidence. Although the subject matter has been variously treated in articles and surveys of nineteenth-century theater, this is the first full work devoted to it. A great deal of information is retailed pleasantly and lucidly. Such a book could easily become tediously choked with facts, but this does not happen. Chapters are allotted to the social and vocational origins of dramatists, the context of theater and the decline in income, the improvement in remuneration from the 1860s, piracy and copyright legisla-

tion, the evolution of the playwright's role in the production of a play, and the new professionalism of dramatists at the end of the century.

While the reader is very well informed about these matters, there are gaps. One wishes for something on the relationship between authors and dramatic critics and the effect on authors of the increasing importance of the critic; something also on the market for the thousands of cheap and badly printed acting editions of plays (were they bought by amateur actors, professionals, or the reading public?). There is virtually nothing on censorship and the powers exercised by the Lord Chamberlain through his Examiner of Plays on scripts, and thus on their thematic content. More information on the economic life of the theater would also have been helpful. Theaters do not produce, and dramatists do not write, in a social and economic vacuum. As goes the nation, so go the fortunes of theater managers and their playwrights.

MICHAEL R. BOOTH
University of Victoria

JOHN WOLFFE. *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain, 1829–1860*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 366. \$79.00.

Anti-Catholicism was a major force on the Victorian scene. Study of it began slowly, despite the American model of R. A. Billington's *The Protestant Crusade* (1938), the source of John Wolffe's title, with a couple of disregarded articles in the 1950s by Gilbert A. Cahill, some memorable essays by G. F. A. Best, and E. R. Norman's thin *Anti-Catholicism in Victorian England* (1968). The growing number of such studies is capped by Wolffe's scholarly and massively researched book, at once detailed and broad-visioned.

Wolffe begins with 1829, having concluded that the Catholic Emancipation Bill revived an anti-Catholicism largely dormant since 1780. His terminal date is less obvious but represents the only possible break before the end of the century, a temporary lull after the failure of the anti-Maynooth campaign. The lull was real: my own studies have shown the *Record* newspaper transferring its focus of attention to the rationalism represented by *Essays and Reviews*. Wolffe's methodological innovation is to study anti-Catholicism through its "organizational core" (p. 6), bodies such as the Reformation Society and the Protestant Association.

Wolffe finds anti-Catholicism both diverse and pervasive. It was "neither a superficial prejudice nor a coherent ideology, but rather a frame of mind, an integral part of religious, political, and social belief and experience" (p. 143). His main contribution is the analysis of the anti-Catholic frame of mind, which was not merely negative prejudice but had positive religious and national content as well. One of its strands was evangelicalism, which informed the Reformation

Society (founded in 1827). Another was ultra-Tory constitutionalism, concerned for the Protestant Establishment and the Union, which used the Irish issue and the Protestant Association to revive its fortunes after the defeats of 1829 and 1832. A third strand was anti-Irish sentiment, especially strong in areas of Irish settlement, linking middle and upper-class Protestantism to elements in the working class. The perceived advance of Roman Catholicism through Irish immigration and the ultramontane revival strengthened these tendencies.

Protestant agitation was most effective at moments of political crisis: Irish issues in the mid-1830s, the Maynooth bill of 1845, and the "Papal aggression" affair of 1850–51. But the diversity and divisions among anti-Catholics prevented them from keeping up momentum after these crises. Religiously minded evangelicals were wary of the political partisanship of the Tories; evangelical dissenters worked uneasily with their Anglican counterparts; and the Scots, contributing a late but increasingly vocal element, followed a course of their own. The movement as a whole weakened in the late 1850s; when it revived in the 1860s, it followed some new courses and was never as focused. Before and after this divide, anti-Catholicism played a formative role in Victorian Britain, particularly in shaping a sense of national identity. Wolffe's comparative study of the American movement adds a further merit to this fine study.

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ
University of Minnesota,
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HAZEL CONWAY. *People's Parks: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xviii, 287.

Hazel Conway's study examines an aspect of the nineteenth-century urban form that has not received much detailed attention from urban historians. As this work so ably demonstrates, however, public parks were just as characteristic a product of the Victorian urban boom as were slums, suburbs, and sanitation systems.

Parks were created from commons, private land, gravel pits, quarries, and even disused burial grounds. The motives for their construction were equally varied: some were built to enhance the value of surrounding housing developments, others to create open green spaces in the growing urban sprawl. Some people saw them as opportunities to regulate the leisure activities of the working classes, others viewed them as expressions of civic pride. As Conway's subtitle indicates, the focus of this book is on park design, its principles and elements. This is a book of boathouses and bandstands, lodges and drinking fountains, refreshment rooms, museums and greenhouses, of statues and arches, follies and fountains, the design of walks and recreation areas,

the placement of trees, lakes, and seats, the patterns of carpet beds and floral clocks as opposed to informal plantings and educational botanical gardens. It is well illustrated with plans, drawings, and photographs and has a solid bibliography as well as detailed appendixes noting relevant legislation, the chronology of nineteenth-century park construction, and lists of "suitable" trees and plants.

Conway provides useful analyses of many of the basic issues involved in the creation of Victorian municipal parks. The fundamental assumptions of their design owed much to the precedents set by eighteenth-century aristocratic estates and the royal parks, but the influence of Joseph Paxton's designs, particularly for the Crystal Palace, set an unmistakably "Victorian" stamp on the patterns of public open space. A great deal of attention is devoted to the interplay of politics, legislation, park development, and the evolving power of local authorities, and an intelligent analysis of these processes shapes the periodization structure used in this study.

Inevitably, the book touches on areas that go beyond the mechanical details of park design, construction, and maintenance, and it is at these points that one wishes for a bigger and more conceptually ambitious work. For example, the author frequently mentions the impact of middle-class ideas about the value of fresh air and exercise on the working class and middle-class notions of appropriate social controls and lower-class recreational activities. A broader study of these aspects of the social roles and expectations of public open space would be valuable. It also opens up many intriguing possibilities for the further study of parks from a lower-class perspective. It would be interesting to know, for instance, how working-class perceptions of the traditional, unregulated common as open space/meeting place/recreation area differed from those of the designers of the carefully planned and regulated parks that, in many instances, replaced the old commons. This book is a useful introduction to its subject and one that also sets the stage for a broader social history of Victorian parks and open spaces.

JANET ROEBUCK
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H. L. MALCHOW. *Gentlemen Capitalists: The Social and Political World of the Victorian Businessman*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 423. \$47.50.

Social history originally won its place in the historiography of the nineteenth century by reconstructing the experience, activity, and self-consciousness of the new working class. In the past decade, however, more and more social historians have turned their attention to the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. Many of these historians have found the research methods and analytical techniques of prosopography to be particularly well suited to the study of a social class whose

members left sufficient documentary evidence to enable us to reconstruct significant portions of their experience as individuals, but who made their primary impact on the historical transformations of the era collectively, as members of distinct entrepreneurial, property-owning, or professional groups.

Based on a sample of 213 businessmen active in voluntary associations during the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, H. L. Malchow's book promises to make a major contribution to this prosopographical study of the nineteenth-century British middle class. In the text itself, however, the sample of 213 businessmen fades into the background and is only briefly and superficially analyzed. At the core of Malchow's book are more in-depth biographical studies of four mid-Victorian businessmen who served in the House of Commons between 1868 and 1885. Taken by themselves, Malchow's biographies possess considerable interest to the Victorian specialist—an interest greatly augmented by the author's shrewd psychological insights, his impressive powers of analysis, and his uniformly lucid, readable narrative style. From a wide range of diverse and often fragmentary sources, Malchow has pieced together a series of rich and sensitive portraits of nineteenth-century businessmen from varying backgrounds and generations who sought to parlay entrepreneurial success into social influence, parliamentary position, and ultimately a modicum of real political power.

This biographical approach has much to recommend it, particularly insofar as it affords social historians a comprehensive view of their subject. Malchow's case studies are particularly effective because he has done an excellent job of treating his subject's lives as totalities, integrating his account of their economic roles and social involvements with the story of their political aspirations and activities, while rounding out both with insightful explorations of their individual personalities and domestic family lives. What emerges are dissimilar profiles of four complex and often contradictory individuals, none of whom can be easily pigeonholed into the standard categories of historiographical debate. All four rose well above the socioeconomic level of their parents, but none experienced any dramatic rags-to-riches ascent. All exhibited greater or lesser signs of what might be called establishment cooptation or aristocratic emulation, but none entirely abandoned his entrepreneurial identity or the liberal, individualist, nonconformist cultural background out of which each emerged. All were surrounded by emotional and, in some cases, financial support systems from their families, and all were committed to the Victorian ideal of domesticity and separate gender spheres. But what this actually meant in concrete terms varied considerably from case to case.

In fact, it is extremely difficult to draw any general conclusions from Malchow's study, not only because of the extremely small size of his sample but also because his very emphasis on the intricacies of indi-

vidual quirks and peculiarities tends to defeat any search for coherent patterns and typicalities, highlighting instead the particular, irreducible, and unique. Malchow is content merely to draw the conclusion that his research casts doubts on recent theories about the alleged gentrification of Britain's late-Victorian middle class. In place of gentrification, Malchow seems to envisage a more diffuse and general historical process, in which the provincial nonconformist elites of the early industrial period were dislodged from their local, familiar, and voluntary associational moorings and incorporated into an increasingly homogeneous, party-politicized, metropolitan-oriented, nationally unified elite. While Malchow is undoubtedly correct in this assessment, it was broadly familial long before the appearance of his book. His work enriches and in some ways complicates, but does not substantially alter our understanding of this watershed.

In general, this monograph makes an important and original, but ultimately limited, contribution to the burgeoning literature on the making and remaking of Britain's nineteenth-century middle class. Having eschewed the path of large-scale historiographical analysis and reinterpretation, Malchow has furnished us with a carefully researched and effectively presented body of hitherto unfamiliar material on a small group of important, but perhaps somewhat atypical, businessmen. How far this material can or should alter our understanding of class relations in late-Victorian Britain is a question he has left for others to judge.

THEODORE KODITSCHKE
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GEOFFREY CANTOR. *Michael Faraday: Sandemanian and Scientist; A Study of Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. xi, 359. \$45.00.

Michael Faraday (1791–1867) was the superintendent of the Royal Institution in London and the leading investigator of electrical phenomena in the first half of the nineteenth century. He was also a devout and active member of a small and relatively obscure religious sect known as the Sandemanians. Geoffrey Cantor has set for himself the task of examining the relationship of these two sides of Faraday's life. In doing so he has quite simply produced the best book-length study of the relationship between religious thought and scientific activity in the life of a Victorian scientist.

The defining belief of the Sandemanians who arose in Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century was the absolute separation of the church from the state. They had a relatively informal congregational organization, but the believer's relationship to the congregation was dominant over all other relation-

ships. All matters of church government, doctrine, and individual morality were to be tested against the literal teaching of Scripture. Faraday spent all of his adult life as part of such a congregation, which also provided most of his friendships.

Cantor presents numerous occasions when Faraday's religious commitments caused him personal pain and concern. He was on two occasions separated from the group. None of these difficulties appears to have arisen from his science. The absence of conflict between his science and his faith would seem to have had two sources. First, the kind of physics that Faraday pursued was in no matter really subject to literal narratives in the Scriptures, as was the case with contemporary geologists and biologists. Second, Faraday's own methodology, which involved neither mechanism nor mathematics, meant that he was not likely to clash with other scientists or with those who upheld some kind of scriptural science. Cantor, however, argues that Faraday's theology, with its emphasis on the spiritual character of nature, not only did not inhibit his science but actually determined many of the choices he made within contemporary scientific theory as well as his own research agenda.

Cantor does not compare Faraday with Anglican scientific contemporaries. Nor does he ask how the state of scientific professionalism in the first half of the century may have allowed Faraday to avoid the conflicts with religious authorities that John Tyndall, his successor at the Royal Institution, encountered and encouraged. There is also a possibility that Sandemanianism itself protected Faraday from being attacked by other religious authorities. The established religious spokespeople who might have brought pressure to bear on Faraday as they did on other Victorian scientists were the very authorities whom, because of his Sandemanian faith, he rejected each and every day of his life. Paradoxically, his faith may have created both the social space and intellectual orientation that allowed him to pursue his science.

FRANK M. TURNER
Yale University

JOHN W. CELL. *Hailey: A Study in British Imperialism, 1872–1969*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 332. \$47.95.

W. M. Hailey, as John W. Cell remarks in his opening paragraph, was "commonly regarded as the most distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service in the twentieth century" (p. xi). Indeed, Hailey's career was as significant as it was long. Beginning in the Punjab in 1895, he rose to be chief commissioner of New Delhi (1912–19), finance and then home member of the viceroy's council (1919–24), and governor of the Punjab (1924–28), finally capping his career with the top civil service position, governor of the

United Provinces (1928–34), after which he retired for the first time.

Hailey's Indian years were hardly trouble-free, and Cell ably reviews the multiple issues, from growing peasant indebtedness and the precarious state of the rupee to the rise of communal violence and the nationalist movement. If at times Hailey's contribution seems submerged in faceless bureaucracy, such was the way the system worked; for the historian, paradoxically, it is easier to detect the hand of the district officer at the bottom than of his superiors at the top. In his most influential governing years, however, Hailey was careful to keep clear records, and later to see to it that they found a safe home in the India Office Library. For Cell such caution was fortunate, for Hailey's family declined to assist in his project. Any contribution they might have made would probably have been on personal issues, particularly the question of Hailey's wife, whose eccentricities and alcoholism, Cell believes, might in the end have kept Hailey from the viceroyship (an eventuality which was at least unlikely, since only John Lawrence [1864–69] had broken the tradition that the viceroy was not chosen from the Indian Civil Service).

Other factors might have kept Hailey from the viceroy's post as well. He was a "classic workaholic" (p. 94) and a private man who seems to have had few close friends. Nor did Hailey emerge unscathed from some of his professional responsibilities, such as his authorship of the official report on the Amritsar massacre of 1919. Cell notes that it was Hailey's job "to explain and justify" (p. 67) General Dyer's slaughter of several hundred unarmed Indians. Perhaps it was, and Hailey never doubted his own conclusions, but the report was not his finest moment. Hailey seems to have been blind to the event's long-range importance, just as he was to his recommendations which resulted in the all-English Simon Commission of 1927, or to the meaning of Gandhi's salt march. Cell does not minimize Hailey's failings, but he prefers not to paint Hailey as the no-nonsense, law-and-order administrator who typified John Lawrence's "Punjab School" of direct, paternalistic supervision. Cell's Hailey is rather the capable adjudicator who generally favored progressive reform more than many of his colleagues. The issue, however, is one of interpretation, not of presentation of the evidence, for on this Cell, who has enviable command of the documentary sources, cannot be faulted.

Hailey had a second, African career after leaving India. He was an important advisor to the Colonial Office on African problems and prospects in the decade after 1934. Cell has written extensively in previous works on Britain's African empire, and he uses that expertise well to portray Hailey's influence on the study of the African colonies and on decolonization in the continent, devoting the last quarter of the book to the subject. Certainly Cell's conclusion is justified: that Hailey was a distinguished servant of empire, well deserving of this fully documented,

thorough study, as valuable as it is readable. It will be of interest to Indianists and Africanists alike.

BRITON C. BUSCH
Colgate University

CHUSHICHI TSUZUKI. *Tom Mann, 1856–1941: The Challenges of Labour*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 288. \$67.00.

Tom Mann, the great agitator whose activities on behalf of British labor began in the 1880s and spanned half a century, has long deserved a biography. The communist historian Dona Torr began one after World War II, but died before she could finish more than a first volume (bringing Mann's life only up to the great dock strike of 1889). Torr had access to papers later historians were denied, perhaps accounting for the lack of a full biography until now. Finally, two historians have taken the plunge: Joe White, whose treatment of Mann appeared in Manchester University Press's distinguished "Lives of the Left" series, and Chushichi Tsuzuki, the author of biographies of Eleanor Marx and Henry Hyndman as well as the book under review.

Tsuzuki's work is not a conventional biography. Rather, it purports to be a study of Mann's "circle," including the two other great figures of the dock strike of 1889, Ben Tillett and John Burns; the head of the seamen's union, J. Havelock Wilson, and the Communist leader, Harry Pollitt. Tsuzuki, however, does not carry out his ambitious undertaking. He accords Wilson merely cursory attention and scarcely touches on Pollitt at all. He closely scrutinizes the attitudes of Burns and Tillett, but mainly during the "New Unionist" period and to a lesser extent during the years of the "Great Unrest" and World War I.

Whether the five men actually formed a "circle" is debatable anyway. Mann stayed on close terms only with Tillett and often disagreed with him. He dropped, or was dropped by, Burns, who thought he had larger fish to fry as a member of Liberal cabinets under Campbell Bannerman and Herbert Asquith. By the dock strike of 1911, Mann and Burns were on opposite sides, the one a minister of the crown, the other a labor agitator the crown would soon imprison. Tsuzuki argues that even during this period the two were in essential agreement on labor questions, but this seems to romanticize Burns's attitudes. Mann dropped Wilson as a result of the latter's crude jingoism during World War I and took up with Pollitt only during the 1930s. If this constituted a "circle," it was a very loose one.

The heart of the book, and its main contribution, is Tsuzuki's treatment of the London docks during the five or so years beginning in 1888. Here Tsuzuki succeeds in placing Mann within the context of the labor movement and labor politics. He focuses not on Mann himself, but on the triumvirate who led the great dock strike and on the evolution of their tactics

and strategies. His treatment of this period is detailed, nuanced, and illuminating. I have not read a better account of the strike or of the relations between Mann, Tillett, and Burns. Tsuzuki shows that the three men disagreed on many points: Mann and Tillett favored extending the strike beyond the docks if necessary, while Burns relied on public sympathy to bring the dock directors down; afterward Burns thought Parliament could take the lead in ameliorating labor's plight, while Mann was already, according to Tsuzuki, a "proto-syndicalist" (p. 74).

Tsuzuki's treatment of the New Unionist phase of Mann's long career sets a standard for the rest of the book that the author is hard-pressed to maintain. He idealizes Mann who, in comparison with the rest of his "circle," may indeed have been "the prince of British Socialism" (p. 105). Tsuzuki argues that Mann, famous for inconsistency, in fact cherished an enduring ideal, that workers could fashion a new society through their trade unions. Yet surely there were formative episodes after 1889? Mann's resignation from the Independent Labour Party in 1898 merits closer attention than Tsuzuki affords it; so does the eight-and-a-half-year stint in Australia that turned Mann into a champion of industrial unionism and syndicalism. But Tsuzuki treats Mann's resignation as a personal matter and chronicles without analyzing the sojourn in Australia.

Tsuzuki is on surer ground when he deals with the period of the "Great Unrest." He argues that trade-union leaders like Tillett and Wilson had been waiting for an upturn in the trade cycle to reverse the gains made by the employers' organization, the Shipping Federation, over the past two decades. The strikes of 1911 were planned, not the spontaneous outbursts historians have claimed them to be (p. 155). Yet Tsuzuki fails to establish here the larger labor context as he did so successfully in the chapters on the New Unionism, which perhaps explains his ultimately unconvincing portrait of Burns the cabinet minister.

With the international conflict in 1914 Mann's role as a central figure went into eclipse. Neither an outright opponent of the war like Pollitt, nor a fervent supporter like Tillett, he became instead a "responsible patriot," as Tsuzuki terms it (p. 172). After that he joined the Communist Party and played a part in the National Unemployed Workers' Movement, the National Minority Movement, and the Red International of Labor Unions. He spent a good deal of time abroad on behalf of the party. Perhaps because these activities were not so critical to Mann's career, Tsuzuki is content in this latter portion of the book merely to trace them. He has provided us with a welcome addition to labor history, but without having written the full-length biography Mann still deserves.

JONATHAN SCHNEER
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BERNARD WASSERSTEIN. *Herbert Samuel: A Political Life*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 427. \$79.00.

The subject of this biography could easily be dismissed as one of many leading Liberals whose demise so characterized British politics in the early twentieth century. Yet Bernard Wasserstein convincingly shows how Herbert Samuel played critical roles successively in the development of the "New Liberalism" and the rise of the welfare state, the establishment of a Jewish national home in the wake of the Balfour Declaration, and the untoward political realignments of the interwar period. This account, based on a vast array of manuscript sources, easily supersedes John Bowle's 1957 biography and Samuel's own postwar reminiscences.

Temperamentally, Samuel exhibited a meliorist faith in human rationality coupled with a curious inability to display emotion. Liberal journalist A. G. Gardiner once remarked that he was "as free from passion as an oyster" (p. 129). Aside from his Jewish perspective, what set Samuel apart from most of his prewar colleagues was his imperialist bent, support for state intervention in the economy, and antipathy toward women's suffrage. His most constructive work occurred at the Home Office after 1905, where Samuel was responsible for many of the social reforms instigated by the Liberal government. His Children's Act of 1908 repealed three dozen old acts and made over one hundred changes in the law. No other minister, Wasserstein estimates, came closer to bringing about a legislative fulfillment of Liberal doctrine. The most interesting aspect of the author's portrayal, however, concerns Samuel's old-fashioned morality. Although hardly abnormal in his condemnation of Leopold II's regime in the Congo or "Chinese slavery" in South Africa, Samuel also assailed all forms of frivolous or reckless behavior and had a lifelong aversion to homosexuality. His grandmotherly attempts to impose cinematic and theatrical censorship led to a prolonged bout with George Bernard Shaw in which Samuel made a ridiculous spectacle of himself before the nation.

Samuel's voice in public affairs during World War I was relatively muted. Most memorable of his administrative accomplishments were the imposition of daylight savings time and a curtailment of civil liberties under DORA. But after the war he was instrumental, as High Commissioner of Palestine, in laying the foundations for the future state of Israel. Samuel's policy was one of "cautious promotion of Zionism and conciliation of the Arabs" (p. 255), leading one to conclude that the present lamentable state of affairs in that region probably came about despite, rather than because of, Britain's first proconsul. Samuel's support of the Grand Mufti in Iraq, however, was clearly a political misjudgment.

In the 1920s Samuel was recognized for his successful handling of the labor problems that culminated in

the General Strike, but his liberalism was becoming outmoded. Unlike others of his party, he did not desert the fold, nor was he relegated to political oblivion. As an Asquithian Liberal, he continued to lock horns with an increasingly acerbic David Lloyd George, and as party leader himself he presided over a series of electoral defeats. It was the weakness of his party's position in the 1930s that probably led Samuel to succumb to the lure of a National Government, waffling on free trade, and support of appeasement. The Liberal Party presented a sorry spectacle of division and ideological confusion. That Samuel "gave little evidence of chafing at the Tory bit" leads Wasserstein to liken his plight to that of Ramsay MacDonald, noting that "it was an incongruous end to the ministerial career of a former member of the Rainbow Circle" (p. 349).

The strength of this study lies in the integration of Samuel's life with the formulation of British policies in the Middle East and the changing fortunes of the Liberal Party. Admirable restraint is exercised in judgments on the subject's role in these momentous developments. Less satisfactory is Wasserstein's treatment of events in which Samuel's involvement was not so critical. The impression is left, for instance, that the restructuring of the coalition in 1916 was essentially a Liberal affair. More seriously, Wasserstein suggests that Samuel's interview with the king was a "turning-point" in the formation of the National government in 1931 (p. 318). Such lapses of perspective, however, are few. Herbert Samuel and the causes he embraced are well served by this excellent account.

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BENNY MORRIS. *The Roots of Appeasement: The British Weekly Press and Nazi Germany during the 1930s*. Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 1991. Pp. 212.

Incorporating as it does parts of the titles of well-known and influential studies of appeasement by Martin Gilbert (*The Roots of Appeasement* [1966]) and of the British press and Germany by Frank Gannon (*The British Press and Germany, 1936-1939* [1971]), this book promises much. And much is delivered. Unfortunately, for reasons never made clear, parts of that promise are severely compromised by the fact that Benny Morris appears to have taken no direct account of the mass of research published on both the media and appeasement since the late 1970s.

At the core of this book are two propositions about appeasement. Based on his examination of the weekly press, Morris argues that a consensus supporting appeasement emerged in 1935 and was sustained until late 1938. Central to this consensus was an overriding fear of the results of aerial bombing of a

virtually defenseless Britain. The appeasement of the period 1935 to 1938 was thus the appeasement of fear. Hitler's claims of air parity in 1935 were accepted at face value and this determined British policy. Combined with the appeasement of fear was appeasement fueled by an ignorance of Nazi ideology, particularly its theory of race. Such ideas were seen by the rational and liberal editors of the weeklies as simply absurd or irrelevant and certainly not as contributing to an understanding of Nazi foreign policy.

The fourteen papers Morris has used in this study are an interesting cross-section loosely held together by the simple fact of weekly publication. As always in such studies, it is extremely difficult to evaluate the research value to scholars of journals as widely diverse as the *Spectator*, the *Economist*, and the *New Statesman* with, say, *Truth*, the *Saturday Review*, and the voice of Social Credit in the *New English Weekly*. By including the *Observer* and the *Sunday Times*, the author moves into the field of Sunday journalism, thereby raising the question of whether like is being compared with like. How does one compare the influence of J. L. Garvin with, for example, that of Lady Houston?

On the question of the influence of the weeklies, Morris begins boldly and concludes cautiously. The weekly press, he asserts in his introduction, "influenced and reflected the thinking of the nation's intellectual and political elite" (p. 1). By the end of the book he is less certain, concluding that the weeklies "to a degree . . . reflected and perhaps influenced the assumptions and the policies of the nation's political elite" (p. 167).

The difficulty of evaluating the influence of the weekly press is compounded by the fact that evidence for one of the author's central arguments—that appeasement flourished not because of a commitment to revisionism but out of fear of death and destruction from the air—does not abound in the weekly press. Morris accounts for this paradox by pointing out that most of the editors did not want to be seen by their peers as scaremongers. For some, particularly those on the Left and those who were still Liberals, vigorous advocacy of rearmament was anathema; for some on the Right, like Garvin, the approach was one of pulling punches and buying time for rearmament. Had Morris used some of the work of the past fifteen years on the themes of appeasement and the press, this particular paradox would be more fully comprehensible. Incorporating the research by Uri Bialer, Malcolm Smith, Paul Kennedy, Stephen Koss, David Ayerst, Gustav Schmidt and Wesley Wark—to name but a few—would have done much to strengthen this important study. It is puzzling that Morris did not avail himself of the recent work of his peers.

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GARY MCCULLOCH. *Philosophers and Kings: Education for Leadership in Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 163. \$44.50.

It is not fashionable to praise the famous (and not so famous) English public schools, distant cousins of American "prep" schools. One great exception was the lively if highly partisan "corrective" by John Chandos, *Boys Together* (1984), but the praise is confined to the pre-1860s period. True, J. A. Mangan's books and articles always placed the public schools in the largest domestic and imperial contexts, but Colin Shrosbree's *Public Schools and Private Education* (1988) was more typical of tone and tendency: schools that should have belonged to the "nation" were appropriated by the privileged and entrenched. Gary McCulloch's more flattering account of schooling for leadership is therefore historiographically unusual and useful.

His book, however, is only a sketch of the theme of schooling for leadership, and while it is neither shrill nor polemical, it is also not free from advocacy. McCulloch's main point is that the revitalized public schools of the Victorian era embraced the Platonic idea that guardians were needed to provide intelligent and disinterested leadership for a nation rapidly losing its hereditary political rulers, the landed aristocracy. The schools bequeathed this mission to the twentieth century, and it continually pops up, sometimes among renegade conservatives like Sir Cyril Norwood, Marxists like the publisher Victor Gollancz, and leaders of the Labour Party and socialists like Clement Attlee.

McCulloch makes a familiar distinction between academic and "moral" education. The latter is subtler, going beyond the classroom and the formal curriculum to encompass ethos and environment. By this definition, all schools have a "moral" component—Americans know it as "citizenship"—although meritocracies and democracies are compelled to stress the academic side in order to avoid making invidious social or personal comparisons. According to McCulloch, the moral environment of the public schools—Plato, as he would say, rather than Marx—was "its most outstanding achievement" (p. 97).

Clearly he associates himself with the tradition he identifies. But there is an essential step. That tradition, he agrees, was a historic achievement and should have been preserved for the nation, but the public schools abandoned their special legacy, became primarily academic, and emphasized competition and individualism. The other great segment, the grammar schools, now virtually extinct, went the same way. The new government-supported, mass comprehensive secondary schools of our own time had no choice but to follow in an effort to gain legitimacy. The tradition of "philosophers" perhaps exists, but not of "kings."

The viewpoint is worth having. But McCulloch's book is not a developed and rounded history. The

case for the moral side of Victorian public school education is overstated: the drift toward individualism and competition was present even before the reforming eras. An appreciation of the bewildering pluralism of modern democracies is certainly missing. Can a single "moral" conception of schooling be dominant today? But as every reading of educational history shows, there rarely ever was a single conception of "morality" prevailing at the public schools. That may not matter in any case. Once in the real world, where they encounter competing tensions and temptations, moral values take strange and twisted turnings. As Cardinal Newman once wrote, both Julian the Apostate and Saint Basil were students at the same grammar school in Athens. Look what happened.

SHELDON ROTHBLATT
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PETER DONALD. *An Uncounselled King: Charles I and the Scottish Troubles, 1637–1641*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1990. Pp. xv, 351. \$59.50.

ALLAN I. MACINNES. *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625–1641*. Edinburgh: John Donald; distributed by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1991. Pp. ix, 228. \$70.00.

For decades Scottish history has languished in comparative obscurity. However enthralling Scots themselves may have found the subject, it did not loom large with the rest of the profession, especially when the real historiographical fireworks seemed to be going off on the other side of the Tweed. Fortunately, this regrettable situation has abruptly ended. Much of the credit belongs to Scottish scholars, whose recent efforts at reinterpreting old verities rightly command attention. In this task they have had an important ally. When kudos are handed out for the revitalization of Scottish history, a glowing notice must go to John Donald—not a historian, but an energetic publisher, who not surprisingly brought out one of the two books under review.

The final ingredient in the recent revival is that a great many historians who ordinarily were oblivious to Scotland are now discovering that Scottish history, rather like single-malt whiskey, is not really an acquired taste. Instrumental in this revolution in consumption is the recent interest in truly British history. John Pocock's repeated appeals for an integration of Scottish, Irish, Welsh, and English histories has recently brought forth impressive results from the likes of Hugh Kearney and Conrad Russell. The new fascination with a redefined British history therefore has ensured a large and eager audience for the new Scottish historians.

For the Scots no less than the English, the wars that engulfed the archipelago in the mid-seventeenth cen-

tury are of central importance. Since Allan I. MacInnes and Peter Donald seek to explain part of the turmoil, it is understandable that their works should have similarities. Each is based on an exhaustive examination of often recondite manuscript materials. MacInnes has made impressive use of the Scottish Exchequer records, while Donald has mined the Hamilton collection, newly deposited at the Scottish Record Office, and the Traquair manuscripts, still in private hands. Unfortunately, neither author has made many concessions to his readers. It is hard to understand either why MacInnes offered no final conclusions to an otherwise impressive book or why Donald declined to note his corrections of previous scholars. Nevertheless, both have produced important works.

Controversy currently swirls around the long-term causes of the wars at mid-century. Russell has recently challenged the entire notion of long-term causation, arguing that the Stuart regime operated reasonably effectively until Charles I stirred up a hornet's nest with the new Scottish prayer book in 1637. MacInnes, however, has little time for such a formulation. While "imperial" administrators in Whitehall might have convinced themselves that all was tranquil, they would have been less sanguine, MacInnes maintains, had they paid careful attention to Scotland, where rumblings had been quite ominous well before 1637. He makes clear that the most remarkable aspect of the Scottish rebellion was not that the administration suddenly erred, but rather the extraordinary organization of the Covenanters and the rapidity with which complaints about ecclesiastical policy broadened into a general assault on all of Charles's policies.

MacInnes's goal is to explain how the Covenanters mounted such an effective opposition. The answer in part centers on long-term Presbyterian dissatisfaction with royal attempts to graft an episcopal structure onto a fully developed Calvinist church. Yet the bulk of the book focuses on something less well understood, Charles I's Revocation scheme of 1626. Although most scholars are aware of the project, no one until MacInnes has carefully analyzed the full impact of this wide-reaching proposal, which sought the return of all land and rights alienated from the crown since 1566. The political nation understandably opposed the scheme, yet Charles pressed on, and so earned the crown limited financial returns and widespread hostility. Even more ominous was the fact that the Revocation forced normally antithetical groups to work together, thus limiting the utility of the "divide-and-conquer" doctrine that had traditionally allowed weak royal governments ample room for maneuver. Consequently, when Scots took the National Covenant they pledged to defend "our Liberties, Lawes and Estates" as well as "the true Reformed Religion" (p. 175). MacInnes's book represents an important corrective to any overly optimistic assumption that all was fundamentally well within the Stuart "empire" on the eve of the Civil War. Such a conclusion will ensure

it a wide audience among English as well as Scottish historians.

MacInnes's work also serves to redouble interest in the precise relationship between the mass subscription to the Covenant in 1638 and the outbreak of hostilities in England four years later. Even strident critics of Russell's work have to concede that his rejection of long-term causation has, if nothing else, forced scholars to think again about precisely what happened in these pivotal years. Here Peter Donald's work is invaluable. While others have studied the Scottish crisis from the perspective of the Covenanters, Donald has taken the less glamorous task of using the crisis to scrutinize Charles's style of crisis management. Part of Donald's conclusion is predictable: Charles I had only a tenuous grasp on political reality. Still, it is useful to have this point hammered home through careful analysis of several dozen episodes when Charles bungled prospects for a settlement, much to the frustration of his councilors. Any doubts about the extent to which Charles had internalized divine-right theory cannot survive a close reading of this book. Donald then moves onto perhaps his most interesting material, about the contacts between the Covenanters and their English sympathizers. As Donald makes clear, Charles's anxiety about such contacts was not mere paranoia. While the code names of the conspirators—Mr. White and Mr. Black—may have been amateurish, their activities were professional enough to spread the Covenanters' contagion across England and into Parliament. Donald deserves full marks for sketching out the shadowy world of Anglo-Scottish covert action against the Stuart regime.

Overlaying this fascinating material is the one problematic aspect of Donald's book, his discussion of Charles's crisis of counsel. Inexplicably, he never describes the range of councilors and advice available to Charles. Thus, it is hard for his readers to follow his reasoning when he concludes that Charles's periodic failure to follow the advice of a particular councilor rendered him "an uncounselled king." Although Donald has not definitely proven his case, he certainly deserves credit for framing such an intriguing query. More importantly, his work, like that of MacInnes, amply testifies to the excellence of the new generation of Scottish historians. Both works also point the way for further examinations of British history, and by so doing they offer some belated homage to the Covenanters and their dreams of a British, albeit Calvinist, confederation.

THOMAS COGSWELL
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ELEANOR GORDON. *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland, 1850–1914*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. 312. \$69.00.

Labor history and the history of women, each a fruitful area of academic enquiry in its own right, have seldom been so well integrated as in this study of working women in Scotland. The scope of this study is broader than the title suggests. Eleanor Gordon's central concern is to analyze the pattern of Scottish women's employment and the nature of their workplace struggles, including but not limited to trade-union activity. She moves outward from this central concern by setting the analysis within a number of intersecting social, political, and economic contexts, such as employment and labor activity in general, the structure of women's domestic lives, and radical working-class politics. She delves more deeply into these contexts by devoting part of the book to a case study of jute industry workers in Dundee. She intends all of this to contribute to ongoing debates in the historical and theoretical literature on women and work.

Although the structure of the book forces a degree of repetitiveness, it is otherwise well written. The conclusions are soundly based on examination of a variety of sources and on arguments that are both logical and sensible. Her challenge to some previously entrenched assumptions is supported by dispassionate investigation into the realities of women's experience, including careful examination of women's own statements.

In particular, Gordon has laid to rest the idea that the low profile of women in the trade-union movement indicated that women workers were passive, unorganized, and submissive, or that this apathy was tied to their domestic role. From newspapers and other lesser-known sources, she unearths accounts of active, organized, and far from submissive women engaged in protests and strikes outside the official trade-union movement, and sometimes opposed by it. Discordance between unions and women workers could be explained by deficiencies in the unions rather than by the supposed negative character traits of women workers. Women frequently displayed strong commitment to collective action. They had their own forms of resistance, and if these were not necessarily superior to those of the organized labor movement, neither were they necessarily irrelevant and outmoded merely because they did not conform to the usual practices of nineteenth-century unionism.

By becoming workers, women did not discard their gender identity. Their experience of work, argues Gordon, was mediated through, although not determined by, their gender subordination in the domestic sphere, at work, and in the labor movement. Rightly, Gordon lays great stress on the interconnectedness of different elements in the social structure. This allows her to give a fuller explanation of the differential experience of men and women in the labor market than, for example, the orthodox Marxist account can provide. It also allows her to contribute another dimension to debates about the divisions within the

working class. The addition of a gender dimension clearly reveals the inadequacy of a simple "labor aristocracy" theory dividing the skilled from the unskilled.

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PHILIPPE CONTAMINE *et al.* *Histoire militaire de la France*. Volume 1, *Des origines à 1715*. Series editor ANDRÉ CORVISIER. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1992. Pp. xiii, 632.

JEAN DELMAS *et al.* *Histoire militaire de la France*. Volume 2, *De 1715 à 1871*. Series editor ANDRÉ CORVISIER. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1992. Pp. xiii, 635.

The French have long excelled at grand syntheses, and this multivolume military history of France is a superb example. Under the overall direction of the noted military historian André Corvisier, each volume is a collaborative effort by such eminent scholars as Philippe Contamine, Jean Delmas, Jean Chagniot, Anne Blanchard, and Jean Meyer (the author of each chapter is noted in the table of contents).

This outstanding work (only the first two of the projected four volumes are reviewed here) attempts to portray French military history in its entirety. The first volume covers the period from Clovis early in the sixth century to the death of Louis XIV, the culmination of the state's efforts to establish a permanent standing army organized by a civilian bureaucracy. Louis XIV and earlier kings occupy prominent positions because, as the authors remind us, from Philip Augustus onward French military history was dominated by its kings. The second volume examines the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries up to the end of the Franco-Prussian War that shattered the illusion of French invincibility inherited from the revolution and Napoleon.

Each of these historic periods is given extensive treatment, although the coverage expands as one draws closer to the modern era. For example, in volume 1 the Middle Ages covers a little over 200 pages, the early modern period more than 300 pages. In the second volume the eighteenth century, the revolution and empire, receives equal treatment with the period to 1870 (roughly 200 pages each).

While the overall framework focuses on France as a nation and the work reflects a muted national pride, this is no chauvinistic account, but a judicious examination acknowledging the contribution of foreigners to France's military past and the slow development of national sentiment. It also provides an impartial treatment of France's historic enemies England and Prussia, as well as a nonpartisan account of France's varying regimes, monarchist, republican, and Bonapartist. In part this is because the authors, almost all French academics, have a new vision of military history, one no longer isolated or tied to exploits of

governments, famous conquerors, and heroic exploits. Instead, they embrace France's military history from a larger vision, emphasizing the impact of technological change and the intimate connection between the military and society. Their aim is a rapprochement between military and other historians: economic, social, institutional, demographic, and cultural. Military historians must not see the army in isolation, and other specialists need to see the importance of the military to the larger life of society.

Each chronological period receives two treatments. One is an extensive narrative summary of military campaigns, sometimes moving but unfortunately too often reduced to a bare listing of battles and troop movements. The second component, much the larger and more significant, is devoted to the so-called "new military history": military thinkers, organization, administrative change, the perennial problems of recruitment and supply, military housing, changing technology, financial aspects of warfare, impact on civilians, a social analysis of officers and enlisted men, and the interaction between society and the army generally. Readers also will welcome the detailed treatment given to the development of fortifications, military engineering, and armament as well as the first-rate, comprehensive examination of naval history (170 pages), although the authors acknowledge that the navy was often peripheral to larger military considerations.

This synthesis of recent research contains no footnotes, but there is an extensive bibliography of secondary works. Interestingly, volume 1 contains a number of works in English and some in German, undoubtedly due to the more ecumenical vision of Contamine and Corvisier, while the second volume relies almost entirely on French sources. As a result, excellent English-language works, such as James Pritchard's account of the French navy, 1748–62, are missing. Both volumes contain an abundance of maps, graphs, and statistical tables, as well as numerous (219) black-and-white illustrations.

This impressive encyclopedic overview does have its minor distractions. The repeated emphasis on the details of military reorganization, the constant reforming and shuffling of units, is numbing for the nonspecialist. Those unfamiliar with the complexity of military weapons, whether the distinguishing characteristics of different medieval catapults or variations in musket and flintlock, will find the going difficult at times. Following the traditional admonition of the *Annales* school, there is a deliberate avoidance of the great man theory of history. Although Napoleon does receive a brief evaluation, the work needs to include a modern reappraisal of such talented leaders as Louis II (Duke of Condé), Marshal Turenne, and Maurice de Saxe. Finally, the work is pitched at an educated French readership, which may pose a problem for some unfamiliar with France's history. (The authors rhetorically ask, for example, [vol. 1, p. 525]: "Who does not know of the geo-

strategic expedition of Trouin to Rio de Janeiro in 1707?") Nonetheless, if Roland Mousnier is right that war is the natural state for humanity, this magisterial account deserves a large audience.

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ZACHARY SAYRE SCHIFFMAN. *On the Threshold of Modernity: Relativism in the French Renaissance*. (Studies in Historical and Political Science, number 3.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 170. \$32.50.

Edwin Panofsky once noted the "compartmentalizing" tendencies in medieval thought (*Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* [1951]); in this volume Zachary Sayre Schiffman characterizes late-Renaissance thought by its "individualizing" tendency, an impulse to organize subjects into their component parts. Schiffman believes that this compulsion for list-making was a response to the rise of historical and cultural relativism in Renaissance France. At the outset the author distinguishes between the experience and doctrines of relativism. The former represents "an awareness of the human world as being filled with unique historical entities" (p. xii), manifesting itself in the "individualizing" tendency typical of sixteenth-century thought. The focus of the book, then, is the relationship of the experience of relativism to the search for an underlying order or orientation in the world.

After posing the problem of relativism and the resultant restructuring of human knowledge into a plethora of lists and categorical schemes, Schiffman turns to the ordering of history. He examines the work of Lancelot Voisin de La Popelinière, whose interest lay in a knowledge of causes: Nicholas Vignier, who wrote a history, universal in both space and time; and Estienne Pasquier, who studied the antiquities of France, to illustrate historians' responses to the problem of the ordering of history in light of the skeptical crisis engendered by humanistic education, the discovery of the New World, and the availability of printed texts. Schiffman then turns to the ordering of the self, focusing on Michel de Montaigne and his attack on reason. Yet Montaigne did not become a relativist, according to Schiffman; rather, the self became for him a fixed point of reference in a complex and diverse world. Schiffman is at his best in this discussion, and his use of Pierre Charron to exemplify the quest for a moral order blends well with his reading of Montaigne, who was metaphysically but not morally skeptical. Charron sought to establish the fundamental truths of religion: ontological truth, Christian truth, and Catholic truth.

The problem of relativism, which led to an intellectual cul-de-sac, is discussed in a final chapter on the ordering of the sciences. Charron had tried to show

the universal law of nature as a guide for man, but Schiffman believes his "systematic attempt to chart a course through the diversity of circumstances and moral options led, not to *sagesse*, but back to the problem of relativism" (p. 104). And here enters René Descartes, who, failing to find moral certainty through erudition, sought it "in the book of the worldly" (p. 110), which also left him unsatisfied. In 1619 Descartes had an intellectual vision of a "wonderful science." He wrote: "The sciences are at present masked, but if the masks were taken off, they would be revealed in all their beauty" (p. 114). His method revealed that all things can be arranged serially in "long chains of reasonings," and he underlined the unity of simple essences (p. 114).

Although Descartes believed that he had solved the problem of relativism, Schiffman suggests that he pursued the problem into an intellectual dead end. He sees Vico as the hero who resolves the conflict with his "new science," one in which "one can know only what one has made and, thus, that the true realm of science is not the natural world of God's creation but the world of nations created by man (p. 131). Schiffman believes that Vico's notion of historical *ricorsi* should be reconsidered, since it serves "to express a nondevelopmental connection between past and present, reflecting the structural similarities between certain ages and their mentalities" (p. 137).

This is a thought-provoking book that presents an interesting reading of one aspect of late-Renaissance thought in France, the problem of relativism. With the sources Schiffman has chosen to use, he argues his points well, except in his discussion of humanistic education; here generalities prevail where particulars can be demonstrated, as Paul Oskar Kristeller has so often shown (see, for example, *Renaissance Thought* [1961]). If Schiffman had chosen other sources, such as Guillaume Postel, Jean Bodin (of whom only passing mention is made), or Blaise Pascal, he could not cogently argue the same thesis, and this seems to me to be a weakness of the book. From one point of view Schiffman is correct; from another, if focused on different sources over the same range of time, one would arrive at a different reading of French Renaissance history. The selection of sources may indeed be one argument related to the experience of relativism.

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GAYLE K. BRUNELLE. *The New World Merchants of Rouen, 1559–1630*. (Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, number 16.) Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal. 1991. Pp. x, 190. \$35.00.

This carefully researched study provides a rare look at the economic activity of a group of shipping merchants outside their New World commercial network. Moreover, Gayle K. Brunelle's account gives explicit family data on these merchants' "struggle to

ascend the social ladder" (p. 161), a welcome addition to most studies of Atlantic merchants in the Old Regime.

From a total merchant population of 500 to 600, the author identifies 110 investors in New World trade before 1590 and thirty-four others between 1594 and 1630. Apparently the siege of the city in the early 1590s broke the earlier continuity of commerce. If only the hardiest merchants continued in deep-sea investments in these generations, their horizons reached from Spain to Brazil and from Newfoundland to Antwerp. Of those investing frequently (fifty-seven of the 144), a substantial minority (about one-third) were Protestants—double the proportion in the city's population. Thirteen of the frequent investors were of foreign origin. In the 1560s investors in the Atlantic trade paid taxes well above the average for other Rouennais merchants.

Rouen's Atlantic investors sought integration into community affairs in three ways. They were prominent in office in the Jurisdiction Consulaire before 1595, and to a lesser extent in the city government. Some—the number is not given—purchased tax farms (Brunelle is undecided whether the motivation was profit or prestige). Some of the investors participated in parish administration.

Marriage and kinship networks were complex. The author is duly cautious about the role of marriage in determining economic and social status. In most cases, Brunelle concludes, the socioeconomic status of bride and groom were similar. Kinship ties extending to cousins and even godparents provided the basis for commercial connections in this group.

The book's most valuable contributions cover the merchants' investments in land and in office. Brunelle's sampling of Rouen's vast storehouse of notarial records seems judicious as well as practical (selecting even years for inherited property, 1560–1630, and the second halves of decades for movable goods, 1565–1630).

Some basic questions remain unanswered: average and range of fortunes accumulated from commerce, ratios of investments in public lands to private lands, and attitudes toward land management, for example. What does emerge is a convincing description of the habits of investors as they sought to diversify and protect their income.

The Rouen investors became lenders by purchasing *rentes* from other Rouennais merchants and officeholders or from peasant farmers within thirty kilometers of the city. Brunelle discovered few public loans, especially between 1576 and 1595. When the investors bought land they generally avoided urban real estate, but they did buy parcels throughout Seine-Maritime and in northern Eure. About 40 percent of purchases were from laborers, and only 25 to 30 percent from nobles. Investors did not become farm managers, but sought short-term rental contracts. Brunelle argues that returns from both *rentes*

and land rentals, although less spectacular than the best of maritime profits, were steady and flexible.

Seven of the investors, eleven of their sons, and five of their grandsons achieved nobility from purchase of office or letters of ennoblement. These three generations of merchant-investor families held almost one hundred offices of all kinds, however, suggesting that family interest was best served by placing succeeding generations in lucrative office—while remaining active in maritime investment. No simple picture of social mobility emerges from this study of four generations. Brunelle characterizes the role of religion in the group as marked by tolerance and overshadowed by commercial networks.

The production of this book is marred by typographical errors, incorrect subtotals in two tables, and contradictions between the text and three charts. Nevertheless this book, with its important qualifications to generalities about fortune and social mobility, proves that once again an American scholar has made a fine strategic choice when confronted with the archives of the Old Regime.

PERRY VILES

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MARGUERITE VACHER. *Des "régulières" dans le siècle: Les soeurs de Saint-Joseph du Père Médaille aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. Clermont-Ferrand, France: Adosa. 1991. Pp. 464. 300 fr.

Through a case-study approach, Marguerite Vacher, a Sister of Saint-Joseph, answers questions central to the history of women's religious congregations and of women's involvement in the Tridentine church. In an age when clerical and secular authorities required that all women regulars make solemn vows and live under strict cloister in monastic establishments, were any women able to form independent, charitable religious congregations, actively involved in the world and regulated only by the needs of their apostolate? Was Mary Ward's experience of condemnation and failure the inevitable condition of any women who sought to imitate the Jesuits?

The Sisters of Saint-Joseph ("of père Médaille") came into existence in the Auvergne in 1649 and were well-established, in thirty houses in six dioceses, by the time of Médaille's death twenty years later. The women founders, like Médaille, had been influenced by the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, and they had known him as a missionary in the countryside near Le Puy. For those humble yet determined women—Françoise Eyraud, Clauda Chastel, Marguerite Burdier, Anna Chaleyer, Anna Vey, and Anna Brun—and for their successors, the Jesuits prescribed religious life in the world, in their own milieu, and in the active service of their neighbor. The first Sisters of Saint-Joseph pursued their neighbors' as well as their own salvation and, under Médaille's direction, longed for spiritual union not only

with God but also with all their neighbors. Médaille provided constitutions, written advice, and spiritual guidance, all largely derived from a simplified version of the Jesuits' own constitutions.

What resulted was a religious congregation characterized by Ignatian spirituality and by small, independent religious houses, in both town and countryside, under the authority of sympathetic bishops. Its members were bound either by simple vows or by a vow of stability; they were free to engage in works of charity and untouched by elaborate regulation. Sisters of Saint-Joseph served in hospitals, visited the poor and prisoners, founded orphanages, cared for fallen women, and undertook the spiritual direction of lay women.

The sisters were apparently too insignificant in the greater scheme of church politics and too necessary for the welfare of the poor to be subject to much clerical or state interference. Yet those who made simple vows constituted a congregation and, as they also lived and worked in the world, their experience was an early exception to the general experience of women religious in the Tridentine church. Of course, such active involvement in the world was not to last. By the eighteenth century, acceptance of cloister and a greater preoccupation with the sisters' own salvation had come to characterize the congregation.

This study is based on the pertinent archival sources and is worthy of the author's association with the Centre André Latreille. But it should have been shorter and offered a comprehensive comparison of the Sisters of Saint-Joseph with other women's congregations and lay institutes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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MAURICE LEVER. *Donatien Alphonse François, Marquis de Sade*. Paris: Fayard. 1991. Pp. 912. 198 fr.

Literary historians and critics have tried to discern the cultural and individual libertine dynamics of the eighteenth century through studying the life and writings of the Marquis de Sade. Historians have been more circumspect, but it is not surprising to find the Romantic pioneer, Jules Michelet, writing about Sade. Maurice Lever's historical biography has all the advantages and limitations of the genre. The author has found new sources and quotes extensively from them. Attentive to the interpretations of his predecessors, he refines and deepens knowledge about many of the obscure aspects of the Marquis's life, which is not to say that the legendary ones are exploded. This is neither an intellectual biography nor a social history, though there is valuable material here for both. The author presupposes that his readers are familiar with Sade's novels, but he does not presume to offer a new interpretation of them.

With detachment, Lever lets the Marquis speak for

himself through his letters, with the result that the reader becomes the author's accomplice in judging or not judging Sade as odious or degrading in his relations with the most supportive of his family and servants. Sade's taste for abuse and for inflicting pain on others—it was aesthetic—is neither dismissed as a quirk nor characterized as a weakness for spontaneous and uncontrollable verbal repartee. Abuse was constant from Sade, and Lever concludes that it can only have resulted from the Marquis's inability to perceive other humans as more than mere instruments for his personal satisfaction. Lever has had the courage to overcome the human tendency to sympathize with or excuse the behavior of someone perceived as psychologically fragile. The question remains: why did Sade's wife, mother-in-law, and estate manager tolerate so many years of abuse, pain, and embarrassment before, each individually, breaking off relations with the Marquis or actively seeking to keep him in prison? This book bears witness to the human capacity to reach toward the "other" despite the repeated abuse and sadistic degradation that it wrought.

The Sade family ranks among the oldest chivalric noble families in southern France; as a result the Marquis considered himself outside or above the royal law, or a law unto himself. Only the coercive power of the police and incarceration—which he defined as despotism—could isolate him from harming others as a result of the noble "blood boiling in his veins," as he himself put it.

Fathered by a Condé client whose early intimacies with the adolescent Louis XV failed to sustain him in a diplomatic career that ended in financial disaster, the Marquis probably never was on close affective terms with his mother, nor with any female servant. Lever notes the totally male surroundings during Sade's formative years, and his education in a Jesuit all-male school, but he does not explore the possibility that this upbringing may have been quite typical of the peculiarly masculine and libertine Condé household. After describing the whippings and introduction to homosexual experiences in the Jesuit school as typical for the eighteenth century, Lever gives no evidence from Sade's writings to support these contentions.

A *mésalliance* with the daughter of a Robe noble judge failed to curb the Marquis's flamboyant and costly posturing as an aesthetically refined young male who lacked the discipline to make his way at court. Birth and inheritance provided officer status in the army, but he always found a reason to stay away from his regiment after a brief and successful tour of duty. With the help of a valet, Sade organized various sexual retreats with women who would eventually go to the police to testify against the Marquis despite the efforts of the Marquis's wife and mother-in-law to bribe or to silence the accusers. The years in the Bastille that resulted from this devastating testimony brought extensive reading and writing, sexual fanta-

sizing, and attempts to understand human experience through the power of numbers. Although Lever occasionally judges harshly the privileges that a man of Sade's social rank could enjoy, the fact remains that Sade spent much of his life in prison for his crimes. Louis Marais, a police inspector, spent the better part of his career either keeping the Marquis under surveillance when he was out of prison or collecting and collating testimony for court proceedings. Arresting the Marquis again after an escape from custody, Marais said, "Talk, talk, little man . . . you're going to spend the rest of your days locked up" (p. 327), which was certainly a calculated and frustrated attempt to degrade the haughty aristocrat.

Release in July 1789 gave Sade a penultimate opportunity to adjust to society, and he made the most of it. Declaring himself a man of letters, Sade joined his neighborhood revolutionary section and put his talent as a writer in the service of the French Revolution. Veiled beneath the narrative of violence in the Terror that Sade lived through, and in some ways participated in willingly, is Lever's own coming to terms with what life in Paris was like in the years 1792-95. In a reaction more repulsively engaged than Sade's, Lever draws parallels with the Gulag.

Sade demonstrated that in the highly coercive atmosphere of the Terror and almost starving, he could accommodate to society. His companion, Constance Quesnet, shared his lodgings and pawned all her possessions, including her clothes, to provide for the minimum necessities of life for the underemployed Marquis, who was at the time categorically denying that he was of noble birth. Revising his plays in a desperate attempt to have them produced, Sade failed time after time. A hasty trip south to wring money from his estates led to the shock of his life: "his" vassals no longer conformed to the image that he continued to have of them. One of his *châteaux* had been pillaged, and he simply could not believe what was happening. Sade's relations with his estate manager, Gaufridy, are particularly revealing of just how nasty, haughty, and degrading a *seigneur* could be in the late eighteenth century. Had Sade inserted their heated exchanges in his plays, he might have had a hit performance, with the play ending when the *seigneur* went up the steps to be guillotined.

Imprisonment once again, this time under the Law of Suspects, gave Sade a final opportunity to do what he had always liked to do, which was to produce plays. Well treated by the director of the asylum for the insane in which the revolution had put him, Sade directed his fellow inmates in theatrical productions in order to improve their mental health.

Lever sees Sade's lack of money as prompting him to accept a publisher's suggestion that he write pornography. This is no doubt true. The works to which Sade gave his name are not pornographic, but Sade's needs to be abusive may have been partially satisfied by the small financial gain and renown that the anonymously published works brought him. Were

these works the result of a strong literary imagination? Here Lever is categorical. The police depositions of women who sought to have Sade prosecuted for sexual crimes strongly resemble the scenes from the novels. Philip Stewart's *Engraven Desire, Eros, Image and Text in the French Eighteenth Century* (1992) offers an analytical frame for understanding the larger cultural significance of Sade's texts, and of the images that artists produced from them.

An avowed and propagandizing atheist and an overt blasphemer of everything Roman Catholicism held sacred, Sade approached uniqueness through the theatricality of shock in his time. His arch-theatricality and need for inflicting pain were combined to explore the hitherto unthinkable relations between the sacred and the sexual. Sade used the word "Baroque" in a way to describe the power of images and sacred objects on bodies, while philosophizing about the supreme pleasure of self-humiliation. The seduction of imprisonment, the angry cry for liberty, the total possession of others, the joining of the human body to theatrical machinery, and the total destruction of the barrier between actor and spectator, and of theater and life, are forcefully articulated in Sade's work. In no way may Sade be considered typical of his times, yet Casanova, Ménétra, the Rousseau of the *Confessions*, and the *Don Giovanni* of Mozart and da Ponte integrate into literature aspects of the human imagination that were only hinted at by Diderot and Choderlos de Laclos.

OREST RANUM
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JAMES A. LEITH. *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares, and Public Buildings in France, 1789-1799*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 363. \$60.00.

James A. Leith's superbly illustrated volume provides a remarkable excursion through the French Revolution's imagination. This kaleidoscope of ground plans and elevation drawings for monuments, public buildings, and remodeled public spaces offers perhaps the most direct access to the revolution's project of refashioning social relations and, with them, men and women themselves. The architects sought to inscribe in public space the values the revolution promoted. Even if these values shifted in important features as one phase gave way to the next, the notion that the revolution marked the regeneration of humanity remained constant for most of the decade. So too did the ambition of architects to create a new environment for a new humanity remain constant, even if their symbolic language shifted from one period to another.

Of course, in this domain as in so much else, the French Revolution did not mark a sharp break from the immediate past. As Leith shows, there was a legacy to draw on: for instance, the recurrent revo-

lutionary theme of a *place d'émulation* was an idea of the Old Regime, just as eighteenth-century urbanism foreshadowed the revolutionary will to impose new relationships on the urban landscape. What was new, however, was not simply the reach of the re-creative urge, but the powerful didactic quality of these projects in the service of a vision of humanity and society. Comments from politically quite different periods of the revolution all struck the same note: "the walls must speak," buildings must be "moral textbooks," architecture must be "a silent course in morality," and monuments must "present great examples [and] provide great lessons" (pp. 4, 217, 275).

Leith leads us through these plans and projects as through a lexicon of revolutionary ideas. The symbolic repertory emerges with great clarity: the triangles and levels of equality; the amphitheaters and circles fit for the harmony of a sovereign people; purifying water, obelisks of aspiration, ceremonial arches giving entrance to the new era; mountains, liberty trees, Phrygian bonnets, fasces, altars of the Motherland, male and female representations of virtues and attributes of the People and the Nation. The richness of this vocabulary allowed architects and artists to match their response to the changing pre-occupations of the revolution (and even to resubmit plans with a different gloss on their iconography).

Throughout the decade, the revolutionaries returned time and again to certain projects: a great political, administrative, and cultural center based at the Louvre and the Tuileries; a monument on the site of the Bastille; the Pantheon and its surroundings; and a great festival site on the Champ de Mars. Ultimately, however, one conclusion strikes the reader forcibly, although Leith does not make as much of it as he might. While there were many impressive projects, very little was built that was substantial and permanent. The Pantheon was the earliest, most complete, and most permanent remodeling (and one wonders why this one); the National Assembly was not decently housed until 1793. For the most part, the French saw only ephemeral constructions, swept away by the elements and by political revision. Here as in much else, the revolutionaries were much better at pulling things down than they were at building.

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GEORGE ARMSTRONG KELLY. *The Humane Comedy: Constant, Tocqueville, and French Liberalism*. Foreword by STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 262. \$59.95.

Benjamin Constant and Alexis de Tocqueville are the intellectual odd couple that anchors this brilliant family history of French liberalism. They lived, after all, in very different worlds; Tocqueville was an unknown young man when Constant passed from the

scene, and the vast collected edition of Tocqueville's works contains not a single reference to Constant. In his opening chapter George Armstrong Kelly frankly acknowledges these difficulties. Indeed, one of the great strengths of this book, which has Tocqueville at its center, is Kelly's awareness of the dark ambivalences and deep tensions that make Tocqueville so difficult to categorize. He describes Tocqueville as "a wavering legitimist ardent for liberty" (p. 80) and addresses the "irony generated between aristocratic finesse and democratic geometry" (p. 232). In his second chapter, "Constant versus Tocqueville," Kelly extricates himself from these difficulties. Surprisingly, the differences between these liberals are traced to the crucial religious heritage of the Reformation, the conflicting universes of the Swiss Protestant and the French Catholic. Indeed, one of the great themes of this work is the startling connection between liberal views and religious belief.

To fully understand these differences, Kelly proposes a journey that "will involve archaeology in the social and cultural texture of French liberalism contributing to its definition" (p. 3). True to his mission Kelly, like a learned archaeologist, leads us in a great exploration of the underground cities and forgotten monuments of the lost nineteenth century. In the course of this tour, he resurrects such museum-pieces as Paul Royer-Collard, Victor Cousin, Alexandre Vinet, and Theodore Jouffroy. And on each of these men he has written the best pages in the language. He provides a full treatment of eclecticism, the official doctrine of the *juste milieu*, and he has raised an obscure battle of the books—the Pascal affair of the 1840s—to the level of a great historical set-piece. Against this Kelly sets the rich mix of religious and political elements that were at the heart of the July Monarchy. But he cannot ignore the reality that these French liberals, like their leader François Guizot, have come down to us as great failures, victims of the Revolution of 1848. Kelly pauses before the great enigma of this revolution, invokes the figure of Alphonse Lamartine, and presents the troubling vision of a revolution "bewildering because it seems to have been made for and against liberalism" (p. 221).

The book could have ended triumphantly on that note, but Kelly takes us one step further. The final chapter follows the career of nineteenth-century liberalism into the postrevolutionary era and shows us a new generation. There was a myriad of possibilities for French liberals; the new situation produced what he calls "Parnassian Liberalism" (p. 221), characterized by the "sadness of Tocqueville" (p. 227), "the airs of Renan" (p. 236), and "the disgust of Flaubert" (p. 245). In this dazzling conclusion, Kelly has given us every reason to regret his passing and to measure the loss to scholarship.

STANLEY MELLON
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SUSAN K. GROGAN. *French Socialism and Sexual Difference: Women and the New Society, 1803–44*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. ix, 249. \$45.00.

In the mid-nineteenth century Karl Marx dismissed many early nineteenth-century social thinkers as "utopian socialists." Contemporary historians may agree, citing the general failure of all socialists of that era to examine the implications of sexual difference for the new societies they envisioned. Susan K. Grogan's book offers a useful introduction to the thought of Charles Fourier, the Saint-Simonian school, and Flora Tristan on this topic. She begins by examining her subjects' views on the "nature" of the sexes and then, in succeeding chapters, deals with the implications of such definitions for women's and men's social roles. Not surprisingly, she finds pervasive assumptions about essential differences that set limits to schemes for social reconstruction. Fourier's "Little Hordes" assigned to clean-up tasks are predominantly masculine because "the majority of male children enjoy uproar and dirt," while his "Little Bands" are largely feminine and care for flower beds, censor bad language, and promote the arts because "the majority of little girls favour finery and good manners" (p. 28). Shades of Jean-Jacques Rousseau! Even Fourier's extraordinary originality had its limits. Likewise, the heterosexual couple who constituted Barthélemy-Prosper Enfantin's "social individual" comprised two separate and distinct "natures." Women brought to this union sentiment and morality, while men furnished the power of reason. Women gained "equality" through being subsumed within and inspiring their husbands; the new marriage offered old wine in old, relabeled bottles. In Saint-Simonian thought, says Grogan, "Woman appears, not as the agent of change or as its intended beneficiary, but as its symbol" (p. 97). The real women who joined up—Jeanne Deroin, Claire Bazard, Marie-Reine Guindorf, Jeanne-Desirée Veret, and others—wanted to participate in their own right, and they expressed concern with the real conditions of women's lives. Writing to Enfantin in 1832, Veret called for the Saint-Simoniens to give women a voice: "Women must add to [the doctrine] and in order to do so it is essential that they look beyond it and that they summarize it themselves, and no longer according to what men have written, besides, what women have to say is as different as the natures of men and women [are different]" (p. 100).

One woman who found her voice, and left a significant body of work, was Flora Tristan. Like the Saint-Simoniens she believed in separate natures and wanted women to feminize men. Unlike them, she inverted the traditional dualism and allocated to women soul and intelligence, leaving men only body and brute force. But her women, too, had an essential need to serve others. Fourier, most of the Saint-Simoniens, and Tristan all accepted essential sexual differences that entailed separate social roles. The

binary oppositions based on "nature" that abound in their work led to various social constructions, but not to analyses of the ways social structures might have given rise to definitions of nature.

This is where the question engages feminist scholars today. The major limitation of this book is its failure to enter the current debate. The gaping hole between socialist pronouncement and practice has been clear to historians for twenty years, and naive tributes to Fourier and his followers have long since been replaced by more nuanced appraisals. Although Grogan's work is timely for its focus on conceptual flaws and contradictions between socialist assertions about equality and underlying assumptions about sexual differences, it stops short there. Followers of Joan Scott's work on "gender as a category of historical analysis" ("Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *AHR* 91 [December 1986], 1053–75) and Karen Offen's work on "relational feminism" ("Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Signs* 14 [Fall 1988], 119–57) will nod in recognition at such problems occasionally tackled but more often tossed aside by these early essayists. But they will look in vain for answers to the most sticky and critical questions posed by definitions of difference. Nevertheless, Grogan is to be commended for reminding us that the works of these French social thinkers remain pertinent. Despite their failures, the utopian socialists understood that the "woman question" was neither narrow nor trivial but an essential part of the important and enduring issues in human history.

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PAMELA PILBEAM. *The 1830 Revolution in France*. New York: St. Martin's. 1991. Pp. ix, 237. \$55.00.

In her thoughtful contribution to the growing literature on the revolution of 1830, Pamela Pilbeam has not attempted a sustained narrative on the scale of David Pinkney's distinguished work (*The French Revolution of 1830* [1972]), but rather presents something like an extended essay whose approach "is thematic, asking how far the revolution can be seen as bourgeois, liberal, partisan, or anti-clerical" (p. ix). To this end, Pilbeam situates the revolution "in a broader chronological, geographical, and conceptual context than the political crisis alone" (p. 190). Indeed, in this work of 194 pages, only nineteen are devoted to the "three glorious days" of the successful Paris insurrection. Much of Pilbeam's attention is devoted instead to areas outside Paris and (with some reference to the general history of the Restoration) to a period extending roughly from the elections of 1827 to the consolidation of the July Monarchy and the repression of dissent in the early 1830s.

Pilbeam's mastery of the secondary literature and of standard printed primary sources is enriched with

archival materials, especially from the departments of the northeast. From this material she assembles considerable evidence about the questions she poses in her preface, generally although not exclusively to a negative effect. For example, the quite useful and succinct description of economic conditions and regional responses to the depression of 1827–32 demonstrates widespread suffering, unrest, and hostility to the government, yet Pilbeam concludes that all of this had little political effect in 1830 except in Paris (p. 58). While the experience of deprivation and anxiety about the immediate future might have contributed to an insurrection in which artisans predominated, the upper-class, “liberal,” or bourgeois opposition shared the government’s attitude toward economic policy so their opposition cannot be characterized as economic. She does, however, grant that “the industrial and commercial middle class may have been united in blaming the government for the crisis” (p. 131) although divided about what policies to pursue. This is a familiar response of voters who blame governments for economic downturns irrespective of policy.

Because the Restoration regime was constructed on a compromise with notables of various origins, accepted in principle even by the dignitaries of the liberal opposition, Pilbeam concludes: “There was no fundamental or structural reason why there should have been a revolution in 1830” (p. 187). Yet she provides many reasons, economic and political, why the resistance to the regime was endemic, culminating in the implacable opposition among the wealthier strata expressed through the electoral crisis from 1827 to 1830 and in the streets in response to the four ordinances of July.

Her rejection of explanations that assign a social content to the revolution is complicated by her recognition of the virtually universal contemporary characterization of the July Revolution and the regime it spawned as “bourgeois,” and by the fact that political behavior and political appointments were not randomly distributed across the social spectrum. Thus, although repudiating the Marxist model, she concludes that “1830 was self-consciously and assertively a bourgeois revolution,” confirming the ascension of “a traditional landed and professional middle class” (p. 194).

Pilbeam correctly remarks that the Restoration itself was to a large extent bourgeois in this sense, with “the notable exception of the Villèle ministry and the reign of Charles X” (p. 147). That exception was, I think, even more “notable” than she concedes. The regimes in power from the second Richelieu government in 1820 until the election of 1827, and again in the Polignac ministry of 1829–30, labored to dismantle Louis XVIII’s version of the Victorian compromise, which indeed attempted to assimilate middle-class notables into the Restoration settlement. The regime and the political elite that emerges from the July Revolution represented a social as well as a

political break with the government and social order that ruled France for more than half of the Restoration’s sixteen years.

This criticism leaves Pilbeam in the company of such distinguished authorities as Alfred Cobban (*France since the Revolution* [1972]) and Pinkney and amounts to a dissent from the authorized version.

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MICHAEL PAUL DRISKEL. *Representing Belief: Religion, Art, and Society in Nineteenth-Century France*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 282. \$48.50.

Visitors to Paris churches seeking an aesthetic experience of a high order are often confronted by art that most informed observers would judge to be mediocre. Readers of Michael Paul Driskel’s new book may not change their opinion about the artistic quality of the murals and paintings found in “the obscurity of dimly lit churches and museum basements” (p. 132), but as a result of his work they will no longer be able to dismiss this art as representing only “aesthetic vulgarity and bogus spirituality” (p. 2).

In his opening chapter Driskel frames his work with a contrast between art in a hieratic mode, characterized by “frontality, stasis, severity, and an emphatic reduction of pictorial illusionism” (p. 5), and naturalistic painting, a broad category linking artists as diverse as Eugene Delacroix and Gustave Courbet who are understood to share a concern for movement, the transient moment, and the sensual. These concepts were employed in an aesthetic debate between the “discursive formations” of ultramontanist and positivism (p. 68). As this language suggests, Driskel uses Michel Foucault as a theoretical guide, and he also cites Claude Lévi-Strauss and J. L. Austin. To judge by the results this eclectic approach was useful to Driskel, but his explicit handling of theory is at times obfuscating, and the two Greimasian semiotic quadrangles that close his introduction could easily have been discarded.

Driskel begins his substantive account with a review of the conflicts between church and state, a “cultural battleground” (p. 19) that provided the context for the aesthetic debate that is his principal theme. Even those familiar with these political and intellectual battles will learn a great deal from Driskel’s illustrations, drawn from both Salon art and popular lithographs, which convey the intensity of the fear and hatred involved in discussions about the church.

In his chapter on the “aesthetics of ultramontanist,” Driskel examines the nineteenth-century debate about the nature of Christian art. Critics such as Charles Montalembert called for an art that rejected the sensualism identified with the Renaissance, and in particular with Raphael, in favor of the piety and mysticism of the Middle Ages, exemplified in the art

of Fra Angelico. Although ultramontanist is familiar to historians of France, Driskel's research reveals an aesthetic dimension in their program that broadens our sense of their concerns.

Moving from the ideological work of the ultramontanists to artistic practice, Driskel finds the conservative Catholic posture displayed in paintings by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Victor Orsel, René Flandrin, and others. Although Driskel insists in his introduction that "the personal intentions of the artist . . . are of secondary importance" (p. 11), he spends substantial time examining and occasionally speculating on the religious and social beliefs of these artists. This may not be totally consistent with Austin's speech-act theory or with Foucault's decentering of the author, but it does suggest that the artists in question were explicitly influenced by the ideology of ultramontanist. Driskel is careful to point out that the stylistic attributes of the hieratic mode in some cases preceded their explicit literary formulation; no reductive argument is possible in which art would merely reproduce ideology, and he is both subtle and persuasive in weaving back and forth between the paintings and their various aesthetic, political, and social implications.

Driskel is less successful in delineating the naturalist mode, a more amorphous tradition unified primarily by the antagonism of the ultramontanists. He sees naturalism as promoting "an ideology of the triumphant bourgeoisie," but also and paradoxically as expressing "a willful negation of . . . the thoroughly bourgeois Aesthetics of Ultramontanist" (p. 166). It is hard to disentangle what Driskel means by this, and it appears as if the "cultural battleground" that seemed to divide France so deeply earlier in his book was only a family quarrel within the bourgeoisie, a term he invokes but does not examine critically. Driskel's conceptual sloppiness on this point does not prevent him from analyzing with great skill how Christ was appropriated by artists whose "naturalist" presentations were able to communicate a wide range of aesthetic and political messages.

Driskel concludes with an argument that the hieratic mode, and particularly the revival of interest in Byzantine art, fed into the avant-garde art of groups such as the Nabis who operated in *fin-de-siècle* France. The reaction against pictorial illusionism, identified as one of the central characteristics of modern art, is thus not only a reaction against naturalism but also a development out of the aesthetic theory and practice of ultramontanist. Art historians will certainly engage Driskel on this point, but his achievement should not be judged only on narrow art-historical grounds. Although it is occasionally dense and jargon-laden, this book is also a rich and provocative treatment of the intersection between religion, art, and society in nineteenth-century France.

THOMAS KSELMAN
University of Notre Dame

JAMES SMITH ALLEN. *In the Public Eye: A History of Reading in Modern France, 1800–1940*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 356. \$39.50.

Is it merely fortuitous that reading has emerged as an object of interest to historians at the same time as gloomy predictions about the end of print culture and of the book as we have known it? Although James Smith Allen does not share the pessimism of some recent prophets, he has devoted enormous energy to the construction of a vast mausoleum filled with information about every aspect of reading in France in the last century. This book is a work of considerable erudition. If you want to find out about the distribution and degree of literacy in nineteenth-century France, the newspaper business and the publishing trade, readers' written responses to literary works, public libraries, education, and the various contexts determining the selection and interpretation of reading matter, or representations of reading in art and in literature itself, as well as in less formal sources like letters and journals, it supplies you with ample documentation. The notes alone constitute an invaluable bibliography on all those topics. Allen appears to have consulted all the scholarship available on his various topics and to have kept resolutely up to date with the latest ideas of literary critics themselves. He makes good use, for example, of Stanley Fish's concept of "interpretive communities" (p. 310). Allen's eagerness to embrace as many current literary theories as possible, however, risks weakening the force of them all.

Although Allen provides much valuable factual information and some interesting figures, he is aware that reading is not something that can be investigated in a positivistic manner by accumulating facts and figures. Alert to recent developments in literary theory and evidently hoping to address a constituency of literary scholars as well as historians, he is sensitive to the qualitative aspect of reading, distinguishing carefully not only between literacy and reading but also among different kinds of reading. (No doubt it is also out of deference to contemporary theories of literature that he almost always writes of "texts" and sedulously avoids any reference to "works.")

Yet despite Allen's admirable concern to do justice to what is, as he himself demonstrates, a complex phenomenon, his book seems less than the significant contribution that so much research should have produced. It lacks a clear focus. It is not obvious exactly what "reading" is or what question is being asked about it. There are so many different kinds of "text," so many different ways and functions of reading, so many different contextual variables (class, gender, technology, economics, and so on), that the book fragments into its component parts. In the end, although one has been richly informed about literacy, education, the book market, the relations of writers and readers, the way artists have represented reading, and the uses of novels by different social groups

in nineteenth-century France, one is not sure what has actually been learned, unless it is only that—as the author declares in his conclusion—“historians have a new field to pursue” (p. 320). Perhaps it is as impossible to study “reading” as it is to study “society” without a fairly precise question or set of questions. Comprehensive and exhaustive description is an unattainable goal.

Students of literature will appreciate Allen’s evident desire to write for them as well as for his fellow historians. Those inclined to the most recent literary theories will be particularly responsive to an approach that resolutely removes literary works from their Olympian throne and places them firmly in the context of varied readerships with changing habits, expectations, and capacities. Literary scholars can learn from this history of reading not only that the text is “un nez de cire,” as Pierre Bayle declared several centuries ago, but also that their own activity does not occur in a vacuum.

In a time of democracy and consumerism, it is to be expected that readers should see themselves more and more as the focus of the literary enterprise. In the end, however, it is reading that moves the literary scholar, as opposed perhaps to the historian, not the history of reading. As Jean-Paul Sartre wrote in *La Nausée*, in a passage for which Allen gives a not altogether satisfactory translation, “Est-il seulement possible de penser à quelqu’un au passé?” (which I think means: “Is it even possible to think of someone in the past tense?” and not, as we read on page 196: “Is it possible only to think of someone in the distant past?”).

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FRITZ RINGER. *Fields of Knowledge: French Academic Culture in Comparative Perspective, 1890–1920*. New York: Cambridge University Press or Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, Paris. 1992. Pp. xiii, 379. \$64.95.

In this volume Fritz Ringer describes the French academic elite around the turn of the century in terms of its social basis and the “fields of knowledge” over which it held sway. He adopts Pierre Bourdieu’s definition of a “field” as a complex network of unequal relationships in which power is distributed among individuals and groups that share intellectual assumptions and practices (p. 5). To understand a field of knowledge thus construed, the historian is compelled to weigh its social and institutional as well as its intellectual aspects, as Ringer does in this challenging study.

With this book, Ringer has returned to a subject that he first explored in *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890–1933* (1969). He noted then that a status elite of university professors, drawn from the middle class,

upheld its prestige in the nineteenth century largely through an ideology and practice of personal cultivation known as *Bildung*, quite distinct from French *civilisation*, which Germans considered superficial. But late in the century industrial entrepreneurs and proletarians brought utilitarian and materialistic values to center stage in Germany, a development that tended to marginalize the academic elite. In his present work, Ringer asks whether the French academic elite experienced a similar trajectory for the same reason: rising prestige followed by decline in the face of industrialization and shifting public values. He concludes that French academics, far more attuned to shifting social and political realities and more engaged in shaping republican political ideology, did not become marginalized, but proceeded to reshape curricula, imposing a reformed *culture générale* on secondary schools and an empirically based history and literature program on a *Nouvelle Sorbonne*.

This study’s comparative method not only highlights the differences between French and German academic discourse but also lends credence to Ringer’s contention that such discourse is explicable only in its social, political, and institutional context. Yet although he is “aiming at an historical sociology of knowledge” (p. 18), he admits that this book is essentially synchronic and comparative (p. 247). Drawing on a wealth of literature on the social history of education in Europe, including his own *Education and Society in Modern Europe* (1979) and *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social Reproduction* (with Detlef K. Muller and Brian Simon, 1987), he sketches the social basis of the French academic elite, makes comparisons with Germany and Britain, and delineates the vertical and horizontal segmentation of their educational systems. He then argues convincingly that these systems and their associated “fields of knowledge” are relatively autonomous and self-perpetuating, that they shape as well as reflect their social contexts.

Rather than basing his argument on a broad sampling of academics in France, Ringer relies heavily on a dozen prominent witnesses who testified before the Ribot Commission of 1899, which was considering reforms in the secondary curriculum that would effectively democratize secondary and higher education. Conservatives such as Ferdinand Brunetière and Georges Perrot supported the traditional classical curriculum, which in practice limited access to the university, whereas reformers as diverse as Jean Jaurès, Ernest Lavisse, and Charles Seignobos favored granting parity between the traditional curriculum and modern studies (science and modern languages).

Ringer shows that while social and political motives lay behind the curricular debate, much of the actual discourse turned on hermeneutical theories about the accessibility of ancient texts to modern readers. For instance, Gustave Lanson, a partisan of reform, assumed that classical literary texts were inaccessible to

anyone unless they were placed in their historical context and seen as part of a distinct civilization. History, therefore, should be the centerpiece of education. Yet traditionalists, maintaining that literature should remain the core of the curriculum, believed that classical texts were indeed directly accessible, but only to a small minority of the actually or potentially "civilized." Ringer plunges us into complex thickets of debate on this issue, which, with German comparisons, is an important thread in his linking of intellectual, social, and political history under the rubric of a "field of knowledge."

The book's argument with respect to France gains much from the German comparison. Although it seems ironic that German *Bildung*, with its stress on "individual uniqueness and diversity" (p. 146), should have proved more impervious to social and political change than French *civilisation*, which produced a more uniformly refined *honnête homme* rooted in the Enlightenment, Ringer furnishes convincing reasons, both intrinsic and contextual. Finally, not the least of this book's virtues is that it should tempt others to work toward a genuinely historical sociology of knowledge spanning longer periods.

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MAURICE LEVY-LEBOYER and FRANÇOIS BOURGUIGNON. *The French Economy in the Nineteenth Century: An Essay in Econometric Analysis*. Translated by JESSE BRYANT and VIRGINIE PEROTIN. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1990. Pp. xv, 369. \$69.50.

The appearance of this study by Maurice Levy-Leboyer and François Bourguignon bodes as an event of some import to students of the economic history of modern France, principally for two reasons. These are identified by the authors in the preface as follows (p. xiii): "After a long iterative process of econometric modelling and of methodological revisions in the construction of the data set, coherent national accounts reasonably detailed by economic function and by main sectors could be obtained. That is the first contribution of this work. However, during the process it appeared that the approach chosen could be taken further to open a genuine reinterpretation of historical hypotheses." Thus, the book's claim to originality rests on two bases. First, it makes accessible a quantitative data base of economic time-series statistics for the period from the third decade of the nineteenth century to the eve of World War I, much of which had not previously been available in print. Second, the authors' approach is more avowedly cliometric in methodology than just about any other treatment of French economic history in the modern period. In short, it seeks to be both valuable and innovative.

Although the chapter numeration of this transla-

tion differs from that of the French original, the books are otherwise identical in every detail. Substantively the book is comprised of four sections, the first of which, "Historical Hypotheses," corresponds to part 1 in the contents. Part 2, "Econometric Analysis," really constitutes two distinct sections, the first of which consists of the specification of the authors' chosen model, and the functional relationships within it, while the other is devoted to simulations of the nineteenth-century French economy. The data series gathered together in the appendix represents the fourth section of the book.

Despite its putative dedication to the examination of historical hypotheses, it is not obvious that the book's first part will be of profound relevance to readers of this journal. Indeed, it is not altogether clear to me what purposes are served by this section. It includes discussions of consumption, international competition, and investment, but where do they lead? As the authors remark at the conclusion of this 100-page exploration, "the problem appears again in practically the same terms as it was posed at the beginning of this assessment" (p. 105).

What does emerge from this section is the authors' subperiodization for their "nineteenth century," here defined as the period from 1820 to 1913. The subperiods revealed by their analysis of the data consist of a phase of slower industrialization, 1860–87, sandwiched between the other phases that exhibit higher rates of growth, that is, 1820–60 and 1887–1913. The identification of these subperiods is determined strictly by the authors' reading of the underlying data, and in turn this periodization drives much of the rest of their subsequent analysis. As this division does not correlate well with any other larger parameters—political chronology, for example—not all readers are likely to be entirely comfortable with it.

The next two sections represent the authors' excursion into cliometric methodology. In chapters 4 and 5, Levy-Leboyer and Bourguignon present the econometric model they have selected, and their specifications of it. Purporting to be a macroeconomic growth model, it is not clear that it is either, as it neither exhibits the normal macroeconomic focus on such aggregates as the general level of prices, employment, or investment, nor does it rest on any microeconomic foundation, a requisite to any meaningful growth model. Be that as it may, the major conclusion to emerge from this section is, evidently, that the theoretical model is found to validate the empirical data base: "we can conclude that the data collected for this study form a generally consistent statistical base for the description and analysis of the economy in the nineteenth century" (p. 195).

The simulations in chapter 6 do generate some interesting results, particularly regarding the role of foreign trade and investment, but they are not brought to bear on the larger issues of French economic historiography. Over the past decade and a half, for example, the literature on that subject has

been roiled principally by the controversy over the course and nature of French industrial growth and economic performance. Levy-Leboyer and Bourguignon, essentially without acknowledging the existence of these issues, simply accept the older tradition uncritically, and leave it at that (see, for example, p. 107). Although one might well have expected this debate to be central to the exercise they have conducted, instead of seeking to advance the discussion the authors turn neither their data nor their methodology to that end.

Despite its authors' aspirations, this book does not advance any significant reinterpretation, genuine or otherwise. It does, however, score solidly on their other mark: the quantitative data it makes available is certain to prove of real value and lasting interest to professional historians whose purview includes the economic history of modern France. For this contribution, they are due our gratitude.

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SARAH FISHMAN. *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War, 1940–1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xxii, 253. \$35.00.

This book probes the collective experience of some 800,000 French women whose husbands were captured by the Nazis during the Battle of France in 1940. These married men were about half of the 1.5 million French soldiers interned in Germany as prisoners of war and deployed in industrial labor until the war in Europe concluded in 1945. The prisoners' wives abruptly found themselves in a novel and unpleasant situation, distinct from that of war widows, although equally the victims of circumstances beyond their immediate control.

In this graceful and well-crafted first book, Sarah Fishman speaks at once to issues in women's history and to the politics of gender and class in a time of national crisis. She examines the women's daily lives and their own attempts to organize and to define a politically effective collective identity. She also analyzes competing cultural representations of the prisoners' wives and the development of state policies affecting them. Fishman sets her empirical findings intelligently and sensitively within the broader historiographical literature on twentieth-century war and sociopolitical change.

Two chapters examine the circumstances of the French defeat and the captures, placing the issue of prisoners within the framework of post-armistice Franco-German relations and the patriarchal attitudes of the Vichy regime. A chapter on "the daily lives of prisoner of war wives" explores (through questionnaires and personal interviews) the women's own understanding of their situation and details how they lived and managed their own and their chil-

dren's survival. Fishman provides a somber account of depression, fatigue, and anxiety, of added responsibilities of all kinds with diminished resources for meeting them. Added to this were the obvious communication problems with imprisoned husbands, disagreements with parents and in-laws, lack of support or solidarity, shortages of food, clothing, and supplies, and, of course, the endless waiting.

Fishman found that the social agencies dealing with POW wives, such as the privately established *Famille du prisonnier*, practiced an unrelieved paternalism as they intervened in the lives of their clients, at the same time carefully maintaining class status and distinctions: "Everyone assumed that, as women, prisoners' wives needed outside direction" (p. 88). What ensued was a series of turf battles between official and private agencies that provide comic relief to an otherwise very sober narrative, up to the point that Vichy collaborationists attempted to politicize all the groups. A chapter on the *Fédération des associations de femmes de prisonniers* (FAFP) is of particular interest for the light it sheds on the possibilities for female solidarity in a situation where women of varying religious, economic, and political backgrounds were brought together solely by their husbands' temporary status. Differing public representations of these "waiting wives" are surveyed in a subsequent chapter.

A final chapter, detailing the prisoners' return and their reception in France, eloquently describes the problems of adjustment, getting reacquainted, and renewing relationships with spouses and children. Based on available figures and testimony, Fishman estimates that about 90 percent of POW couples succeeded in reestablishing their marriages, but she also leaves the impression that wifely deference was required to salvage many of those marriages that remained intact.

Fishman's findings clearly indicate that, for the most part, "normalcy" was quickly reestablished and the prisoners' wives reverted to lives of conventional values and domesticity. She repeatedly emphasizes that the bulk of her evidence forced her to rethink her initial hypothesis concerning the women's potential for self-emancipation. Especially as concerns the leadership and membership of the FAFP, the dominant theme that emerged was the women's shaping of their position as their husbands' delegates or deputies, not as women emancipated or personally empowered by their sudden emergence from male control in marriage. "Women's liberation"—whether through employment or sexual independence—was not the liberation these women sought.

There are many other questions to be asked about this cohort of French women, especially as concerns the shaping of their cultural values and attitudes in the wake of World War I and their seeming lack of any consciously feminist analytical framework, even though they all lived under oppressive marriage laws in the birthplace of *féminisme*. These women were, after all, the peers or younger contemporaries of

Simone de Beauvoir, but they did not inhabit the same mental universe.

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ROBERT L. FROST. *Alternating Currents: Nationalized Power in France, 1946–1970*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 285. \$37.50.

In this challenging book, Robert L. Frost describes the history of the public power monopoly, *Electricité de France* (EDF). A “heroic” creation of the postwar nationalization movement, EDF’s idealistic organizers expected it to become both economic energizer and social model. The author concludes that the utility largely succeeded in the first respect but fell short in the second. This is a vigorously argued and solidly researched monograph on a little-discussed subject of great historical interest. Yet it must be approached with some caution.

Frost is sympathetic to public control of industry and eager to prove that, regarding EDF, it has been successful. He inadvertently weakens his case for this success, however, by demonstrating in an attack on “technological Darwinism” that the utility’s Polytechnique-educated managers repeatedly made bad business decisions: in the early 1950s EDF should have chosen to develop hydroelectric power instead of coal; the firm’s reliance on oil proved to be its undoing after 1974; the enterprise should have adopted natural uranium reactors designed by the French atomic energy commission instead of light water reactors patented by Westinghouse and General Electric; and, finally, EDF would have been well-advised to limit reactor construction to current rather than projected future requirements, thus avoiding the overcapacities of the 1980s.

Frost’s case for EDF’s efficiency rests singularly on the fact that “no other [French] firm could claim an almost 9 percent annual growth in worker output” (p. 133). The conclusion means little in light of widespread postwar overstaffing. Moreover, the author makes only passing reference to the issue of government subsidies and provides no assessment of their overall importance in EDF operations; one never learns whether the utility was in fact profitable. Nor is the reader supplied with comparisons of cost, reliability, productivity, profitability, or growth. Without such information, it is impossible to determine whether, for instance, private power producers might have done better than EDF.

Frost’s judgment that, socially, EDF was a failure also needs qualification. *Electricité de France* never became a laboratory for industrial democracy because practices such as the codetermination provided for in the 1947 labor statute soon lost all meaning. Neither employees nor union leaders were notably dissatisfied with things as they were, however. The EDF affiliates of the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT)

subscribed wholeheartedly to the productivism of management and remained meliorist long after having been roused from successive administrative redoubts built up after the war. In May 1968 CGT did call a strike of electrical utility workers, but it was against rather than in favor of the student radicals behind the barricades. Only later did syndicate officials first realize that the general unrest could be put to the services of a wage increase.

The few shortcomings of Frost’s analysis by no means undermine the study’s great value. This book reveals that EDF became a privileged state within a state. Its fortunate denizens enjoyed complete job security, the protection of the best benefits package in French industry, rich opportunities for professional development, easy access to a social escalator, and subsidized housing in special compounds near the plant. No wonder that on the shop floor “class warfare” was absent and meritocratic values were generally accepted. Challenges to EDF came, as Frost might have stated more explicitly, not from within but from without: they stemmed from taxpayers, rate-payers, suppliers, and would-be competitors.

Yet in the end EDF triumphed. Whereas in 1946 it was a technocratic island isolated amidst roiling currents of nineteenth-century political ideology, by 1968 it had become interwoven in that dense and complicated network of tutelary ministries, public and private banks, *Régies*, large corporations, chambers of commerce, cartels, and other government-encouraged enterprises that together comprise France, Inc. This difficult but rewarding work contains material of great interest about the modernization process that has transformed French life over the past forty-five years. It deserves careful reading.

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JAVIER RUBIO. *España y la Guerra de 1870*. In three volumes. (Biblioteca Diplomática Española, second series; Historia de la política exterior de España en la época contemporánea, number 1.) Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores. 1989. Pp. 1113.

Odd gaps appear in the modern history of Spain. While Raymond Carr’s *Spain 1808–1975* (1975) provides a good general framework, and subsequent works on loss of empire (1814–38) have formulated a new understanding of national psychology, little else save economic history and demography has recently discussed the nineteenth century.

Of these unstudied decades, the 1860s and 1870s are the most obscure, even though events in Cuba rose to crisis proportions and federalism, anarchism, and other ideological politics challenged survival of traditional Spain and the crude liberalism that had pushed absolutism aside in the 1830s without creating major social change.

Javier Rubio's three volumes on the Spanish monarchical search that led to the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 may, at first glance, appear to be too traditional for modern taste. Progress in historical study, however, comes in many forms, and even the most theoretical works of the 1990s sometimes use traditional sources. Basic historiographical work, after all, provides a clear basis for later arguments and applications.

Rubio's works constitute a large diplomatic history, with a major focus on elites, and so are a part of the traditionalist genre. They are, however, more thorough and less eclectic than many earlier works by Spanish historians, and his study provides a panorama of Spain in the late 1860s based on a strong context provided by examination of the Spanish Foreign Office and all its diplomatic exchanges. His discussion of the leading candidates for the throne—Montpensier, Coburg, and Aosta, to say nothing about the host of other candidates and pretenders—reveals the hopeless level of court politics and the endless, mindless ambition of the chief participants. His thesis links sociopolitical behavior of the time with the long survival of *hidalgo* from the early modern period in a society still troubled by the ancient Habsburg collapse.

The second volume deals directly with the development of the Franco-Prussian diplomatic conflict. The interesting General Juan Prim y Prats, leader of the junta that had replaced Isabel II in 1868, played a more confusing, duplicitous role than previously understood. French diplomatic ties with Spain, very strong since 1838, are reevaluated and are of far greater importance in Rubio's work than any previous analysis. The French had devoted decades to dislodging Britain in Iberia, and even though Louis Napoleon misjudged and neglected the degree of French economic power in Spain, the threat of a German presence in Madrid rapidly became a scare of enormous proportions in Paris.

Of interest in the coverage of Germany in these tense negotiations is the Spanish effort to obtain German financing for a series of projects and to develop a more active Hispano-German trade relationship in general, as well as the able exploitation of the situation by the German government, trade officials, and private businessmen. Much of this is vital in understanding the later Hispano-German diplomatic negotiations of the late 1870s and early 1880s.

The third volume contains essential diplomatic documents, primarily those of the Spanish Foreign Office, which are rarer than the Franco-Prussian notes better known to diplomatic historians. In this age of egocentric interpretation, the appearance of published documents is almost novel.

The net impact of Rubio's work clarifies the strains running through Spanish society as it approached the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He provides a solid base for further research necessary to resolve the murky condition of late-nineteenth-century Span-

ish historiography, even though social history can be dug out of it only with some effort, and there are many areas not considered in his diplomatic historical approach.

Nevertheless, the decay of the *ancien régime* is examined so thoroughly that it makes the subsequent disappearance of nobles and would-be monarchs understandable in a way not available until now. At the same time, Spain was abandoned by the European powers that had dominated Madrid since 1808. The country was diplomatically isolated, unable to attract German patronage in the 1880s, and distinctly junior to France in Morocco after 1904. Even Francisco Franco's later alliance with the Axis was at arm's length. Spain after 1871 could only confront itself when the rest of Europe abandoned unprofitable and passionately difficult European nations for overseas empire. The strange emptiness of the national scene during the next few years of the constitutional monarchy and First Republic represents the first time Spain had only itself to contemplate, and Rubio's work thus constitutes a real point of origin for contemporary Spanish history.

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WALTHER L. BERNECKER. *Krieg in Spanien, 1936–1939*. Darmstadt, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. 1991. Pp. 261. DM 42.00.

This book on the Spanish Civil War should be subtitled "An Essay in Historiography." Every university library that grants the Ph.D. should order this guide to the complex story of the Spanish Civil War. The substantive chapters survey published sources rather than recount the deeds of decision makers and fighters. Walther L. Bernecker summarizes the major ideas of Hugh Thomas, Stanley Payne, Paul Preston, and dozens of other Spaniards, Americans, Britons, and Germans. Bernecker's five main chapters focus on the military, international, political, socio-economic, and cultural dimensions of the civil war.

His chapter on the military follows the paths of Thomas, Payne, Manuel Tuñón de Lara, and Jesús Salas Larrazábal and Ramón Salas Larrazábal. Bernecker reproduces a table from Ramón Salas's work (*Historia del ejército popular de la República*, 4 vols. [1973]) showing that in July 1936 the number of Republican troops was larger than the rebels. This table is misleading. The military reality for the Republicans was that the better-trained troops they had on paper in July soon disappeared. The government had to rebuild an army using untrained and under-supplied militia units of various labor unions, plus the international brigades.

The chapter on the international dimension includes East German Marxist works some historians ignore. Bernecker naturally emphasizes the importance of the German role. A persuasive table deals

with the still controversial size of the international brigades.

The chapter on politics concentrates on the ideological parties rather than on the men who ran the mass organizations. More attention should have been paid to party size and the decisive events that led to the victories or defeats of the parties. The chapter on socioeconomic aspects of the war emphasizes the unsuccessful attempts of the leftists to make revolutionary and collective experiments work. Few production figures are given.

The chapter on ideologies and culture provides a thorough account of the many books written by Spanish Catholics claiming that Catholicism was the basic foundation of Francoist ideology. The skeptic would ask that a greater distinction be made between Francisco Franco of the 1936–43 period and the later chief of state. Twelve pages are devoted to literature on Catholic issues and only ten pages to secular culture, whether fascist, leftist, or neutral. Almost nothing appears about the new scholarship coming out in Spain on the Masons. More works on the Falange and the Communists, however, are cited in Bernecker's political chapter.

The reasonably comprehensive bibliography lists about 165 secondary works, mostly written since the end of World War II. Unfortunately, several dozen other important works, especially articles cited in the footnotes, do not appear again in the bibliography. More attention should have been drawn to those books and articles that use archives as opposed to offering syntheses.

Bernecker's emphasis on the key role of Portugal is excellent, but he has little on Italy. Only two works in Italian and one in French are listed in the bibliography, although about five important French works are also cited in the notes. The bibliography and notes are satisfactory for most of the major powers, but underline a real problem: the small amount of French scholarship on the Spanish Civil War.

Ironically, that war had a greater impact on France than on any other country except Spain. The victories of Franco, Adolf Hitler, and Benito Mussolini in Spain weakened France on the eve of World War II. Bernecker implies that French academics are still embarrassed about the social crisis fifty years ago south of the Pyrenees. Perhaps bias by this author, educated in Germany, may be partly to blame, because Pierre Broué and Emile Temime's *La révolution et la guerre d'Espagne* (1971), the closest we have to a French Hugh Thomas, is ignored. Nor is there mention of Simone Weil, the French moralist who served in the war.

Even fewer Russian works are listed, but many of the American, British, Spanish, and German authors cited have explored the activities of the Comintern from 1935 to 1939 in depth. With Comintern archives opening up in the new Russian commonwealth, Russian historians may yet make a major

contribution to the historical understanding of the Spanish Civil War.

Bernecker has an excellent appendix describing archives in several countries, particularly in Spain. As a reference work, this book is weakened by the lack of a comprehensive index. There are, however, five useful maps.

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LAUREN BENTON. *Invisible Factories: The Informal Economy and Industrial Development in Spain*. (Anthropology of Work.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1990. Pp. xii, 231. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$16.95.

Lauren Benton's original and fascinating account of the emergence of the informal economy in Spain forms part of the State University of New York's series on the anthropology of work. The book is built around two contrasting case studies: the electronics industry on the outskirts of Madrid and the Alicante shoe industry. The former, which manufactures medium-quality circuitry for many of Spain's leading electronics companies, is portrayed as moving haltingly toward a pattern that incorporates some high-tech cottage industry. By comparison, the latter, which turns out parts of high-fashion shoes for export to Europe and the United States; depends on sweatshop labor in order to remain competitive in international markets.

As Benton informs us in her challenging introduction, decentralization and unregulated forms of production, which are characteristic of these and other recent developments, were once viewed as constituting backward and anomalous behavior. Classical economists, including Marx, considered the increasing scale of production and its progressive centralization as inherent features of capitalist growth. Her own conclusion is that no superior logic dictates how the profile of industry must evolve. The process will always be contingent on local political, social, and cultural forces that deserve to be placed at the center of economic analysis.

Earlier writing on the rise of the informal sector in Italy during the 1970s tended to interpret it as a product of industrialists' responses to mounting worker militancy. Seeking to avert further damaging conflicts with the unions, while at the same time reducing total labor costs, big companies chose to decentralize production by subcontracting certain tasks. Later studies, particularly of the exporting firms of Emilia Romagna, argued the advantages of a more fragmented and semi-informal industrial structure, not least the ability of employers to expand and contract their labor force in response to shifts in demand and to organize both production and the use of technology in line with changes in style.

With regard to Benton's analysis of the Spanish

economy, I have two minor quibbles. First, she ignores the thriving black economy known as the *estraperlo* which characterized the years of autarky (1939–59). Second, can Spain really be classified as a newly industrializing country in the 1960s and 1970s? That said, her interpretation of how Spanish industry reacted to the crisis of the mid–1970s, the plight of female outworkers, the conservative behavior of the nascent trade union movement, and the ambivalence of the Spanish authorities to the rapid growth of the informal sector is both informative and convincing.

Benton's highly revealing case studies appear to argue that in the shoe industry the fact that a large proportion of the industrial outwork is done by women workers has had a direct bearing on the dynamics of growth since it limited the contribution that outworkers can make to innovative changes, whereas in the electronic workshops of the Spanish capital groups of workers, bound by friendship and shared experience in factory employment, were better placed to improve their position within the industrial structure and contribute directly to such matters as product design.

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SØREN BALLE. *Statsfinanserne på Christian 3.s tid* [The State's Finances during the Era of Christian III]. Århus, Denmark: Århus Universitetsforlag. 1992. Pp. 578. 338.00 KR.

This is a superlative study that combines statistical analysis, economic and political history, and historiography into a coherent synthesis. Specifically, it provides greater insight into the economic condition of the Danish crown in the mid-sixteenth century. More generally, it adds to our knowledge of the kingdom as a whole. This includes not only Denmark proper but also all of the territories ruled over by Christian III (1534–59): Schleswig-Holstein, Scania and its adjacent provinces (then integral parts of the kingdom), Gotland, Norway, Iceland, and the Faroes. As Søren Balle points out, Christian III's Denmark was stronger economically than Sweden under his contemporary, Gustav Vasa.

Limitations of space preclude a detailed discussion of the many concrete questions examined in the study. Suffice it to say that Balle has provided the best understanding of Danish royal finances that is currently available for Christian III's reign. The work contains detailed analysis of the crown's income and expenses, despite the absence of systematic accounts prior to 1551. Balle accomplishes this by using the crown's debt, including all payments of principal and interest plus new loans, as well as revenue earned from the sale of royal property, to determine the crown's total budget for income and expenditures year by year.

On the basis of his detailed statistics, Balle draws a

number of interesting conclusions. Three in particular are worth noting. First, he denies that sixteenth-century economic considerations varied greatly from modern ones, and he shows that Christian III was fully aware of monetary theories.

Balle also takes issue with the long-established tradition, in both literature and history, that the defeat of the peasant army by Christian III's mercenaries in the Count's War was the death blow to the free peasants in Jutland. Balle maintains that the king followed a more moderate policy than previously assumed, allowing many peasants to retain freeholder status. Balle does not deny that the number of free peasants was reduced dramatically by the end of the century. He attributes this, however, primarily to the severe taxes imposed by Christian's successor, Frederick II, during and after the Seven Years' War of the north.

Finally, he shows convincingly how time after time Christian III used his economic power as the primary means of achieving his political ends. The author maintains that it is incorrect to regard the whole period from 1523 to 1660 as the traditional "age of the nobility" ("*adelsvaelden*") inasmuch as the nobles frequently were outmaneuvered by the crown during these years. This certainly was true in the reign of Christian III. He used his control of crown revenues masterfully. Balle concludes that while the king had his negative sides, Christian III deserves a better reputation or at least a more impartial assessment than he has often received.

The book's English summary detracts from this otherwise excellent work. A careful reading by a native speaker could have eliminated a number of unfortunate grammatical errors. More importantly, since the summary is intended for non-Danish readers, its value would have been enhanced had it contained more background information concerning Christian III's reign and more detailed explanations of uniquely Danish terms.

Balle supplements his text with a series of statistical appendixes, covering more than 150 pages (pp. 396–555). Included here are tables listing the crown's debts, income, loans, interest payments, expenses, peasant and town taxes, revenue obtained from the nobility, and the ships of the navy and their crews. Graphs are also provided, showing the total debt, expenditures, interest payments, loans, income, and cereal prices.

The bibliography reveals detailed use of sources, both primary and secondary. Unpublished data come largely from the collections of Rigsarkivet in Copenhagen. Balle has provided one of the most thorough indexes that I can recall having observed in any Scandinavian historical study. It actually is four indexes in one, divided into sections of persons, historians and contemporary figures, place names, and ships' names.

In summary, this is a highly valuable addition to Danish history in the sixteenth century. Although

some of Balle's specific conclusions, especially statistical ones, will no doubt be disputed, his work will rank as a standard source for many years.

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ANTON SCHINDLING. *Die Anfänge des Immerwährenden Reichstags zu Regensburg: Ständevertretung und Staatskunst nach dem Westfälischen Frieden*. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung Universalgeschichte, number 143; Beiträge zur Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte des Alten Reiches, number 11.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 1991. Pp. viii, 276. DM 78.

To many students of early modern German history, the "Eternal Diet" of Regensburg (1663–1806) remains one of the most obvious symbols of the political decrepitude and futility of the Holy Roman Empire, an assembly mired in interminable and continuous debate over meaningless issues and consisting of the quarrelsome representatives of German territorial rulers who were too contemptuous of the Diet's proceedings to honor it with their own presence. Anton Schindling, however, attempts in this book to illuminate the important causes and results of the permanency assumed by the Diet in the twenty crucial years following its initial convocation in 1663, with particularly strong results for the eighteenth century. In doing so, he advances a complex argument that casts new light on some accepted generalizations and lends new significance to at least the formative years of the Diet.

First, Schindling demonstrates that although the timing of the convocation of the Diet was determined by Emperor Leopold I's immediate need for German assistance against the Turks, its chief task from the beginning was assumed to be consideration of unfinished business relating to the constitutional structure and procedures of the empire left over from the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 (and from the Regensburg Diet of 1653–54). No one anticipated a quick disposal of these numerous and very controversial issues, which were expected to result in fundamental reforms, and underneath all the urgent debates called forth by real crises of one kind or another these long-term constitutional issues were the real reason for the Diet's long duration.

Second, the author argues that such reforms were expected (and intended by the Peace of Westphalia) to strengthen the territorial estates' control of the empire at the expense of the emperor's authority. The latter, however, employed a shrewd policy of opposition to "innovations" based on strict observance of imperial tradition and the terms of the Peace of Westphalia (especially its religious provisions). He was thus able not only to turn aside or smother all important initiatives hostile to his imperial and dynastic interests, but also gradually to restore the imperial

court's leadership role in the empire, which had been compromised over the course of the Thirty Years' War. Cleverly playing off the countless interest groups in the Diet against each other while appearing to champion the impartial rule of law and inveterate custom, the emperor slowly gained a new credibility within the empire. This, Schindling proposes, was indispensable to the remarkable revival of the fortunes of the House of Austria in the dangerous international climate of the later seventeenth century.

Finally, the author addresses the supposed legislative fecklessness and unproductiveness of the Diet by suggesting that its very permanence made up for the lack of major permanent legislation. Continuous deliberation and repeated partial legislation over many years, in other words, may have provided as good a response to its problems as the empire, given its nature, could ever hope for. Based on exhaustive archival research, Schindling's work brings forth perspectives and conclusions of greater importance than its title (or subtitle) may suggest; it is, in fact, a noteworthy addition to the historiography of both the Holy Roman empire and the House of Habsburg in the seventeenth century.

JOHN G. GAGLIARDO
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RUDOLF BOCH. *Grenzenloses Wachstum? Das rheinische Wirtschaftsbürgertum und seine Industrialisierungsdebatte 1814–1857*. (Bürgertum: Beiträge zur europäischen Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 3.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1991. Pp. 443. DM 89.

German liberalism of the first half of the nineteenth century has often been understood as a laissez-faire movement of a capitalist bourgeoisie, intent on creating the necessary conditions for industrialization and economic growth. In recent years a revised picture, first suggested by Lothar Gall and James Sheehan, has seen liberals as skeptical of occupational freedom and economic growth, hostile to industrialization and the accompanying development of a propertyless proletariat, and preferring instead a society of small and medium-sized property owners. While this new view has gained broad scholarly acceptance, the older version still seems more appropriate for a major regional center of German liberalism, the Rhineland.

Rhenish liberalism, by the mid-1840s and in the revolution of 1848 a leading element of central European liberalism, was largely a movement of merchants and manufacturers who supported occupational freedom, aggressively advocated industrialization, and were willing to accept the existence of a large working class as a result of their policies. Rudolf Boch's book, an intensive and detailed investigation of the economic ideas of the Rhenish bourgeoisie during the first half of the nineteenth century, based primarily on the contemporary trade and commercial press, is situated in the midst of this discussion about

the relationship between liberal ideas about the economy and society and the development of capitalism in Germany.

Boch argues that the years around 1830 marked a sharp transition in the economic and social ideas of Rhenish businessmen. Before then they had accepted the idea of an "equilibrium" between commerce, industry, and agriculture (p. 73). Manufacturing would have a limited place in society, and those who worked in it would be either outworkers, small property-owning peasants, or urban artisans organized in some corporate fashion. The British model of unrestricted industrialization and a large and socially dangerous working class was firmly rejected. In effect, businessmen had developed a regional variation on the German liberal theme of a society of small and medium-sized property owners.

Both the political turmoil of 1830 and the coming to maturity of a new generation of entrepreneurs led to the development of a fundamentally different perspective in the two subsequent decades. Increasingly, businessmen thought in terms of rapid economic growth through unrestricted industrialization. This development would be characterized by the aggressive building of railroads, the creation of an iron and steel industry through the exploitation of the enormous and still largely untapped coal reserves of the Ruhr basin, and the mechanization of textile manufacturing. In advancing these ideas, merchants and manufacturers broke with older notions of an equilibrium between economic sectors and asserted the economic, and ultimately the political, priority of industry. Advocating industrialization meant accepting the existence of a large, propertyless working class and designing ways to keep it from exercising political influence. These ideas formed the basis for pre-1850 Rhenish liberalism, emerging from this new attitude toward economic growth. The actual, post-1850 industrialization of the region followed largely along the lines of the ideas of the previous two decades.

Boch's perspective sheds new light on a wide variety of topics, ranging from the conflicts between free traders and protectionists (he sees these as generally exaggerated), to the formation of a regional capitalist class, to the origins of social policy in Germany, to labor relations in the 1848 revolution. His book is, admittedly, written in a less than sparkling style, but the careful and attentive reader will be richly rewarded.

JONATHAN SPERBER
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GERHARD A. RITTER and KLAUS TENFELDE. *Arbeiter im Deutschen Kaiserreich 1871 bis 1914*. (Geschichte der Arbeiter und der Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts, number 5.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1992. Pp. xi, 889.

Gerhard A. Ritter and Klaus Tenfelde's massive book is part of a projected eleven-volume survey of the history of German workers and the German labor movement from the end of the eighteenth century to the collapse of the Weimar Republic. Like Jürgen Kocka and Heinrich August Winkler, their collaborators in this ambitious undertaking, Ritter and Tenfelde are eminently qualified for the task they have set themselves. They draw on their own numerous earlier publications in labor history as well as on their impressive command of the literature of the field. Extensive knowledge of the work of other labor historians is reflected in their footnotes, which provide a gold mine of bibliographical information on a wide variety of topics concerning the lives of workers.

Having assumed responsibility within the larger enterprise for coverage of the Second Reich, Ritter and Tenfelde have reserved consideration of working-class political organizations, cooperatives, unions, and strikes in Imperial Germany for future volumes. In the present volume, they focus on the development of a German working class rather than on the institutions created to struggle in its name. Although discussion of labor organizations has been largely excluded, the material the book contains has been selected with an eye to providing a basis for explaining why German workers organized when and how they did.

In their examination of working-class history, Ritter and Tenfelde focus primarily on large-scale structural changes that shaped the lives of German workers and the society in which they lived. The authors give much more attention to anonymous forces than to the initiatives and subjective experiences of individual workers. Ritter and Tenfelde have scoured the various statistical series available for the last pre-World War I decades and provide numerous tables summarizing the quantifiable dimensions of working-class existence. Their account is more of a class being made than of a class making itself.

Toward *Alltagsgeschichte*, with its emphasis on the everyday experiences of ordinary individuals, Ritter and Tenfelde are cautious. They stress the problem of locating adequate sources for an experiential approach. Not only are first-hand worker accounts limited in number and often in representativeness but also, Ritter and Tenfelde contend, contemporary observers were frequently unaware of the underlying long-term changes that determined their fate.

Ritter and Tenfelde seek to give balanced coverage of both positive and negative developments under the Second Reich. In spite of the grim conditions under which most German workers continued to live, significant improvements did occur in the lives of many during the prewar decades. The authors detail both the rising real wages and shorter hours as well as greater security and expanding horizons for urban laborers. But Ritter and Tenfelde conclude that in spite of such advances, the product of economic growth and purposeful reform, workers under the

Reich experienced increased relative deprivation both socially and politically. The authors emphasize the failure of those who controlled the German state to accept measures facilitating meaningful political and social integration of an emergent working class.

In comparing German developments with those of other industrialized societies, Ritter and Tenfelde give more emphasis to what was unique about Imperial Germany than to what it had in common with other capitalist states. In particular, they stress what they see as the very different experiences of German and English workers, with most advantages credited to the English side. In making their comparisons, the authors argue for the importance of Germany's peculiar political institutions in shaping a working class they believe was distinctive above all in its social and political segregation.

Ritter and Tenfelde's study is impressively wide-ranging, encompassing domestic servants, farm laborers, and craftspeople, in addition to giving extended consideration to various kinds of skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled industrial workers throughout Germany. Women and children are included, as are both city and country dwellers. In their attempt to be as comprehensive as possible, the authors remind us of the difficulty of writing about a topic as diverse as the German working class. Since so much labor history focuses on particular groups of workers—whether of a single industry, region, city, or enterprise—Ritter and Tenfelde's well-informed, judicious effort to synthesize the findings of the many specialized studies now available is most welcome.

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HERMANN BECKSTEIN. *Städtische Interessenpolitik: Organisation und Politik der Städtetage in Bayern, Preussen und im Deutschen Reich 1896–1923*. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, number 93.) Düsseldorf: Droste. 1991. Pp. 483. DM 78.

Hermann Beckstein's lengthy study surveys the organizations formed by German cities to help them influence Prussian, Bavarian, and German national politics. These *Städtetage* (city congresses or diets) were formed for Prussia and Bavaria in 1896. The national organization was founded in 1905. Beckstein closes his study in 1923, by which time the *Städtetage* had consolidated their position in public life. They were recognized during World War I as quasi-official bodies by the imperial and royal governments that had taken steps in the nineteenth century to prevent their organization.

Beckstein alerts his readers (p. 15) that his primary focus will be on the history of the organizations themselves (*Verbandsgeschichte*), but he relates this account to demographic changes that threatened city finances in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The book bears the signs of being a revised doctoral dissertation (Munich, 1989) for better and for worse. It is based on extensive archival research and a review of older publications. It can be mined for leads to little-known sources and for bits of information about interest-group conflicts and jurisdictional disputes.

The political topics that most occupied the *Städtetage* before 1914 were agricultural tariffs and tax reform. During the war their primary concern was food, and in the postwar years they devoted themselves to the issues of unemployment, inflation, and communalization. All of these subjects were important for German domestic politics, so by mapping the political initiatives of urban leaders Beckstein sheds some light on German politics in general. What one will not find in this book, however, is a dialogue with other scholars who have written about German liberalism or the politics of the German bourgeoisie. Nor will one find comparisons to the histories of other European countries. Given his current affiliation with the Bielefeld project on the "Social History of the Modern Bourgeoisie: Germany in International Comparison," Beckstein may be able to pursue broader historiographical issues in his future work.

For now, one must be satisfied with an analysis that focuses on beleaguered city officials motivated less by their predominantly liberal and reformist ideology than by threats to urban finances and to urban consumers. Thus, we see how Prussian cities were galvanized into action in 1896 by changes proposed by the royal government in the funding of teachers' salaries that would have favored rural areas over cities. In the same year Bavarian city governments were mobilized by changes proposed in residency laws, which would have placed a greater welfare burden on cities. The spur to the organization of the national *Städtetag* was an agricultural tariff that would have increased food costs. While his model is thus one of pragmatic rather than ideological or partisan activity, Beckstein identifies city governments as progressive elements (p. 15) in tension with the conservative forces of state and society (p. 14). Beckstein also indicates that municipal officials saw as political and ideological the tension affecting their relations with royal and imperial officials, who seemed more responsive to rural and agrarian interests. But in public the representatives of the *Städtetage* preferred to strike nonpartisan poses, to "depoliticize municipal politics" (p. 325) as a strategy to promote municipal autonomy.

Among the incidental merits of the book are its brief portraits of mayors who took an active part in the organizations, including Hans Luther, the first business manager of the German and Prussian *Städtetage*. One can also follow the growing cordiality before 1914 between reformist Social Democrats, such as Albert Südekum, and the liberals who dominated the *Städtetage* (p. 173). This is already a long book, but by extending the analysis through the year

1933, one could see what became of these organizations at the end of the Weimar Republic and during the Nazi *Gleichschaltung*. We would then, presumably, have a book about the "Rise and Fall of the *Städtetage*" rather than a book simply about their rise.

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JOAN WEINSTEIN. *The End of Expressionism: Art and the November Revolution in Germany, 1918–19*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1990. Pp. xiv, 332. \$39.95.

In this exceptionally fine book, Joan Weinstein blends artistic studies with social and political history to a degree seldom equaled in works of art history. She gives a detailed and lucid account of how expressionist artists in Berlin, Dresden, and Munich combined creative work with various kinds of social and political engagement during the revolutionary upheaval of 1918–19. An emphasis on these three cities is entirely appropriate, although a comprehensive study of this topic would have to include a number of other cities, such as Düsseldorf, Cologne, and Bremen.

One of the features that makes this book so interesting is Weinstein's effort to penetrate the minds and feelings of the artists, to understand why they believed that modern art had a transforming social mission and that they could fundamentally change the institutions and practices of the German art world. She explores the kind of thinking that encouraged some artists and critics to proclaim confidently that expressionism was the art of revolution, that the two were linked intrinsically. For several months during 1918–19 this assumption appeared to be borne out by events, as artists and other intellectuals founded politically oriented organizations, produced many works of art in the service of revolution and party politics, and in some instances joined radical workers' councils.

Weinstein's investigation shows that the artists' understanding of leftist ideologies was often fragmentary, that anarchist tendencies seemed to be particularly influential among them, and that their relationships to the parties of the Left were frequently troubled and tenuous. The case of Munich is especially intriguing, and her research on the role of expressionist artists in the Bavarian capital, including much new material, is one of the most original sections of the book. By the summer of 1919 it had become clear that the expressionists could not revolutionize the art world, not only because of the limited extent of the revolution in Germany but also because of the tensions and contradictions embedded in their own thinking and behavior.

Weinstein does not maintain, as the book's title may imply, that expressionism vanished as a style or artistic movement by the end of 1919, but she argues, as numerous contemporaries did, that the "fateful

history [of expressionism] during the revolution had destroyed confidence in its ability to serve the avant-garde notion of art in the forefront of revolutionary politics" (p. 4). The expressionists had underestimated the staying power of established art institutions and then became disillusioned. When reaction followed revolutionary failure, many tried to distance themselves from their earlier rhetoric and affiliations. But the image among Germans of a close bond between expressionism and revolution remained vivid, offering a measure of credibility to later rightist and *völkisch* accusations that artistic modernism was a form of "cultural Bolshevism."

Weinstein does not shy away from negative evaluations of the expressionists, but her sense of irony outweighs the urge to render harsh judgment. Just when the expressionists were losing the struggle to revamp German cultural institutions and failing to appeal to the working class, they were succeeding in the opposite direction: getting teaching appointments to the art academies, enjoying the admiration of museum directors, and selling their art to the affluent bourgeoisie, the people whom they most despised. This leads Weinstein to argue that, regardless of their professed commitments to socialism, communism, or anarchism, there was in fact an "indissoluble link" between the expressionists and capitalism (pp. 105, 222).

There is much to commend in this book, but there are also a few points of criticism. The first is the misunderstanding created by the rhetorical practice of ascribing historical agency to an abstraction, in this case to "expressionism," as some kind of objective unitary thing. This choice of language leads to a number of problems, not the least of which is the implication that all expressionists were active participants in the events of 1918–19. Some expressionists in fact disagreed with the extreme views of their artistic colleagues. Moreover, Weinstein herself notes that the term "expressionism" was still used broadly to include a wide range of styles and trends. A second point of criticism concerns the book's organization. By treating the developments in Berlin, Dresden, and Munich in separate sequential chapters, a certain amount of repetition was unavoidable. The sense of redundancy detracts only marginally from the book's readability and not at all from its very substantial scholarly contribution.

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PETER FRITZSCHE. *A Nation of Flyers: German Aviation and the Popular Imagination*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 282. \$27.95.

Three important themes intersect in this exceptional book by Peter Fritzsche: technology, German nationalism, and the popular mentality of the period between the onset of World War I and the onset of

World War II. Fritzsche carefully crafts the tale of how technology produced artifacts—the zeppelins, fighters of World War I, gliders, and finally the more advanced aircraft of the 1930s—which fired the popular imagination of the ordinary Germans and which served as icons of popular German nationalism. This tale is a fundamental breakthrough in the development of an understanding among both historians and the general public of how technology fed a Faustian vision of modernism in which nationalism and industrial society became ever more compatible and ever more popular. That vision stressed the role of the new hero, the aviator, who with the artisan and worker were together crafting a new order of society based on loyalty and discipline, a new order that was necessary for the nation (in this case the German nation) to compete in the realities of the modern era of world-wide competition. Fritzsche does a magnificent job of underscoring the Faustian nature of the new popular vision, of the promise of space-conquering power, and the terrors of the awesome destructive potential of the technology of the air, an allegory of the inherent creative destruction in the change fostered by technology.

Fritzsche has done an exceptional job of research in the process of developing this synthesis. He has examined archives, newspapers, contemporary accounts, and reactions in order to decipher the correlation between technology's development and its impact on the popular vision of the German nation.

Fritzsche begins by illustrating how zeppelins became images of Germany's drive to become a world power before World War I. The extraordinary popular response to the zeppelin was the first manifestation of how the popular vision was to be captured by the German triumphs in the air. He continues the development of his themes in an exceptional chapter on the development of the World War I ace as literally the new *volk* hero. He next covers gliding, a sport that symbolized German resistance to the Versailles restrictions. His richest chapter explores the period when, in Fritzsche's terms, "Modernist Visions" integrated with "National Dreams." Finally, he deciphers the manner in which airmindedness fed the Nazi ideological commitment to community, laying out how the imperatives of the new technology demanded a disciplined civilian population, with national strength out of necessity mobilized to fulfill the promise and temptations of technological prowess. This brief synopsis barely suggests the richness of these chapters, with each standing as an original study, and each then integrated with the others into a synthesis that is recommended to professional and lay reader alike.

I have but two minor cavils. The plethora of contemporary comment that Fritzsche uncovers, both public and personal, perhaps leads him to overdo the amount of quotation from those contemporary sources. Fewer quotations, particularly from newspapers, would have improved the readability of the

book. Second, I would also have preferred to have had the contemporary material separated from recent scholarship in the bibliography.

This book stands as a model in its insight into the correlation of technology and the popular imagination in the twentieth century. Fritzsche has beautifully articulated the way in which technology has shaped, formed, and influenced the life of twentieth-century Germany, its popular imagination, and nationalism.

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SAUL FRIEDLANDER, editor. *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. 407. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

Recently, in a review in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 2, 1992) of Ruth Klüger's autobiography of a childhood spent in Teresienstadt and Auschwitz, Hannes Stein noted the two objections to all such books: the attempt to express the inexpressible: "the camps were so horrible that no text can capture them"; and the banality of such an attempt: "we've heard it all before." In this volume, edited by Saul Friedlander, "probing the limits of representation" we have for the first time a series of major critical voices confronting the first of these questions: the representability of the Shoah and what claims for the impossibility of its representation have come to mean at the close of the twentieth century.

This volume is the direct product of a conference organized by Friedlander and held in Los Angeles in April 1990. More importantly, it is the evident product of much of the critical discussion about how or whether any "reality" can or cannot be represented. And indeed, we have not heard it all before, even in all of the intense debates about historical relativism that have dominated many professional historians' circles over the past decades.

Friedlander undertook something of great importance in organizing this conference. He brought together a number of major thinkers from a wide range of fields to discuss the question of how or whether the narrative of the Shoah could be constructed and what this very debate about representability has come to mean for historians. (In literary contexts, this debate has often been related to Walter Benjamin's discussion of the divine prohibition against making graven images. Here, interestingly, this "Jewish" reading of this problem only arises in the essay by Peter Haidu.) Represented in the volume are historians who have never or rarely written on the Shoah, such as Dominick LaCapra, Perry Anderson, Carlo Ginzburg, Martin Jay, and Hayden White; historians who have worked on aspects of the cultural, political, or social history of the Shoah and its background, such as Christopher Browning, Amos

Funkenstein, Dan Diner, Vincent Pecora, Sande Cohen, and Mario Biagioli; and scholars noted for their work on the problem of the literary and textual representability of the Shoah, such as Yael Feldman, Sidra DeKoven Ezrahi, Peter Haidu, Geoffrey Hartman, Eric Santner, John Felsteiner, Berel Lang, and Anton Kaes.

Friedlander introduces the entire volume with a breathtaking overview of the problems, pointing out how the positions taken in each of the essays can be placed on a grid of its own meaning and representation. All of the essays are shown to present problems of interpretation that are inherently flawed, or at least contradictory, when confronted with each other's construction of the Shoah.

There is, of course, a *realpolitik* rationale for Friedlander's project. The confrontation among German (and other) historians about the uniqueness of the Shoah (the so-called historians' debate), coupled with the revisionists' (a polite word for anti-Semites') denial of the reality of the event over the past decade, seems to implicate contemporary logocentric critical theory and its undermining of the relationship between narrative history and historical event. When Robert Faurisson can evoke the rhetoric of indeterminability to defend his revisionism, it is time for "serious" historians to take stock of the appropriation of such rhetoric in their own approaches. This *de facto* relationship has made this volume necessary. For, says the professional historian, we are certainly not like "them"; but how are we different from "them"?

This question does not place into doubt the reality of the Shoah; rather, it asks whether such an event allows historians (of whatever stripe) to follow their own sense of the appropriateness of their definition of history, or whether there are constraints on history and the historians. How can "we," as liberal thinkers at the close of the twentieth century, go the sub-theme of this volume, relate our historical construction to the generation of texts and still not fall into the trap of those who wish either to deny the Shoah or to explain it as "merely" another historical event like all others?

Let me concentrate for the moment on the text that takes pride of place in this volume, the opening essay by Christopher Browning. His hard-edged, detailed study illustrates how a group of over-aged Hamburg policemen in July 1942 became (or avoided joining) a killing unit that murdered thousands of Jews. Browning concludes that we can say little about why a few policemen refused to kill Jews (and why they were permitted to avoid this without punishment), although we can trace the gradual dehumanization of those who became mass murderers. Browning accepts his narrative as a representation of a historical event, and yet it is clear that his own writing uses a series of generalities about human action in re-creating this world. He leaves his reader with the question: "Even

if the empathy necessary to writing perpetrator history is desirable, is it possible?" His answer is that everyone can become used to the killing. But in that, too, they were all too human (p. 36).

Browning constructs a universal human being and evidently follows a model of psychological development or behavior modification that enables this universal human being to develop a toleration for mass murder. Clearly, in spite of the large numbers of serial killers who graced the pages of German newspapers during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, there could not have been any psychopaths in this group. Clearly, no one was so convinced of the inferiority of the Jews that they wanted to kill them. Clearly, there was no special cultural predisposition (a psychological *Sonderweg*) that made the murder of Eastern Europeans eventually easier than that of Western Europeans. But what about the policeman who refused to kill women and children? Why was he the exception? Clearly, he was also "too human," since he did not wish to become hardened to mass murder.

Browning's text constructs a universal "human being" following "universal laws," quite in contrast to Eric Santner's image of the Germans with their special burden of history who, however, also follow universal laws of mourning and denial in order to escape their sense of guilt. Santner's more differentiated and sophisticated reading rejects a merely Pavlovian model. He argues that there are complex moments in which each person relates to universal psychological structures within the historical context of their own lives. LaCapra asks these same questions about the psychology of the historian. What role does the special, generational, and religious positionality of the historian play in constructing the narratives, the players, and the memories of the Shoah? Precisely these questions are raised over and over in this volume.

Friedlander has provided a handbook for historians—not just those who are interested in the Shoah but all historians who are interested in the meaning of their craft at the close of the century. I commend him and Harvard University Press for providing an elegantly printed, affordable volume that will get (and has gotten) much use in many venues.

SANDER L. GILMAN
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MARTYN HOUSDEN. *Helmut Nicolai and Nazi Ideology*. New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. x, 252. \$49.95.

Helmut Nicolai was a minor figure in the history of Nazism. A professional civil servant who joined the movement before the *Machtergreifung*, he exercised his greatest influence between late 1933 and the end of 1934 when he was a senior official at the Reich Interior Ministry and the proponent of legislation that would have centralized the Hitler state under a

system of bureaucratic rule. Nicolai fell from his position when party leaders, jealous of their autonomy and distrustful of the civil service, convinced Hitler to withdraw his support for Nicolai's plans.

Martyn Housden attempts to use Nicolai's ideas and career to engage in several of the standard historiographical debates over the nature of Nazism. Should Nazi ideology be taken seriously, and was it taken seriously by the Nazis themselves? Housden shows that Nicolai had developed a relatively coherent framework of political thought before becoming a Nazi, that he believed National Socialism was compatible with his thinking, and that he attempted, while in high office, to realize his ideas by shaping Nazi policy even at the risk of making powerful enemies. What was the nature of the Hitler state? Housden interprets Nicolai's brief experience as evidence that it was not constructed around a central concept, at least at the start. He argues that Nicolai's notion of a bureaucratic Nazi *Rechtsstaat* was as likely as any other to succeed, and that what prevented its success were Nicolai's deficiencies as a politician and Hitler's need, even in the aftermath of the Night of the Long Knives, to respond to discontent among party leaders. No conscious policy of playing one interest off another was in evidence. What motivated Nazis to become Nazis? Here Housden employs what he describes as a Kantian approach. He outlines a set of rational criteria for judging the correctness of an ideology, compares Nicolai's thinking with the criteria, and then frames his explanation of Nicolai's adoption of racist ideology and his consequent attraction to Nazism in terms of an analysis of factors that led Nicolai into "error." Doubts about the validity of universal criteria for correctness in political thinking will probably lead most historians to discount the approach, but it is interesting to follow it through.

There are some problems with the book. In many places, it is awkwardly written—a minor sin, except when it makes it difficult to follow what the author is trying to say. The organizational framework, which separates the discussion of Nicolai's ideology from the treatment of the bureaucratic social context in which he developed and attempted to apply it, does not work very well.

There is no narrative thread to follow and most of the major analytical points are fragmented. Although the specific political context of Nicolai's ideological efforts in the 1920s and early 1930s is not ignored, it is not analyzed in detail. Like many other students of Nazi ideology, Housden prefers to relate his subject's theorizing to broad intellectual trends rather than to examine at length its connections to the political discourse of right-wing radicalism in twentieth-century Germany.

Such problems notwithstanding, this is a useful book. In order to understand Nazism better, we need more studies of secondary Nazis who were sufficiently

intelligent and articulate to explain what they were thinking.

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JOHN V. H. DIPPEL. *Two against Hitler: Stealing the Nazis' Best-Kept Secrets*. New York: Praeger. 1992. Pp. xvii, 235. \$42.95.

Some time ago, John V. H. Dippel uncovered Sam Woods and his role in World War II in tipping off the United States about Adolf Hitler's plan to invade the Soviet Union. Before the war, Woods was a commercial attaché at the U.S. embassy in Berlin, and after 1941 he was consul general in Zurich. He passed to his government, based on information he received from a Berlin contact, the first accurate intelligence about Operation Barbarossa. He had also learned from the same contact about German atomic experiments. Woods died in 1953 and left few records. But through detective work, Dippel learned that Woods's source was a German professor of economics and financial consultant, whom Woods called by the code-name "Ralph," but who was in fact Erwin Respondek.

During the Weimar Republic, Respondek had advised leading German firms on financial matters, belonged to the Catholic Center Party, served briefly in the Reichstag, and lived in Berlin. Dippel initially traced Respondek through a child of Respondek's living in Berlin. Then other parts of the Woods-Respondek story surfaced, as Dippel sifted through archives in East and West Germany, Switzerland, France, Sweden, England, and the United States.

According to the author, inside Nazi Germany Respondek was "unquestionably the most widely connected and one of the most important informants the United States had during the Second World War" (p. xii). With his ties to leading figures in German industry, the Wehrmacht, the Catholic church (including Heinrich Brüning), and scientific circles in Berlin, he possessed access to considerable valuable information.

Respondek met Woods, a kindly, old-fashioned man from the South with ambitions in the foreign service, in 1936. Dippel shows how, once World War II began, Respondek learned of Hitler's plans to attack the Soviet Union practically from the moment they were formulated in July 1940, and passed the information to Woods. Then, during 1941, Respondek informed the U.S. government through Woods on a variety of military and economic issues, ranging from German chemical weapons to Japan's aggressive designs on the United States.

Respondek, who knew Max Planck and other eminent German scientists at the Kaiser Wilhelm Society in Berlin, also provided the Americans with extensive material about German progress in the race to produce the atomic bomb. Moreover, Dippel adds new

information, but does not provide conclusive evidence for it, about Germany's *Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft's* financing of an atomic bomb project without the knowledge of leading German atomic scientists. The same can be said of the author's suggestion that Pope Pius XII may have assisted Respondek in 1942, in sending his intelligence about German "secret weapons" to Woods, who was then in Switzerland.

Respondek shunned most contact with the major resistance circles, although the Gestapo questioned or imprisoned him on three occasions, including after the July 20, 1944, attempt on Hitler's life. In Washington, Respondek's name was known to only a half-dozen State Department officials, and just one, Cordell Hull, ever wrote after the war about "Ralph's" contribution to the Allied effort. This intriguing story ends with the daring Respondek left betrayed and embittered by an ungrateful U.S. government after the war.

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THEO HORSTMANN. *Die Alliierten und die deutschen Grossbanken: Bankenpolitik nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Westdeutschland*. Bonn: Bouvier. 1991. Pp. x, 324. DM 98.

The skyline of Frankfurt am Main and the prominence of the headquarters of the Deutsche Bank, Dresdener Bank, and Commerzbank are monuments to the might of German banking and the utter failure of Allied, above all American, efforts to deconcentrate and decentralize the German banking system after World War II. Both contemporaries and historians have paid more attention to the efforts to break up heavy industry, but the structural transformation of German industry and the "greening" of the Ruhr in recent decades have proven that less was at stake in that once-crucial sector of the economy than was thought at the time. Theo Horstmann's well-researched and clearly argued study, therefore, is an important contribution not only to a neglected aspect of the occupation but also to our understanding of the evolution of Germany's current economic institutions.

Although it would be correct to speak of a restoration of Germany's system of universal banks and of the banking elite who managed them, Horstmann argues convincingly that it would be false to attribute this continuity to the influence of the Cold War and the breakdown of the Allied will to reform Germany. The driving force behind the reform effort was the United States, which obviously supported capitalist institutions, but whose leaders were convinced that the German universal banks played an important role in financing National Socialism. Thus, they believed, only the installation of an American-style decentralized and functionally restricted banking system could

prevent German banks from becoming a threat to democracy once again. These views were not shared by the British, who believed that a restoration of the great banks and their branches would best serve the cause of German and European reconstruction. This policy was strongly reinforced by London bankers' desire to cash in on the German banks' indebtedness to British creditors under the Standstill Agreement of 1931.

Horstmann does a fine job of describing the tug of war between American and British authorities over the banking question and the manner in which the British allowed Hamburg to become the headquarters of the great banks. The creation of Bizonia led to an abortive American victory. The breakup of the great banks was mandated by Law Number 57, but was never accomplished because the responsible American officials had no clear conception of how to resolve the legal and other problems connected with deconcentration.

Most important, American officials increasingly relied on the Germans to do the job, and the German authorities shared the basic position of the bankers that the American program was nonsensical and endangered German reconstruction. The Federal Republic's Banking Law of March 1952 formally imposed the principle of deconcentration but actually paved the way for the preservation of the old system and its formal resurrection in 1957. It is difficult not to be impressed by the way the bankers, above all Hermann Abs of the Deutsche Bank, combined resistance with skillful manipulation of the opportunities afforded by Anglo-American differences and German public support for their cause.

Certainly Horstmann is correct in thus explaining the immediate causes of the failure of American reform efforts, but perhaps some longer term considerations are worth thinking about. The importance of the banks had been seriously diminished by the Great Depression, the Nazi regime, and the regulatory measures imposed by the Banking Law of 1933. The banks may well have ceased to be the objects of suspicion among many Germans that they were before 1933, and their improved image may have served them in good stead after 1945.

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MASSIMO FIRPO. *Tra alumbados e "spirituali": Studi su Juan de Valdes e il valdesianesimo nella crisi religiosa del '500 italiano*. (Studi e testi per la storia religiosa del Cinquecento, number 3.) Florence, Italy: Leo S. Olshki. 1990. Pp. 191.

Juan de Valdes, writes Massimo Firpo in this important book, is the connecting thread between disparate and even divergent Italian religious and spiritual movements in the 1530s and 1540s. He knew the

works of northern reformers, he was deeply influenced by the *alumbrado* movement of his Spanish homeland, and he had close connections to many key *spirituali* just before the Council of Trent. Yet on that account Valdes himself has been somewhat overlooked and misinterpreted. Because his disciples ended up in mutually hostile camps—Calvinism, Anabaptism, antitrinitarianism, staunch Catholicism, even Anglicanism—Valdes has often been measured by the subsequent careers of his followers and by the later standards of denominational doctrines.

Firpo opts to emphasize Valdes as agent as much as thinker. In the first long section, he opens with a discussion of the loose circle that gathered around Valdes in Naples to detect the channels and instruments used by Valdes to disseminate his views. Through oral communication and diffusion of manuscripts, instruction was different for each disciple, in line with Valdes's aversion to formalized doctrine and his conviction that the individual must follow a personalized, gradual spiritual journey toward internal illumination. The second subsection, on Pietro Carnesecchi, whom the Inquisition eventually handed over for execution, further reveals Valdes's role as a catalyst for individual inquiry rather than as systematic theologian. Carnesecchi had access to texts and teachings beyond those of Valdes and elaborated his views for a quarter of a century after the master's death in 1541.

At this point the reader is anxious for direct exploration of Valdes's own views, and this Firpo supplies with two strong subsections (pp. 43–103). Stress on personal experience of God and illumination of the spirit indeed made Valdes a heretic, both in the narrow sense of positions at odds with eventual Catholic orthodoxy (*Scriptura sola*, justification by faith, freedom of a Christian, community of the elect, and disregard for "empty pharasaic practices"—all Pauline) and in the wider Cantimorian sense that Valdes's radical individualism was incompatible with any confessional orthodoxy. Valdes's professed nicodemism is seen not as an opportunistic survival strategy—although his Spanish experience instilled that imperative—but as a means of introducing new teachings without "scandalizing" neophytes (p. 71). Moreover, Valdes was a committed spiritualist and eschewed doctrinal controversies as irrelevant to the search for pure faith; there could be no definitive orthodoxy, no magisterial or coercive or universal church.

This eclectic and latitudinarian approach authorized followers to move beyond Valdes's prudent conformism into openly heterodox positions. Two subsections treat the mixed reception of Valdes's thought among radical groups (Anabaptists and antitrinitarians) and northern Protestants. The two final sections, previously published, more narrowly concentrate on the impact of Valdes's Neapolitan circle on the Viterbo group around Cardinal Pole and on Italian *spiritualisti* generally.

The book as a whole tends toward duplication and repetition, and often substitutes biographical vignettes and bibliographic searches for analysis of the actual spread of ideas. Many of Valdes's influential followers are largely ignored. Italian "spiritual" and "evangelical" movements are assumed rather than described or given coherence. Valdes's views are drawn from undifferentiated writings, with little sense of development and no distinction between works. The ephemeral Neapolitan and Viterbo coterries seem overemphasized. If Valdesian influence was so powerful, why should the discussion break off suddenly in 1546? How were other *spirituali* touched by Valdes's teachings? Although this book is not a definitive work on Valdes or Valdesianism, its component studies offer a wealth of information on the transmission and transformation of a major strain of spiritualism. The luminous passages on Valdes's writings alone make it required reading in the field.

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ALBERTO MAGNANI. *Luigi Montemartini nella storia del riformismo italiano*. (Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Pavia, number 60.) Florence: Nuova Italia. 1990. Pp. 203. L. 30,000.

The valley of Italy's Po River was the scene at the end of the nineteenth and in the early years of the twentieth century of struggles of small proprietors and landless workers against large capitalist landowners, of socialist and Catholic labor and community organizing, and fascist counterblows. Luigi Montemartini, the son of the owner of a middle-sized vineyard in a small town of the hilly hinterland of Pavia south of the Po, was an active participant in these events as a botanist who studied plant pathology (his interest born of his theoretical embrace of evolutionary Darwinism and practical concerns with phylloxera, a disease of grapevines), a socialist intellectual, and an elected official.

Alberto Magnani's biography fits squarely in the genre of "life and times." It begins with the birth of Montemartini, examines his schooling and university career, his friends and mentors, his recruitment to socialism, and his days as a socialist militant, and places these events in the local setting of the Pavese. Magnani then broadens the scene as Montemartini was elected first to the city council, then to the provincial council, and finally to parliament. For his sources, Magnani has diligently scoured the local socialist newspapers, police records, other public documents of Mont Beccaria, and the published and unpublished correspondence and memoirs of political figures (from Andrea Costa and Filippo Turati to Giovanni Giolitti), and interviewed family members and local notables who knew Montemartini in his old age. He draws skillfully and effectively for context on

the scholarly literature about socialism, the post-World War I political crisis, the fascist years, resistance, and the rebuilding of Italy from 1944 to 1950.

The picture Magnani draws is of an intelligent, principled man, endowed by his upbringing and education with a social conscience and a firm belief in the possibility of progress. Montemartini was always in the reformist branch of the Socialist Party, yet consistently accepted party discipline and the party line even when in the dissenting minority. Magnani finds his interpretations in the realm of ideas and attitudes: he sees a large shift of intellectuals from the rationalist positivism of late-nineteenth-century socialism, which Montemartini shared, to the nationalist idealist irrationality of protofascists and fascists. At the same time he shows that Montemartini, like other socialists, was passive too long about the fascist threat while his party pursued an independent course of opposition and split over the possibility of revolution. This too he sees as a matter of attitudes, remarking that the revolutionary mentality that captured the majority of the Socialist Party was "foreign to the culture of Pavese society" (p. 156), and that Montemartini continued to preach education to prepare citizens for political participation as the moment for a vigorous democratic coalition against fascism passed (p. 164). Although his faith in the programs and ideas of the 1890s lost Montemartini his seat in parliament and led to threats and harassment, he nevertheless was appointed to the University of Palermo and passed the next ten years in his laboratory and library. Returning to the Pavese as the war started, he lived quietly until the Germans retreated, when he was recalled to public office by popular acclaim, becoming provisional mayor of Mont Beccaria and later a member of the Constituent Assembly and a senator. Montemartini lived long enough to see the democratic front that emerged from the resistance split, the Christian Democratic Party begin its long hegemony in Italy, and the ideas he fought for again supported only by a minority. Magnani's scholarly study is well-written and informative but modest in its interpretive ambitions.

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VICTORIA DE GRAZIA. *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 350. \$29.95.

Many of us in Italian history have long awaited a study like Victoria De Grazia's book. Outside of a few excellent articles, little has been available in English on the experience of Italian women between the two world wars for use by scholars or in the classroom. This gap has been especially glaring in light of the wealth of writing on German women in the same period, from Jill Stephenson's *Women in Nazi Society*,

published as far back as 1975, to Claudia Koonz's recent *Mother in the Fatherland* (1987). De Grazia's book provides an excellent foundation for further inquiry into this chapter of Italian women's history by daring to offer a broad panorama of diverse topics such as sex, work, family, popular culture, and politics. In all cases, it shows that women's lives, at least in the twentieth century, have not been private and unchanging, but heavily influenced by policies of the state.

De Grazia contends that it was not until the inter-war era that the Italian state sought to "nationalize" women, as it had men in the nineteenth century (p. 6). In contrast to the liberal monarchy, which had ignored women, Benito Mussolini realized he could not build a successful fascist state without them. While I believe the Italian state did intervene before World War I to control directly certain groups of "dangerous" women like prostitutes and unwed mothers, the author is correct in pointing to the 1920s and 1930s as the first era of massive legislation targeting all classes of women. Such legislation sought to restrict women to their "natural" role of motherhood in order to encourage the population growth necessary for Italy's imperialist dreams. Combining repression with welfare incentives, a series of fascist laws discouraged female education, excluded women from certain jobs, made birth control and abortion crimes against the state and race, established social services for pregnant women and babies, and gave economic incentives to parents of large families.

Although such measures seemed simply to reinforce women's traditional status, fascist policy toward women was shot through with contradictions. It extolled the family, yet replaced mothers with fascist youth organizations as the inculcators of values for children. It preached the national duty of women to have many children, yet created such a low-wage economy that an increasing number of married women sought abortions rather than have children they could not afford. According to De Grazia, fascism pulled women in two directions because it wanted them both to modernize by actively supporting state-building and at the same time to return to a past characterized by submission to traditional authority.

The book is perhaps most innovative in its reconstruction of the experience of girls growing up in Italy in the 1920s and 1930s. Despite official propaganda that painted the ideal young woman as a plump, healthy farm lass with horizons no broader than her village, many girls were attracted to the modern, urban fashions and lifestyles portrayed in foreign, often American, magazines and films. In fact, the new cinemas became a female space of entertainment as young women, no longer content to stay at home, sought an alternative to the male cafés. This discussion of popular culture—based on a rich variety of sources including novels, magazines, films, and photographs—shows that Italy was not cut off

from foreign influences during the interwar period. Despite ideological bludgeoning, Italian girls, like their foreign sisters, aspired to become "new women" enjoying more freedom before marriage and companionship within marriage.

Older women who sought activities outside the home, many of whom had been suffragists before World War I, found their opportunities severely restricted by the dictatorship's prohibition on women's political activity. Excluded from a party hierarchy that no longer permitted discussion of equal rights, women had to content themselves with promoting culture and charity. Rather than fighting the regime, most activist women—like Teresa Labriola, one of the first female lawyers in Italy—theorized a new "Latin feminism" that rejected Anglo-American individualism and emphasized the devotion of women to improving the family and race (p. 236). Whether this movement really fits anywhere on the spectrum of historical feminism is a question that should inspire future research.

Like all surveys, this book neglects certain topics. Lower-class women receive much shorter shrift than middle-class and aristocratic women, many of whom are painted in lively vignettes. Despite the chapter on work, the reader comes away with little sense of the everyday life of women employed in factories, farming, and housework. Probably the paucity of current research on lower-class women in Italy and the difficulty of reconstructing their attitudes and experiences explains this weakness. But De Grazia intelligently succeeds in her aim of introducing a host of new issues into the historiography of fascist Italy.

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ROY PALMER DOMENICO. *Italian Fascists on Trial, 1943–1948*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 295. \$39.95.

The cleansing of nations at the end of World War II, or defascistization, involved two activities: first, the purge of an indeterminate "political class"; and second, trials of those who had committed allegedly "criminal" acts. Both sets of "sanctions" as applied in Italy comprise the subject of Roy Palmer Domenico's book.

The principal question Domenico asks is why, with fascism totally discredited between 1943 and 1945, sanctions were so limited and ineffectual. The answer is no great revelation. The Allies left the Italians largely to execute their own sanctions (although the American Charles Poletti's administration in Palermo, Naples, and Rome was an exception), and the Italian Center-Right coalition, most of which had supported Mussolini during the *ventennio* (1922–43), retained sufficient influence to attenuate punishment. The defascistization process began with Pietro Badoglio's government in the *Regno del Sud* in 1943 and

concluded with the ascendancy of Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democrats in 1946. Surprisingly, the Center-Right found an ally in the Communist Party, whose motives for hindering sanctions are still conjectural.

The legislative decree of July 27, 1944, the centerpiece of the antifascist program, tried a pragmatic approach by using September 8, 1943, the date royal Italy switched sides in the war, to distinguish between fascists of the *ventennio* and those of Salò. But the divide was too arbitrary and unworkable, if only because liberation of the Italian peninsula proceeded so slowly. In spite of the appointment of such luminaries as Carlo Sforza and Pietro Nenni to head the High Commission for Sanctions against Fascism, both purge and trials encountered mounting skepticism and opposition with the passage of time. Ultimately, sanctions were overwhelmed by the institutional question. King Victor Emmanuel III's collaboration with the fascist regime was emblematic of Italy's power structure at large; thus, the republican victory in the 1946 referendum constituted a surrogate for effective sanctions. Domenico does refer to "the passing of the highly visible monarchy . . . adding to the notion that sanctions had been resolved" (p. 206), but he might have expounded further on this fundamental truth.

At the final count, Rome reported that of 394,041 bureaucrats investigated, 1,580 were dismissed (728 in the top grades), 531 retired early, and 8,803 had a reprimand placed in their dossiers. Trials of *gerarchisti* and blackshirts in 1945 yielded a number of judicial executions (as opposed to thousands of killings by partisans) and some lengthy prison sentences. But in 1946 an amnesty, prompted partly by an attempt to extend sanctions to business collaborators with fascism, commuted all death sentences and canceled or drastically reduced prison terms. At the same time, the Italian state used force to quash vigilante justice. The strongest proponents of sanctions were, of course, the antifascist resistance fighters who nurtured the dream of a purified new Italy. The failure of sanctions coincided with the exhaustion of this revolutionary "wind from the north." Domenico is at pains to stress that sanctions "were not directed at the state's machinery but rather at its members." In other words, "the program would never be the first assault in a truly revolutionary restructuring of Italian relationships between power, wealth, and class" (p. 228). The same could be said of *épuration* in France and even denazification in Germany.

This book is a thoroughly competent monograph, well grounded in the archival materials of both Italy and the Allies. There is a certain amount of repetitiousness, necessary perhaps to keep in view the links between details and the larger picture. The book is valuable not least because no other English-language treatment of the topic exists, and it compares well

with its Italian counterpart, Lamberto Mercuri's *L'epurazione* (1988).

ALAN CASSELS
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JIRÍ KOŘALKA. *Tschechen im Habsburgerreich und in Europa 1815–1914: Sozialgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge der neuzeitlichen Nationsbildung und der Nationalitätenfrage in den böhmischen Ländern*. (Schriftenreihe des Österreichischen Ost- und Südosteuropa-Instituts, number 18.) Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik or R. Oldenbourg, Munich. 1991. Pp. 324. S 496.

Over the past thirty-five years, Jiří Kořalka has contributed more than any other Czech historian toward exploring the process of Czech nation-building, the nature of the Czech-German relationship, the political role of the emerging Czech working class, and the interaction of Czech and German nationalism as it shaped change in the Habsburg empire between 1848 and 1914. He has helped to formulate an agenda for the scholarly rehabilitation of the role played by the Habsburg monarchy. The widely accepted view of the empire as a "prison of nations" has been sharply modified by scholarly reformers who emphasized its record of accomplishment and the ability of the Habsburg state to master political, cultural, social, and economic realities. In an admiring prefatory note on the occasion of the author's sixtieth birthday, Arnold Suppan acquaints the reader with Kořalka's vast scholarly output, although he fails to note his humiliating post-1969 surrender to the demands of Communist authorities.

Kořalka's study contains the single best discussion of the emergence of the modern Czech nation. Its chapters are independent essays and the connection between them is at times loose and not always evident. The author examines as a unifying theme the Czech search for national identity from the end of the revolutionary period in 1815 to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. The seven chapters are divided into three parts. The first part illuminates the nation-building process in the Austrian, Central European, and European frameworks. The second part deals with the rise of the Czech political nation and scrutinizes the various pitfalls and perils of the Czech-German relations. The third part covers the workers' movements and their international links. The concluding essay is devoted to the web of international political and cultural contacts of the Czech society. No one single Czech group gave support to the one-sided, pro-German orientation of Austro-Hungarian foreign policy. Because Germany as an ally offered firm moral, political, and ideological assistance to the German national parties and tendencies in Austria, the Czechs were naturally unhappy when they were called in 1914 to fight against their allies, Russia, Serbia, and France.

It is impossible in a brief review to say all that could be said about the wealth of material in this perceptive presentation. With meticulous scholarship, the study does not merely put together facts but also traces and transmits data about the many issues and individuals. The richness and range of the first-rate sources and the insight they yield into the climate of Czech, Austrian, and German policies account for the broad perspective of this outstanding book and allow it to serve as a standard work for students of this period in the Habsburg state's history. Conspicuously absent, regrettably, is a bibliography; sources are relegated to the footnotes. There is only a name index. In brief, this is a most rewarding inquiry into an important aspect of Central European history.

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STELLA HRYNIUK. *Peasants with Promise: Ukrainians in Southeastern Galicia 1880–1900*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta. 1991. Pp. xx, 299.

This study is a simplistic story of progress, chapter by chapter, as Stella Hryniuk seeks to correct what she calls "the 'gloom and doom' interpretation of late nineteenth-century Eastern Galician history" (p. 212). On all fronts, it seems—transport and communication, public health, education, and agricultural development—the quality of rural life was improving. According to Hryniuk, the last two decades of the last century witnessed a change from "timeless tradition to courageous innovation" (p. 215).

Initially, the author had intended to focus on the massive emigration to Canada of Ukrainian peasants from this region. Her decision to shift her focus to Galicia itself proves disappointing. All the topics are treated superficially, the emphasis is largely institutional, and the discussion reflects almost no familiarity with the vast literature on the European peasantry. Moreover, the text is heavily descriptive, if not antiquarian in style. The brief conclusion leaves the reader with the impression that this is more a polemic against Ukrainian writers and nationalist historians than a contribution to scholarship.

While Hryniuk may well be correct in her assessment that Eastern Galicia was not as "backward, stagnant, and impoverished" (p. 212) as has been thought, much of her evidence is inadequate, unconvincing, or quite simply wrong. Failing to comprehend the significance of death rates, for example, leads the author to conclude that their decline is necessarily evidence of improved mortality conditions, a quite elementary error. The acquisition of literacy, it is alleged, promoted economic development through the dissemination of practical information. In fact, studies elsewhere suggest the peasantry often shunned such literature, in spite of the efforts of reading clubs and enlightenment societies, in favor

of popular fiction. Similarly, it is assumed that improved transport must have facilitated the export of agricultural produce. No thought is given to the economic dislocations attendant to railroad development nor to the resultant increase in competition from neighboring Russia. Attention also needs to be drawn to the fact that the author has little regard for the social dimensions of peasant life. To Hryniuk, kinship, family, gender, and ritual appear as unimportant dimensions of peasant existence.

Finally, the most intriguing question remains unanswered. Why, if this was a society so full of promise, were so many peasants willing to undertake the risks of emigration to Canada, Brazil, and even Russia?

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BOGUSŁAW W. WINID. *W cieniu Kapitolu: Dyplomacja polska wobec Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki 1919–1939* [In the Shadow of the Capitol: Polish Diplomacy and the United States of America, 1919–1939]. Warsaw: Pomost. 1991. Pp. 268.

Bogusław W. Winid is a young Warsaw historian currently serving as a Polish diplomat in Washington, D.C. His book is based on the doctoral dissertation he wrote under the direction of, on the one hand, the Polish diplomatic historian Andrzej Bartnicki, a long-time promoter of American Studies in Poland and founder of the Warsaw Center for American Studies, and, on the other hand, the American diplomatic historian Robert H. Ferrell.

Winid's book on Polish-American relations in the interwar period is a first in the historical literature on the subject, in both Polish and English. The two major studies of recent years were written by Piotr S. Wandycz, who covers two centuries in *The United States and Poland* (1980), and by Neal Pease, who covers a quarter-century in *Poland, the United States and the Stabilization of Europe, 1919–1933* (1986). There are also several detailed Polish-language studies of the years 1914–21, and, most recently, a study of Poland's place in America's European policy under Herbert Hoover by Halina Parafianowicz (*Polska w europejskiej polityce Stanów Zjednoczonych w okresie prezydentury Herberta C. Hoovera* [1991]).

Winid's study is a compressed yet detailed survey with thumbnail sketches of major Polish statesmen and diplomats and their American counterparts. The author begins with a survey of American-Polish relations during the war and early postwar years, dominated by the uncritically pro-American Ignacy Jan Paderewski; he then discusses the regression of this relationship in the period 1921–24 and in the years of economic stabilization, 1924–29, followed by the Great Depression. He then writes about the Polish quest for a rapprochement in the period 1935–38, and finally about Polish-American relations on the

eve of World War II. The bibliography contains an impressive list of archives.

The book should be useful for officials and trainees of the Polish Foreign Ministry and members of the diplomatic corps, especially those already in the United States, or preparing to go there. It should also be of interest to historians of Polonia, that is, Polish America. Many of the problems facing Poland in its relations with the United States today are reminiscent of those in the interwar period, so there are lessons to be learned. At that time, Polish policy makers and diplomats struggled with such problems as the need to secure U.S. credits and loans, overcoming the legal and bureaucratic tangles facing potential American investors in Poland, the unification of Polonia in order to form a lobby supporting Polish interests in Congress, and the struggle against the stereotype of a viciously anti-Semitic Poland. Finally, there was the constant and unrewarding struggle to gain the support of American public opinion for Poland's case against both Germany and Russia. There is no German-Russian threat to Poland today, but historically minded Poles fear its reappearance in one form or another in the future.

The author is critical of Marshal Józef Piłsudski and Foreign Minister Józef Beck for their belief that the United States could not play an important role in European politics, and thus their benign neglect of relations with Washington. At the same time, however, he admits the dominant influence on U.S. foreign policy of the isolationists, particularly as manifested by the Neutrality Law of 1935. He also mentions the widespread sympathy, shared by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for German revisionist claims against Poland (pp. 158–62, 228). The author's remark that the Polish government did not see the approaching danger and the need to seek help across the ocean as early as 1935 is misleading (p. 184). Indeed, far from being unaware of danger, in spring 1934, Piłsudski expected that Poland would enjoy peace only until 1938, although he believed that Poland was threatened more by unpredictable Russia than by Germany, because he thought Adolf Hitler would need at least four years to consolidate his power. Furthermore, the author also admits that Roosevelt saw the Soviet Union as a counterweight to Nazi Germany and that Piłsudski feared the consequences for Poland of Russo-American cooperation, especially if Germany were to be the intermediary (p. 139). This is also a fear that haunts Poles today. In view of these factors, and especially of the isolationist influence on U.S. foreign policy, it would have been surprising if Polish diplomacy had worked for closer relations with the United States before 1939. Finally, the author does not provide any evidence to document the supposedly golden opportunity for large-scale American credits and loans, which Warsaw allegedly failed to utilize in the last two months of 1938 (pp. 221, 229).

There are a few careless citations of documents.

The memorandum on Poland of November 1918 by John Coolidge (not Collidge) does not favor Piłsudski, while the memorandum by John Foster Dulles, written at about the same time, shows that he saw not Piłsudski but rather a united Polish-Lithuanian state as a barrier to Bolshevism (pp. 23–24). The report of February 15, 1939, by Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, the U.S. ambassador in Warsaw, shows that while Foreign Minister Beck told him a great deal, he did not inform him of all of Hitler's demands (pp. 225–26). The author of an article on Paderewski in *Foreign Affairs* (April 1936) was not Lord Howland, but Howard of Penrith (pp. 199, 210 n. 74). This was the title granted to Sir Esme Howard, who is cited correctly elsewhere in the book.

Despite these and other minor blemishes, Winid's book is a pathbreaking history of Polish-American relations in the interwar period. The author should think of expanding it into a larger study, this time giving equal attention to Polish and American policy making and providing a more balanced interpretation of the Piłsudski-Beck policy toward the United States. Finally, there should be a full list of abbreviations and an index, a must for this type of book.

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KRYSZYNA KERSTEN. *The Establishment of Communist Rule in Poland, 1943–1948*. Translated by JOHN MIGGIEL and MICHAEL H. BERNHARD. Foreword by JAN T. GROSS. (Societies and Culture in East-Central Europe, number 8.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xxxiv, 535. \$49.95.

This is a translation of a book published in Poland in 1984 by one of that country's prominent historians, Krystyna Kersten. It deals with the tactics used by the Communist Party of Poland, reborn under the name of the Polish Workers' Party and supported by the Soviets, to capture and hold political power. The events described stretch from the crucial summer of 1943, when after the battle of Stalingrad Moscow decided to alter its Polish policy, to the end of 1948, when the Polish Workers' Party forcibly absorbed the last political center of resistance, the old, democratically oriented, Polish Socialist Party.

While establishing itself in power, the Polish Workers' Party faced a harder task than did other Communist parties in East-Central Europe. Out of the ordeal of the war the Polish nation emerged more homogeneous than ever, both socially and politically: class distinctions were largely obliterated and party differences blurred; religious sentiments both broadened and deepened. This increased resistance toward the new regime. The majority of Poles were traditionally both anti-Russian and anti-Communist. Experience under the first Soviet occupation from 1939 to 1941, the Warsaw uprising, and the passive behavior

of Soviet troops during it, all strengthened the resistance to the Communist takeover. Despite the party's denials, Poles regarded it as a tool of Moscow.

The small size of the Communist Party, numbering from 20,000 to 30,000 members, and its unpopularity made necessary the use of fellow travelers and opportunists. The Germans had smashed the prewar Polish state structure and been especially ruthless with the educated classes. Consequently, the lack of trained personnel was a difficulty facing the new administration. Those few native Communists left were ill-equipped to assume public office. Therefore, in the initial stages of organization, offices were filled randomly with people who often lacked proper training, but who were deemed indispensable for the job. Access to food and not payment was frequently the enticement. Yet material comforts were not the only means of attracting and managing adherents. The vivid memory of Nazi atrocities gave any anti-German regime some popularity. Moreover, a widespread desire to play an active role after five years of clandestine activity also proved important.

Generally speaking, five distinct groups of collaborators assisted the party in its seizure of power. The first was composed of those people who had compromised themselves in some way and could thus be easily blackmailed into subservience by the Communists who knew their record. Their former anti-Communist activities, coupled with a questionable past, now served to guarantee their obedience to Communist dictates. The second large category assisting the party consisted of prewar civil servants and intellectuals. This group and the Communists were mutually useful, for membership in the party or one of the government-sponsored political parties was a form of temporary personal reinsurance. Returning émigré politicians formed a third group; but it was quickly polarized into two camps: those who, like the former prime minister of the government in London, Stanisław Mikołajczyk, opposed the establishment of a totalitarian regime, and others, including leftist socialist politicians.

The fourth group of collaborators was made up of politicians with totalitarian proclivities, like Bolesław Piasecki, prewar leader of the extreme rightist group called "Falanga." Piasecki soon formed a Social Catholic movement that ardently preached a synthesis of Catholicism and Marxism. The fifth category consisted of those leftist politicians who had been won over by the Communists during the war. The most important was Józef Cyrankiewicz, the promoter of a "united front" strategy. Arrested by the Germans in 1941, Cyrankiewicz was sent to a concentration camp, where he was converted by his Communist fellow prisoners to the idea of close collaboration between socialism and communism in the name of "unity of the working class." At first the bulk of the old Socialists protested. Gradually, however, seeing no chance of rebuilding their old movement, many joined the

new United Polish Workers' Party, formed in December 1948.

As a result of this successful subversion of the Socialist movement, the Communists' main opponent was the Polish Peasant Party reorganized by Mikołajczyk. Around him, the only tolerated opposition party soon gathered most of the non-Communist forces in Poland. This was a challenge that the new rulers of the country could not allow. Consequently, the campaign to discredit the Polish Peasant Party as sheltering "the dark, reactionary forces" was one of the main tasks of the Communists. Mikołajczyk was accused of cooperating with the remnants of the armed resistance movement known as "the forest detachments."

As early as October 1945, the new regime granted amnesty to rank-and-file members of underground organizations, provided that their members would make known their identity and surrender their weapons. Most officers of the "forest detachments" ordered their men to come out in the open, and some 200,000 did so, but the amnesty was not fully observed by the government. Some right-wing underground groups refused altogether to accept the amnesty and remained in hiding. Reprisals were taken against them during late 1945 and 1946. These operations sometimes involved large skirmishes and permitted the regime to expand its "security apparatus" by creating new detachments of militia to cooperate with the Ministry of Public Security. Consequently, several concentration camps, erected as early as 1944, began expanding. The new regime claimed to have lost 14,876 men in the struggle against the remnants of the anti-Communist underground. The struggle, lasting about a year, amounted to a civil war.

The book is based on extensive archival material and describes in considerable detail the mechanisms used by the Communists in their manipulation not only of political and military instruments but also of mass media. An extensive bibliography of primary sources and secondary works makes it a valuable addition to the fast growing literature on post-World War II Poland.

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KAUKO REKOLA. *Suvorov—Generalissimus-genius* [Suvorov: Generalissimo and Genius]. Summary in English. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 153.) Helsinki, Finland: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1989. Pp. 269.

Never a modest soul, Generalissimo Aleksandr Vasilievich Suvorov (1729–1800) believed himself greater than Frederick the Great in military prowess. Indeed, Suvorov once boasted that he, unlike the Prussian king, had never lost a battle. Of his many impressive victories, his chief claim to being the foremost field commander of his era rested on his generalship in the

Swiss campaign against revolutionary France. While in command of a combined Russo-Austrian army in northern Italy in 1799, he successfully effected a winter crossing of the Alps despite fierce opposition from French forces. That feat more than equaled the celebrated transalpine marches of Hannibal and Bonaparte. Suvorov, therefore, had every reason to compare himself so favorably with Frederick. Or did he?

Kauko Rekola addresses that issue in this biography of one of Russia's great military heroes. His book begins with an examination of Suvorov's ancestry, including his probable Finnish origins. Educated at home, Suvorov learned to speak eight languages (among them, Finnish). He steeped himself in military history both classical and modern, and dreamed of becoming a soldier. Unfortunately, his father's influence was insufficient to ensure him rapid advancement in the Russian military. The early feistiness, which Suvorov used to compensate for such congenital deficiencies as a slight physique, delicate health, and familial ties rooted in the lesser nobility, later turned into overbearing arrogance as he raged over crushed ambitions and missed promotions.

Rekola documents Suvorov's painful rise in rank. He was commissioned a lieutenant nine years after his enlistment in the Semenovskii Guards Regiment as a fifteen-year-old boy in 1745. Promotion to colonel of the Suzdal Regiment came in 1763 in reward for his service in the Seven Years' War. In seeking to mold his first command into the prototype for a new model army, Suvorov wrote a novel regimental training manual proposing the replacement of the usual Prussian-style parade-ground drills with more realistic war maneuvers. The Russo-Polish War of 1768–72 gave him the opportunity to distinguish himself as a successful, if unorthodox, tactician, and brought him the rank of major general at the age of forty. It also saddled him with a reputation for being insufferably insubordinate toward his superiors.

Rekola then follows Suvorov's career through the suppression of the Pugachev rebellion, the first and second Russo-Turkish wars, the Russo-Polish War that ended in the Third Partition of Poland, and the Italian and Swiss campaigns against the French. Only in the Swiss campaign did Suvorov hold supreme command. Consequently, he never possessed the sovereign powers or independence of action—nor, for that matter, the responsibilities attached to them—that Frederick did. War, to Suvorov, never served as a means to an end, but rather became the end in itself. At best, he was a military genius and a consummate professional soldier, a mercenary par excellence. Accounts of how despicably he treated his wife, son, and various enemies also suggest that he was a miserable human being.

Apart from its detailed examination of Suvorov's connections with Finland and his several missions there, much of the material in Rekola's work will be familiar to readers of Philip Longworth's *The Art of Victory: The Life and Achievements of Generalissimo Su-*

vorov (1729–1800) (1965). Timo Vihavainen, the editor of Rekola's book, notes that Rekola completed his manuscript about the time that Longworth's volume was published. Vihavainen undertook the task of editing the manuscript for publication after Rekola's own infirmities prevented him from doing so. We should be grateful to Vihavainen for rescuing this work and writing a superb introduction to it. The book also features a well-written English abstract, index, photographs, maps, and other illustrations. It will long stand as the definitive biography of Suvorov for those who read Finnish.

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M. D. KURMACHEVA. *Goroda Urala i Povolzh'ia v kres-t'ianskoi voine 1773–1775 gg.* [The Towns of the Urals and the Volga Region during the Peasant War, 1773–1775]. Moscow: Nauka. 1991. Pp. 230. 7 r.

Ever since the publication of Pushkin's three-volume history of it, the Pugachev rebellion has occupied a prominent place in Russian historiography. The revolt was a traumatic event for all who had a stake in the established order, but writing on the subject also reflected a growing sense of guilt about serfdom and, by the 1890s, the poverty of the peasant masses. In the Soviet era the moral and political tone changed. The *Pugachevshchina* was viewed as a heroic popular reaction to tsarist oppression, a historical legitimation of the October Revolution. Marxist historians fretted about how genuinely revolutionary it could have been, since it predated capitalism and the formation of a "self-conscious bourgeoisie." Nevertheless, it bolstered national pride. Backward Russia had at least generated the biggest peasant revolt in eighteenth-century Europe. But how will post-Soviet historians regard it?

A cursory glance at M. D. Kurmacheva's book, the first wholly devoted to the urban population's involvement in the rising, suggests that, although a product of the Gorbachev era (it went to press in May 1991 and could not have been written before 1989), liberalization has had scant effect. Rather than the single quotation from Lenin that used to be obligatory there are two; the text is oriented to classical Marxist questions, is generous in its use of the old conceptual vocabulary ("class warfare," "historically progressive," "scientific history," and so on), and is unashamedly partisan.

A closer examination, however, reveals a shift of line: the author castigates Soviet historiography for neglecting the individual (p. 5). Yet commitment to the importance of the individual does not provide Kurmacheva with all the analytical equipment she requires, so she continues to rely on the familiar apparatus of patriotic Marxism. Patriotism and Marxism are not necessarily incompatible with sound scholarship, of course, but nor are they formulas for

solving every difficulty, and Russian urban society is a subject fraught with difficulties.

Even definitions are elusive. What was a townsman, after all, when a major proportion of a city's population was transitory (serfs drafted in to work, gentry wintering there)? Who was a merchant when peasants and noblemen engaged in commerce and when registered merchants acted as governmental functionaries or worked as hired hands? Kurmacheva understands these complexities. She is also a diligent archival researcher. She has scoured submissions to the Legislative Commission of 1767 to establish the condition and interests of the merchant estate and of others with a stake in towns and trade; and she has studied dossiers on individuals implicated in the rising.

She can therefore present fresh biographical material on participants. This may fall far short of prosopography and some of the biographies are necessarily sketchy; but others, notably that of the evasive merchant, E. M. Dolgoplov, are of intrinsic interest. One would like to know more, but seditious movements operating underground are sometimes impossible to penetrate. If Kurmacheva fails to define the extent of Old Believer networks among merchants, so did Catherine II's investigators.

In attributing motives to individuals, however, and when her tradition calls for certain conclusions, Kurmacheva can forget her customary caution. Occasionally she seems a little too quick to define people's preferences in situations where fear or the moment's excitement might have overridden their natural sympathy or sense of economic interest. Furthermore, she regards merchants, rather than enterprising peasants and nobles, as nascent capitalists despite their heavy dependence on the state. And her routine moral censure of the state and its servants is hardly constructive at a time when the origins of Russia's economic and social weaknesses need to be clearly understood.

For all its merit the book reflects a rather insular approach out of touch with relevant scholarship outside Russia. Kurmacheva calls for more research, but does not identify its purpose. The well of conventional Pugachev studies seems to have run dry. Despite its concession to change this book reflects the end of a historiographical era rather than the beginning of a new one.

PHILIP LONGWORTH
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STEPHEN LESSING BAEHR. *The Paradise Myth in Eighteenth-Century Russia: Utopian Patterns in Secular Russian Literature and Culture.* (Studies of the Harriman Institute, Columbia University.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 308. \$37.50.

The subject of this fine monograph is both more interesting and less important than its author seems

to realize. In a series of five largely discreet, synchronic, highly detailed essays—there is a full page and more of notes for every two of text—Stephen Lessing Baehr traces the perambulations as he sees them of “the Russian paradise myth” mainly in eighteenth-century *belles lettres*, with some reference back to later seventeenth-century and even (quite awkwardly) earlier literature, and occasional projections forward into nineteenth and even (again awkwardly) twentieth-century works. These forays are preceded by a brief chapter on European literary “*topoi*” or “patterns” of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and are followed by a longer epilogue on the rejection variously of this “paradise myth” by writers of an ensuing (from about 1780) “Iron Age.” The strength of the book lies in this wealth of literary and bibliographical data, some of it drawn from manuscript sources and much of it, I would guess, unfamiliar even to the literary historians at whom the book is primarily aimed. General or cultural historians, if not also political historians, will no doubt find the author’s analytic and descriptive devices (drawn from Mikhail Bakhtin, Iuri Lotman and Boris Uspenskii, Ernst Kantorowicz and Michael Cherniavsky, and others) intriguing as well.

Yet apart from his useful discussion of the influence of Freemasonry on Russian literature of the later eighteenth century, Baehr draws few direct links between his posited “Western” patterns and the works of his “Westernizing” Russian authors; and he simply assumes, apparently, that “Russia” was always part of Europe. The omission, and assumption, are seriously misleading. The former leaves the entirely erroneous impression that the Baroque bombast of Mikhail Lomonosov, for instance, was wholly indigenous—Orthodox, Byzantine, and/or Muscovite—in origin. And the latter, I must in turn assume, leads Baehr to neglect or mistake the nearly annihilating impact of European Baroque culture, particularly its Eastern European varieties, on the court culture of early modern Russia.

The propaganda and rites of monarchical absolutism in eighteenth-century Russia constitute the real subject of this book, and particularly as they were actualized by Baroque notions and forms and thus made imposing or prestigious. By the beginning decades of the nineteenth century (where the book leaves off), in changing historical circumstances and under new, precisely Western (Enlightenment and then Romantic) influences, the prestige of this imperial, absolutist court culture had begun to wane, just as an individualist, critical intelligentsia had begun to emerge. But this story, familiar enough to general historians of Russia, is at once thickened in this book by its wealth of detail on the literary uses of utopian or paradisiacal schemes and obscured by Baehr’s sweeping assertions and exaggerated claims (for instance, that Russians, synchronically, are especially vulnerable to such schemes). Fortunately, such assertions and claims are few and undemanding, and one

can resume one’s walk in these woods with gratitude and wonder.

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A. G. TARTAKOVSKII. *Russkaia memuaristika XVIII–pervoi poloviny XIX v.: Ot rukopisy k knige* [Russian Memoir Writing in the Eighteenth and the First Half of the Nineteenth Centuries: From Manuscript to Book]. Moscow: Nauka. 1991. Pp. 286. 8 r.

For students of Russian social and cultural history, reading Russian memoirs is like panning for gold. We would be impoverished without them, but much skill and patience is required to sift the valuable from the erroneous or misleading. The late A. G. Tartakovskii’s densely packed monograph on the formative period for Russian memoir literature, the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, is intended to help us, and is, indeed, an important guide.

Tartakovskii begins somewhat pedantically, discerning three “epochs or tendencies” in the evolution of the genre: first, a transition from memoirs written primarily for family reading to those intended for publication; second, their transformation “into a factor in the ideological-political struggle and literary-social movement”; and, third, a stage that reflects “recognition of the value of memoirs for historical understanding” (p. 16). Although these tendencies appeared sequentially, they ended up coexisting. That is to say, memoirs that were primarily personal continued to be written throughout the period he describes, as were “personal” stories written to influence public opinion.

Most Russian historians are familiar with a number of texts Tartakovskii cites: A. T. Bolotov’s interminable (yet fascinating) *Life and Adventures*, for instance, or F. N. Glinka’s *Notes of a Russian Officer*. The excellent English translations of others such as Nadezhda Durova’s memoirs of her life as a “cavalry maiden” in 1812, and Alexander Herzen’s brilliant *My Past and Thoughts* are available to a wider public. Yet in many cases we have little idea of the circumstances surrounding a memoir, other than the personal history of the author. Tartakovskii sets out to rectify this, telling us how and why a memoir came to be written, how long it was before a manuscript was published, and providing a host of fascinating details about the process. He is understandably concerned with motivations for memoir-writing. Eighteenth-century memoirists were less concerned with fame than those who followed them. Bolotov, he points out, wanted his memoirs to be instructive and censored portions before letting his family read them. Like P. I. Rychkov and Ivan Dolgorukii, Bolotov took pains to assure readers that vanity had not been his inspiration. In the early nineteenth century, particularly as a result of the War of 1812, this changed:

authors most often wrote reminiscences with the public in mind. As the century advanced, significantly more memoirs were published during the author's lifetime.

Finding a publisher was not always easy, even for memoirs historians now consider important sources. I, for one, did not know that Pushkin (clearly a proto-feminist) took the lead in the publication of Durova's memoirs in *The Contemporary*, even while—for unclear reasons—he blocked the publication of S. N. Glinka's memoirs, much to the author's dismay (pp. 174–76). Tartakovskii quotes extensively from the correspondence of publishers as well as authors, giving us much information valuable to literary history. Equally valuable are the four tables at the end of the book. The first two list individually 103 memoirs and diaries of the eighteenth century, with the author's dates and social origins, the period the work covers, the dates of writing (for memoirs) and first publication, and, lastly, the number of years between the time of creation and publication. The third and fourth tables indicate reader interest: they show when, how (monograph or serialized in a journal), and how many times these eighteenth-century sources were published between 1801 and 1916. The book also contains copious notes and a good index. In short, it is both fascinating in and of itself and an indispensable reference tool for those who work with memoirs of this period.

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BARBARA JELAVICH. *Russia's Balkan Entanglements, 1806–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xi, 291. \$54.50.

Barbara Jelavich has written a competent and confident study of what was perhaps the most challenging arena of foreign policy of late imperial Russia. This aptly titled book leaves the reader with a sound awareness of the foreign policy and diplomatic issues that bedeviled decision makers variously involved in Russia's engagement in the Balkans and, more generally, the Ottoman empire.

After a review of the eighteenth-century background of Russia's emerging interest in the Balkans (with an emphasis on the enduring commitments it then undertook, particularly as a result of the 1774 Treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji), Jelavich proceeds with a detailed examination of Russia's Balkan involvement from the Russo-Turkish War of 1806–12 to the onset of World War I. The book's five chapters generally follow the conventional periodization: the upheaval (in the Danubian Principalities and Serbia), crises, and wars of the Napoleonic period; the Greek Revolution and ensuing Russo-Turkish War of 1828–29; the Crimean War; the Eastern Crisis of the 1870s; and, with an emphasis on Serbia, on the issues, events, and personalities connected with the outbreak

of World War I. A conclusion—subtitled “Gains and Losses”—assesses the weight of the different factors shaping tsarist policy toward the Balkans throughout the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The book is equipped with a good bibliography (primarily of works cited), an index, and maps and other illustrations.

To develop the major theme of the book—the significance of Russia's sense of moral commitment to its Balkan co-religionists—Jelavich relies on a close examination of documentary sources such as general diplomatic correspondence, imperial proclamations, and memoirs. For the general setting and narrative passages, the author provides a fresh cast to the standard material that she has mastered so well over the course of her distinguished scholarly career. Worthy of special note are the author's concise introductions to the overall situation in the Russian empire during each of the major periods under study.

What particularly merits applause, however, is Jelavich's success in arguing the book's major theme: the importance in Russia's Balkan policy of the so-called emotional commitment to protect and advance the interests of Balkan Christians under Moslem rule. The success is twofold: first, the ability to identify and follow this thread, over 100 years of active foreign policy, through all of the intricacies of Balkan affairs, the Eastern Question, and Great Power politics; and second, with lucid analysis and telling example, to demonstrate how this sense of imperial responsibility, however intangible, led to or influenced decisions hard to justify on the basis of realpolitik. Indeed, so strong was this moral factor that it survived despite the many disappointments and even disillusionment that Russian policy makers encountered among Balkan states whose liberation they had assisted. (The leadership of these emergent nation-states often pursued a course of action that was independent of Russia, and sometimes even Russophobic.) The disappointment was to have been expected, for, among other things, Russian officialdom allowed sentiment to obscure its lack of good information about Balkan societies and about the essential dynamics of modern nationalism. The price of repeated miscalculation was high: the loss of life and limb in repeated wars, incalculable economic costs, and the ultimately fatal distraction from Russia's domestic agenda.

Well written and handsomely presented, Jelavich's study is a persuasive and at times engrossing study in diplomatic history.

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ANDRZEJ WALICKI. *Russia, Poland, and Universal Regeneration: Studies on Russian and Polish Thought of the Romantic Epoch*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1991. Pp. x, 225. \$36.95.

With a depth and breadth of knowledge that few scholars command, Andrzej Walicki, author of numerous magisterial studies of Russian and Polish thought in the nineteenth century, has brought his expertise to bear in four long essays that analyze the "meaningful relationships" among the ideas of foremost thinkers of both national traditions.

The first essay, "Alexander Herzen's 'Russian Socialism' as a Response to Polish Revolutionary Slavophilism," seeks to demonstrate that Herzen's revolutionary Slavophilism "owed its existence to a direct contact with similar currents in Polish thought" (p. 3). In particular, Herzen was influenced by the poet Adam Mickiewicz's public lectures on Slavic literature, which in 1844 brought about a positive reevaluation of the commune as evidenced by entries in Herzen's diary. Herzen rejected certain aspects of Mickiewicz's vision and misunderstood others. He could not concede to Poland a leading role in the future world of Slavdom. His vision of Poland was "simplified and preconceived," having much in common with Russian Slavophile opinions—Poland had been latinized and "virtually lost for the cause of Slavdom" (pp. 46–47). Herzen also totally misunderstood the religious aspects of revolutionary Polish thought. He assumed an institutionally orthodox and loyal Catholicism on the part of the Poles; he equated Mickiewicz's messianism with papism.

These views adversely affected his relations with the Polish exiles with whom he worked and who helped him considerably in founding his Russian uncensored press. Despite feigned modesty and respect for the Polish exiles, "In reality it was Herzen who looked at the Polish revolutionaries from above, deeply convinced that all advantages, intellectual and historical, belonged to the Russians" (p. 49). That Herzen viewed all nationalities in this manner should not detract from the story Walicki is telling here.

The second essay also shows the influence of a Polish thinker on Herzen to a degree not before recognized. Walicki closely analyzes the "convergences" between August Cieszkowski's "philosophy of action" and Herzen's protest against Hegelian rational historical necessity. Both adopt a similar periodization of history, "rehabilitate matter," and reject contemplative philosophy in favor of thought that "popularizes itself" and "dissolves in action." They differ in their attitude toward religion. Herzen rejected it completely, while Cieszkowski critiqued Catholicism but did not proclaim an end to religion.

The third essay provides a "structural analysis of the worldview" of the scholar poet Adam Mickiewicz. Walicki concentrates on his Paris lectures, which have not received adequate attention. Mickiewicz's Slavic messianism had a significant impact on the debate between Westernizers and Slavophiles. His ideas were "more complex than the ideology of Russian Slavophilism" (p. 109), which never developed a messianic consciousness. This messianic interpretation was provided by Fyodor Dostoevsky and Vladimir Solov'ev.

Solov'ev acknowledged his great appreciation of Mickiewicz and his Paris lectures.

The last essay provides an intellectual and political biography of one of the most interesting of the Polish patriots, Adam Gurowski. Gurowski began as organizer of the plot to kill Tsar Nicholas I in 1829. He later made an about face and served the Russian government because he believed that only Russia represented Slavonic vitality; Poland was but a corpse. In 1848, Gurowski's faith in the tsar broke down and he sided with European revolutionists, although he continued to believe that autocracy (without serfdom) provided the best means for economic development. He moved to New York where he continued to express pro-Russian views on the eve of the Crimean War. Walicki takes us through the twists of his ideological development and demonstrates a surprising coherency.

These essays are particularly interesting for Russianists. Western European influences on Russian thought have been the focus of much attention. Walicki demonstrates the importance of particular Polish thinkers for Russian intellectuals, especially in the 1840s. It is unfortunate that we do not have a concluding section that puts into context these fascinating examples of the transmission of ideas between cultures. What do these particular examples suggest about the character of the intellectual relationship between Russia and Poland in general? Was the Russian image of Poland more stereotyped and the Polish image of Russia more nuanced, as the presentation of these cases suggest? And what would Walicki, so well versed in different national traditions, have to say about the problematic of influence?

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JEAN-LOUIS COHEN. *Le Corbusier and the Mystique of the USSR: Theories and Projects for Moscow 1928–1936*. Translated by KENNETH HYLTON. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 254. \$49.50.

A thorough examination of Le Corbusier's work in the Soviet Union has been long in coming, but with the publication of Jean-Louis Cohen's book, we now have an exemplary treatment of this complex episode in the history of modern architecture and urban planning. With unrivaled access to archival material in the former Soviet Union as well as in France and Switzerland, Cohen has pieced together the minutiae of the architect's turbulent relationship with the Soviet bureaucratic and architectural establishment. Furthermore, we are given the historical and political background necessary for an understanding of Le Corbusier's dealings with the Soviet Union.

In his introduction, Cohen makes an essential point about the nature of his relationship with the government: "Coherent and articulate in his public relations, Le Corbusier additionally showed a remarkable ca-

capacity to adapt to his clients' propositions. He was always careful to grasp their modes of discourse . . . without yielding on the essential point—namely, architectural form" (p. xiv). Nonetheless, in the Soviet Union during the late 1920s and 1930s, the propositions and clients shifted in seemingly inexplicable ways that left foreigners (and many Soviets) in positions unacceptable to the central authorities. Consequently Le Corbusier's modernism, in all of its lyrical complexity, proved to be not the expression of a new social and political era but rather an extraordinary adventure whose successes and failures would be of central importance to the development of the architect's work in other parts of the world.

Cohen reminds us that Le Corbusier's brilliant debut as a proponent of modern design occurred largely through his talents as a writer and artist. In the early 1920s his fame reached influential Russian intellectuals, such as Ilia Ehrenburg, through the cultural omnibus *L'esprit nouveau*, of which Le Corbusier was a coeditor. In turn this journal played a major role in explicating the accomplishments of modern Russian culture, including Constructivist architecture. Although the Constructivists built little until the late 1920s, Cohen's survey of the theoretical pronouncements of Alexander Vesnin, Moisei Ginzburg, and others provides parallels with the ideas of Le Corbusier, who was uniquely qualified to contribute to this internationalist episode in Soviet architecture. Invited to submit a design for the Tsentrosoiuz headquarters, Le Corbusier departed in October 1928 for the first of three trips to Moscow.

Cohen provides a lucid, detailed account of Le Corbusier's introduction not only to the Soviet avant-garde in art, cinema, and architecture but also to the unique urban environment of Moscow. His response combined an interest in the exotic elements of the city's architecture with a conviction that this "soft, Oriental . . . nomadic, malleable" milieu (pp. 147, 140) should be radically redesigned. Although recognizing the need to preserve architectural monuments of the past (pp. 42, 44), Le Corbusier showed little understanding of Moscow's urban fabric, which included not only recognized monuments, such as St. Basil's, but also a functional array of buildings in various eclectic styles.

Cohen challenges (p. xvi) the patently false allegations by extremist groups such as Pamiat' that Le Corbusier bears responsibility for the destruction of architectural monuments (primarily medieval churches) in Moscow in the 1930s. Yet Cohen also reveals that Le Corbusier shared with most Soviet planners a disregard for the historically accumulated texture—more than isolated monuments—of great cities such as Moscow (his Soviet hosts apparently encouraged this Western condescension toward "oriental" Moscow). His sweeping vision of rational city plans was only one—if perhaps the most significant—example of the hubris of modern urban planning,

which has shown an ability for producing senseless, destructive results.

Ironically, Le Corbusier's attempt to formulate the ethos of a new, rational industrial society in the Soviet Union led to outrage and mutual recrimination with the rejection in 1932 of his design for the Palace of Soviets. The reactionary outcome of this competition symbolized the triumph of the totalitarian spirit that accompanied Stalinist industrialization, yet Le Corbusier, like many Western intellectuals, remained only dimly aware of the nature of Stalinism. The Tsentrosoiuz building, plagued with problems yet heroic in its statement of modernism, was finally completed in 1936, but by then Le Corbusier had turned to other venues for the development of his ideas.

This volume is an indispensable, well-illustrated record in the creative biography of arguably our greatest modern architect. The material presented in the book, however, suggests that modern planners have often lacked an ability to comprehend the ramifications of their work, particularly in supplanting rich, if unfamiliar, historical cultures. It also provides further evidence that attempts to transfer to Russia enlightened Western schemes for material and cultural advancement can founder in mass confusion and disappointment.

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NEAR EAST

ABRAHAM MARCUS. *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1989. Pp. xiv, 418. \$40.00.

This book by Abraham Marcus is a landmark in the field of Middle East urban history, the likes of which the field has not seen since the publication of the seminal works by Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (1967), and André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants du Caire au XVIII^e siècle* (1973–74). Marcus's book is marvelous; it should show generations of students and scholars how to write social history and inspire them to do it well.

Aleppo in the eighteenth century was the administrative capital of an Ottoman province that extended over most of northern Syria, and it was a thriving center of textile manufacturing and regional and international trade that caused its population of over 100,000 to surpass all other cities in the Middle East except for Istanbul and Cairo. The subject of the book is Aleppo's society, observed not only for itself but also for what it tells us of the general dynamics of traditional Middle East society as a whole, before Western influence transformed its economies and social relations in the nineteenth century. The book's main theme is that beneath its cyclical political, economic, and social vacillations were continuities and

inherent stability, so that "Aleppo in 1800 resembled in essential ways the community of one hundred years earlier—not a mere replica of it, yet fully continuous with its basic premises and arrangements" (p. 330). Marcus's thesis is not that the society remained unchanged, but that until the nineteenth century it was driven by its own indigenous forces rather than by outside influences. To demonstrate this he takes us through a "tour" (p. 329) of the city that is rich in its attention to minute detail and, at the same time, striking in its exceptional breadth of coverage of daily life, including wonderful sections on work, popular culture, privacy, family, health, food and famine, and death. The book is beautifully written.

The very success of the author in conveying to the reader how stable social life was is the source of one of its few weaknesses. Although it is marvelously rich in detail about daily life, the book also has a static quality. One could move around chapters without seriously affecting the reading of the book or its overall impact; indeed, the "tour" could have taken another route. In that sense, the book reminds me more of an exquisite and yet unmoving painting rather than an unfolding narrative. Although the author's portrayals are written with the sensitivity of an artist, they do not move us; we remain observers rather than participants. Some dimensions of the book could have been better emphasized. The reader is told how important the state was to people, yet the omnipotence of the state is not sufficiently explained or conveyed. Nothing prepares the reader for the dramatic transformations of the nineteenth century brought by Ottoman centralization, European influence, and the decline of cities in the Syrian interior, including Aleppo, which are all well discussed in the works of Abdul-Karim Rafeq, the leading historian of Syria, and in Bruce Masters's complementary book on Ottoman Aleppo, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East* (1988). Once this is said, I recommend this book enthusiastically to anyone interested in the history of the Middle East and, more generally, to anyone interested in social history.

LEILA FAWAZ
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ALAN DUBEN and CEM BEHAR. *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility 1880–1940*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 15.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xviii, 276. \$59.50.

Works on population in the past can be classified either as population history or historical demography. The former is largely descriptive and often anecdotal, the latter statistical and dense, understandable only to the specialist. Alan Duben and Cem Behar's book manages to be both. It is readable history based on sound demographic analysis.

This study is a history of change in the family structure in the late Ottoman and early Turkish Republican periods. Its statistical data is drawn from Ottoman population registers, particularly the registers of 1907. The statistics are given life by reference to a wealth of information on society, drawn from newspapers, literature, interviews with survivors from the period, and writings of contemporary observers of society.

For the demographer, the latter chapters of the volume hold the most interest. The authors are obviously as familiar with the extensive literature on European historical demography as they are with Turkish cultural history. This allows them to choose from various statistical methodologies those that best apply to the historical Turkish population. Duben and Behar consider all the traditional statistical criteria of marriage and fertility, in the process correcting many accepted but erroneous views of Turkish urban society. For example, they find a relatively high age of marriage and relatively low rate of polygyny. Their analysis of fertility and birth control supports the theory that societies adapt their fertility to economic stimulus, and that Turkish societies were no exception. The benefit of these analyses cannot be overstated. They will enlighten all future study of Ottoman society.

The social commentary on Turkish society separates this book from ordinary demographic histories. Duben and Behar have extracted a sound theory of advancing Westernization in the Istanbul family from numerous sources beyond the demographic data. Pictures and contemporary descriptions give life to the study and make it interesting. There is, however, a risk in this. Those who sat for family pictures were not ordinary Istanbul families. Nor were the writings in Istanbul newspapers necessarily representative of the beliefs of the average Istanbul citizen. For example, the authors describe one Kâzım Bey "as typical a Turk of late Ottoman Istanbul as one could find" (p. 48). Yet Kâzım was a typesetter for newspapers, a literate man in an extremely skilled position when well under half of those in Istanbul were literate. How typical could he have been? He is described as being "of modest means," but the book's pictures of families "of modest means" show men in Western suits, women and girls in European fashions. Contemporary pictures of street scenes in Istanbul do indeed show such people, but they also show much poorer, more traditionally dressed individuals.

The authors obviously realize that their descriptive material represents one class of Istanbul dwellers, a group that was undergoing rapid social change, but this fact should be more prominently featured. This is especially true because the demographic data is drawn from the society as a whole, while the descriptive material is usually drawn from only one subpopulation.

A significant methodological problem is the lack of information on how the authors drew their samples

from the Ottoman data. The authors state, "We drew a 5 per cent sample from the surviving rosters" (p. 18). Whether or not the surviving registers are representative should have been discussed in detail, and a description of the exact technique of samplings should have been given. Such methodology could considerably affect results, and readers should know the sampling technique. It must be said, however, that the high quality of Duben and Behar's statistical work in the book indicates that their sampling technique was probably excellent.

This is an important contribution to the social history of Turkey. It is one of the books that must be considered when future histories of Istanbul or of Turkish society are written.

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CHARLES S. KAMEN. *Little Common Ground: Arab Agriculture and Jewish Settlement in Palestine, 1920–1948*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1991. Pp. xi, 327. \$39.95.

This book by Charles S. Kamen joins a succession of new studies about Israel that no longer view Jewish settler-immigrants as the singular movers in the construction of their new society but as participants together with the Palestinians in a historical process whose initial conditions were set prior to their arrival. In fact, it was only after the destruction of Palestinian society in 1948, and not even then, that the Jewish settlers cut loose from some of those circumstances.

One of the principal limitations under which Jewish immigrants, Palestinian landowners and peasants, and the British Mandatory authorities operated was the character of Palestinian agriculture. Dry-farming of cereal in Palestine, typical to much of the Middle East, allowed only subsistence farming. Moreover, when combined with high taxation, usurious interest rates charged by urban lenders, overutilization of land due to short fallow cycles and limited fertilization, exploitative tenancy terms, insufficient plots, and lack of equalizing land reform, the situation of the Palestinian cultivator became even worse.

Two external parties—the British Mandatory authorities and the Jewish settler-immigrants—desired, for vastly different reasons, to see the lot of the Palestinian peasants improved. The British sought to increase the tax yield in order to meet their expenses and would have been satisfied with modest improvements (for example, relieving the peasants from their debts). The Zionist bodies recommended the intensification of Palestinian agriculture (such as by switching to plantations and vegetables) with a view to freeing land for their own settlement. But irrigation was beyond the means of the vast majority of the cultivators, while the lack of roads hampered access to markets by large landowners. Coupled with the unwillingness of the Mandatory authorities to undertake

fundamental reform, no significant improvement in the conditions under which Palestinian peasants labored was possible. Internal changes, such as the concentration of land holdings in fewer hands and population growth, also affected the peasant population adversely.

The three decades of the Mandate were too short, Kamen concludes, to allow for Zionist settlement and land purchases to have more than a limited impact on Palestine's rural population. Zionist agricultural policies neither undermined traditional Palestinian agriculture nor served as a conduit for the introduction of new techniques of cultivation into it. "In certain respects," reasons Kamen, "Jewish settlement, and in particular the Zionist policy of economic exclusiveness, hindered Arab economic development" (p. 271).

This book is "the first detailed scholarly analysis of Arab agriculture in Palestine to have been published since the end of the British Mandate" (p. 3), and Kamen is to be applauded for undertaking this task. But he remains stuck in the Mandate era in another way: he presents the information that was available to the parties during the era itself without recourse to more recent scholarship. He justifies this anachronistic approach by pointing out that the socioeconomic analyses, almost exclusively produced by the Zionist bodies and British commissions of inquiry, were themselves attempts to influence the outcome of the conflict and, therefore, were part of the conflict.

But almost half a century after the end of the Mandate, we surely can do better than restate research that was filtered through propaganda, and which has given us a stationary view of Palestinian agriculture. In studies published during the 1980s, Alexander Schölch compiled an impressive amount of information for the period extending from 1856 to 1882 from the commercial reports of European consuls and concluded that Palestine experienced a remarkable economic upswing following the Crimean War and produced a surplus of exports over imports until World War I. Although cereals remained the major export of Palestinian agriculture, the share of industrial cash crops also grew markedly. Haim Gerber, studying roughly the same period, has suggested that some large landowners were involved in the extension of cultivation to previously barren land. What happened to these market-oriented tendencies during the Mandate? Kamen's study does not purport to answer this question, since he takes no stock in the new works. We must wait for another study that seeks to update our knowledge.

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IAN BLACK and BENNY MORRIS. *Israel's Secret Wars: A History of Israel's Intelligence Services*. New York: Grove Weidenfeld. 1991. Pp. xvii, 603. \$24.95.

Ian Black and Benny Morris here seek to lower the reputation of Israel's security services (the Mossad, Shin Bet, and army intelligence) from the lofty heights that many scholars and Western government officials, impressed by Israeli successes such as the rescue of Israeli hostages at Entebbe in 1976 and the pinpoint bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981, have placed them. In this "warts and all" portrayal, Black and Morris present a comprehensive history of Israel's security services from the time of the Palestinian Arab uprising in the 1930s to the Intifada of the late 1980s. On balance, despite suitable praise for Israel's numerous intelligence successes, they basically present a negative view of the security services, particularly of their activities in the 1970s and 1980s where the authors place special emphasis on what is portrayed as internecine infighting among key intelligence officials, cover-ups, and threats that the security services pose to Israel's democratic system of government. While based largely on interviews and documents, some of the central sources cited in describing key political events have a clearly anti-Israel bias, and this raises questions about the objectivity of the book.

One of the most interesting chapters of the book deals with the embryonic intelligence services during Israel's war of independence. The authors conclude that "Israel was born and survived its trial by combat in 1948 despite the shortcomings of its intelligence services. Failure of both political and military intelligence attended both the British withdrawal from Palestine and the subsequent Arab invasion" (p. 68). Nonetheless, there were a number of tactical successes, especially the seizure of a major arms shipment destined for Syria and acquisition of information about Arab morale and military preparedness.

In the early and mid-1950s, Israel suffered two major intelligence failures, one in Iraq and the other in Egypt (the Lavon affair). Nonetheless, Israel scored a major victory in the 1956 war, with one of its major successes being the shooting down of a plane carrying eighteen senior Egyptian general staff officers who were flying home after the signing of a mutual defense pact with Syria, at the start of the war (p. 132). Another major success, and one that helped establish close ties between the Israeli security services and the CIA, was Israel's acquisition of Nikita Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Joseph Stalin in February 1956. Similarly, in 1966, Israel's acquisition of a MIG-21 from Iraq was another spectacular coup. Not only did it help prepare Israel for air combat before and during the 1967 war but also the loan of the plane to the United States further strengthened Israeli-American relations. Although Israel's intelligence officers did not predict Gamal Abdel Nasser's move into the Sinai (p. 213), military intelligence was so accurate in predicting the behavior of Egyptian pilots that much of the Egyptian air force was caught on the ground during the first morning of the 1967 war.

While the 1967 war was a great victory for Israel, the 1973 war was almost a disaster. In perhaps the best chapter in the book, the authors outline the reasons for Israel's intelligence failure in predicting the war and assert that one of the reasons was because Israel had spent too much time tracking Palestinian terrorists in Europe. A more important reason was what the authors call (p. 290) the "Konzeptzia"—a cluster of interlocking false assumptions, the most important of which was the Israeli belief that Egypt would not go to war so long as it was weak in the air. It is interesting to note in this context that Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan is absolved of much of the blame by the authors, despite the fact that he was ultimately responsible for military intelligence. Furthermore, the fact that Israel was in the midst of an election campaign prior to the war, and Dayan was out campaigning much of the time, also seems to have escaped the authors.

Although there is much of interest in the book for historians of the Middle East, especially the detailed descriptions of the competition among Israel's intelligence services and the personality conflicts among intelligence officials, there are some serious questions about the authors' sources. For information on the 1967 and 1973 wars, the authors rely heavily on Donald Neff's *Warriors for Jerusalem* (1984, 1988) and to a lesser extent on Patrick Seale's *Asad of Syria* (1989). Both authors have clear anti-Israeli biases, and this raises questions about the objectivity of the scholarship. Furthermore, perhaps the best book on the Soviet role in the 1973 war, Galia Golan's *Yom Kippur and After* (1977), is not even mentioned in the bibliography (or in the footnotes), nor are many other major studies of the war. In addition, there are a number of factual errors that mar the book. The Jewish Agency was founded in 1922, not 1929 (p. 3)—it was enlarged in that year—and Iraqi leader Abd al-Salam Arif, despite a good bit of rhetoric, did not ally himself to Nasser in 1963 (p. 184). One may also question whether Israel's failure in Lebanon (p. 398) was its "greatest intelligence failure" (my vote would be for the 1973 Yom Kippur War). The authors also assert that the 1982 war against the PLO "failed dismally" (p. 398). In fact, while Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's grand goals of creating a Christian-dominated, pro-Israeli Lebanese government and convincing the Palestinians in the occupied territories to acquiesce to Israeli rule did not succeed, Israel did drive the PLO out of its state-within-a-state in southern Lebanon and dispersed the PLO leadership to Tunisia. Indeed, the failure of any Arab state to come to the aid of the PLO during the long Israeli siege of Beirut during the summer of 1982 seems to have convinced Yasser Arafat that the two-state diplomatic path to a Palestinian-Israeli settlement was his only real alternative.

In sum, there is a great deal of useful material in this book, but readers should examine it critically, especially the latter sections of the book, which reflect

an anti-Israeli left-of-center bias on the part of the authors.

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AFRICA

MOHAMED EL MANSOUR. *Morocco in the Reign of Mawley Sulayman*. Cambridgeshire, England: Middle East and North African Studies Press. 1990. Pp. xiv, 248. £28.

The history of precolonial Morocco, too often written from a Eurocentric perspective and heavily dependent on the reports of Western diplomats and travelers, invites the scrutiny of specialists conversant with the political, social, and cultural attitudes of Moroccans of that era and capable of tapping the contemporary Arabic literature that both forged and reflected societal norms. This analysis by just such a scholar presents an important revisionist interpretation, challenging conventional views of Sultan Sulayman (1792–1822) as a weak ruler presiding over an unstable society rendered even more volatile by his acceptance of an increasing measure of European domination.

Mohamed El Mansour maintains that the elusiveness of an accurate understanding of early nineteenth-century Morocco stems in part from the era being overlooked when primary sources have been published. The twenty-six volume collection of documents on Moroccan history compiled by French scholars between 1905 and 1961 stops a full century before Sulayman's rule. More recently, the Moroccan Royal Archives has published selected official documents, but most have come from the period of more intensive European influence after 1830. El Mansour attributes this gap to the paucity of archival material from the middle period of the Alawid dynasty.

The imprecision, and sometimes complete absence, of cataloging in many manuscript collections compounds this problem further; valuable documents remain concealed until brought to light by the fortuitous convergence of patience, diligence, informed guesswork, and luck. In addition to secondary works in Arabic and European languages, El Mansour's bibliography lists over 100 Arabic manuscripts from Moroccan and European repositories, suggesting that he has left no stone unturned in his search for evidence. This impressive array of primary materials provides a solid foundation for his reassessment of Sultan Sulayman's life and times.

An undercurrent of unrest permeated Sulayman's reign. His attempts to centralize authority and ground state fiscal policy in Islamic law increased the tax burden in rural areas and spawned tribal rebellions. But this study demonstrates that all were contained with relative ease and, contrary to popular belief, none seriously undermined royal authority. The ruler's ability to manage societal tension dissipated only after prolonged famine and plague crip-

pled the government, so that Berber tribesmen decimated its forces and briefly took Sulayman prisoner in 1819. Spurred by that success, traditionalists in Fez, angered by the sultan's centralization policies and his espousal of Wahhabism's denunciation of the popular religious forms that many of them embraced, rose in the rebellion that sealed his fate. Here again, El Mansour's account of Sulayman's religious convictions offers a corrective to the received wisdom by demonstrating that his adherence to Wahhabi principles was more selective, and therefore less convincing as an explanation of his actions, than has generally been supposed.

To preserve Morocco's neutrality during the Napoleonic wars, Sulayman approached the European powers warily. Nevertheless, commercial and political contacts with Europe continued throughout his reign. Indeed, trade increased as he came to believe that only successful mercantile policies, and the support of successful merchants, could counter the growing strength of Morocco's more conservative forces. This conviction harmonized with the more widely cited views of both his predecessor and his successor, underscoring the validity of El Mansour's contention that, far from being an atypical aside in precolonial Moroccan history, the reign of Sulayman illustrates a high degree of continuity.

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BASIL DAVIDSON. *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*. New York: Times Books. 1992. Pp. xi, 355. \$24.00.

Basil Davidson has probably written more books about Africa than anyone alive, contributing mightily to the study of both historic and contemporary affairs. His "meditation on the nature of the African experience . . . since Africans began to emerge from foreign rule" (p. 10) therefore demands close scrutiny, even though it was produced at journalistic speed. He addresses nothing less than the causes of the lamentable condition into which so many African governments have fallen. His targets are the nation-states that, "being alien models, failed to achieve legitimacy in the eyes of a majority of African citizens, and soon proved unable to protect and promote the interests of those citizens, except for a privileged few" (p. 12).

His culprits are both African and foreign. He berates African nationalists and their nineteenth-century predecessors for "jettisoning the heritage of chiefs and kings" (p. 73) in favor of "salvation . . . from outside the continent" (p. 27). Their options, of course, were limited by European colonizers who "taught that nothing useful could develop without denying Africa's past" (p. 42) and who stipulated after World War II that "advancement toward the

nation-state was the only feasible route of escape from the colonial condition" (p. 113).

As a result, postindependence Africa was left with a collection of dictatorships, which were the natural successors to the colonial regimes, operating through clientelism, a machine-based political arrangement that had little to do with traditional African checks and balances (pp. 206–07). Davidson's prescription for the continent, which in the 1980s seemed to fall increasingly into the hands of brutal leaders whose only legitimation came from the barrel of a gun, is for modern states to regain their legitimacy through the reinstitution of participatory democracy (p. 315).

Few would question the basic lines of Davidson's analysis, enriched by so many years' observation of the African scene. His authority is reinforced by parallels drawn from experience in the Balkans at the very beginning of his career. His brief account of Yugoslavian history (pp. 274–85) is one of the best I have ever read. Nonetheless, evaluation of this book raises methodological questions that lie at the heart of the boundary between history and journalism.

In our profession, we like to believe that our arguments come out of all of the evidence, not from selective excursions designed to prove particular hypotheses. Some, but by no means all, of Davidson's building blocks come from an extremely selective reading of African history. In an exceptionally long passage (pp. 53–77), he presents the Asante political system as a model of checks and balances and participatory democracy, which it was for its citizens but not for their neighbors, whom they captured and sold into slavery. Another example comes from his treatment of colonial efforts to manipulate precolonial leaders, transforming them from heads of government into tribal agents of colonial rule. Most scholars of the period would agree that "tribalism" is a colonial construct; they might, however, demur at the notion that the colonizers were the only people strong enough to do the manipulation. Groups such as the Hausa in Nigeria and the Lunda in Zaire may well have emerged stronger from colonial rule than they came in.

Despite my reservations about the selectiveness of his documentation, Davidson still leaves historians of Africa with much on which to meditate. The nation-state may well lie at the root of many of the disorders found in so many countries of Africa and Europe today. An imaginative exploration may well take us further than a tightly bounded monograph.

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BENJAMIN POGRUND. *Sobukwe and Apartheid*. Reprint. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1991. Pp. vii, 406. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$14.95.

Since the 1955 African National Congress (ANC) *Freedom Charter*, scholarship on black politics in South Africa has favored advocates of what in contemporary parlance is termed non-racialism. With the notable exception of Gail Gerhart's *Black Power in South Africa* (1978), race-conscious nationalist politics and thought has remained at the margins of scholarly concern.

Leaders and thinkers associated with various forms of racial nationalism, however, have made substantial political and theoretical contributions to the South African struggle for liberation. Of those leaders who have offered an alternative vision of liberation, Robert Sobukwe of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and Steve Biko of the Black Consciousness Movement immediately spring to mind.

With respect to Sobukwe and the PAC, the lack of attention is perplexing, particularly since the senior leadership of both groups shares a common organizational origin in the ANC Youth League. Opposed to the role of non-Africans and especially white communists in the ANC, the breakaway PAC was formed in 1958. Indeed, Benjamin Pogrund, editor of the liberal *Rand Daily Mail* until it was banned by the South African government in the 1970s, provides us with a highly informed testimony to the personal integrity of his friend Sobukwe.

Beginning in 1957, Pogrund developed a close relationship with Sobukwe and, after Sobukwe's internment on Robben Island between 1963 and 1969, they remained close friends until Sobukwe's death in 1978. Through conversations, visits, correspondence, and in his capacity as a journalist, Pogrund followed the political career of the Africanist leader for over twenty years; therefore, he is familiar with the intimate details of Sobukwe's life, down to his reading preferences while in prison.

Although he adeptly situates Sobukwe within the politics of the period, Pogrund's account is personal rather than academic. In the 1950s, Pogrund was a member of the short-lived Liberal Party and his early political involvement is central to the theoretical underpinning of the work. Seen as a historical problem rather than as the affirmation of a friendship, this book can best be understood as an exploration of the relationship between black nationalism and liberalism.

From different perspectives, both the PAC and the Liberal Party vociferously opposed communism in the black liberation movement. Liberals resented attempts by the communist-influenced Congress of Democrats to stake out a position to their left on race relations; the PAC felt that white leftists undermined black leadership and rejected the communists' advocacy of class struggle at the expense of black solidarity. The Liberal Party shared a commitment to multiracialism with the ANC and to anticommunism with the PAC.

Pogrund's failure to relate Sobukwe's thought to the larger black nationalist tradition is the major

weakness of this work and bolsters the impression that his primary concern is with Sobukwe's changing attitude toward liberals and liberalism. Above all, Pogrand wants to exculpate his friend Sobukwe from the ultra antiwhite policies of the post-Sharpeville PAC as well as from any association with the PAC-oriented underground organization *Pogo* (a Xhosa word meaning pure or alone), which, in contrast to the ANC's *Umkonto we Sizwe*, advocated a violent insurrection aimed at the white population as a whole.

This study may help to alert historians to the need for research on minority perspectives within the history of the black South African liberation movement, but it will not fill the academic void either on Sobukwe or on the PAC.

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ASIA

HUGH R. CLARK. *Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province from the Third to the Thirteenth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 266. \$65.00.

Hugh R. Clark's study explores the process whereby the southeastern littoral region, centered on the maritime entrepôt of Quanzhou, became integrated into the expanding commercial economy of Song China. Despite its subtitle, the book is chiefly concerned with the tenth to thirteenth centuries, the period during which Quanzhou emerged as one of the leading trading centers in the Song empire. Surprisingly, given Quanzhou's economic prominence, historical documentation for this region is sparse. From the extant materials Clark has pieced together a plausible, if not fully convincing, account of Quanzhou's incorporation into the Song polity and economy.

Clark posits that the foundation of Quanzhou's economic development in the Song era was laid, ironically enough, during the tenth century, a period of political disunion and chronic warfare between rival satrapies. At this time monastic institutions acquired landholdings on a scale virtually unmatched in post-Tang China, while fiscal exigencies forced local warlords to milk maritime trade for desperately needed revenues. In Clark's view, Quanzhou initially served as a transshipment center for goods imported from insular Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean and destined for the metropolitan markets of central and northern China. Given the limited and underutilized agricultural resources of the region, this trade "generated a regional prosperity that the land could not" (p. 169). In addition, the transshipment of goods from the port of Quanzhou via inland routes contributed to the building of an infrastructure of roads and markets that stimulated settlement.

The tenth century also witnessed substantial immigration and population growth in the Quanzhou region, a trend that persisted into the eleventh century but began to slow by 1100 and was even reversed in the middle of the thirteenth century, despite the continuing vitality of overseas commerce. Clark argues that economic growth in Quanzhou carried the seeds of its own demise. Demographic pressures on scarce agricultural resources (rendered all the more scant by the predominance of monastic landholdings) forced many inhabitants into non-agricultural pursuits or more lucrative cash-crop farming. The Quanzhou population could avail themselves of the marketing system that developed as a consequence of maritime trade, but the region became chronically dependent on grain imports. In the thirteenth century the southern Song state cannibalized the trade passing through Quanzhou's port while failing to stem predation by pirates. Foreign merchants increasingly favored the more secure port of Canton farther south. As Quanzhou's transshipment trade declined, rural prosperity withered, too.

Given the lacunae in historical documentation, Clark is often forced to reconstruct quantitative measures of demographic and economic growth from fragmentary or indirect data, with mixed results. I found his analysis of conflicting data on Quanzhou's population in the Song (pp. 52–55) incisive and persuasive, but the estimate of an urban population ratio of 25 percent for the Quanzhou region in the Tang period (pp. 23–24) is virtually pulled out of thin air. While I accept Clark's general argument about the stimulative impact of overseas trade on the regional economy, I think he exaggerates its significance in developing Quanzhou's rural hinterland. His own maps of population distribution show that growth was concentrated along the coast, with little penetration into the interior. Instead of the "integrated, multilayered hierarchy of markets" (p. 115) that in Clark's view encompassed the entire Quanzhou region, it is more likely that market opportunities and cash-crop farming were restricted to coastal areas (a conclusion that is borne out by what Clark describes [p. 221, n. 82] as the "astonishingly high" commercial tax quota for the coastal town of Tong'an). The rapid demise of the region's internal market structure in the thirteenth century probably reflected the fact that market development and commercial production in the rural interior remained more limited and tentative, even at the height of Quanzhou's prosperity, than Clark suggests.

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RICHARD J. SMITH. *Fortune-tellers and Philosophers: Divination in Traditional Chinese Society*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1991. Pp. xii, 434. \$49.95.

Divination has been central to Chinese culture from earliest times, and in recent years a number of specialized studies have addressed various aspects of this broad and complicated topic. Drawing on research from a range of disciplines, Richard J. Smith has put together a comprehensive overview of Chinese mantic practices and beliefs. His book offers a broad introduction to the subject as well as a detailed bibliography in Asian and Western languages. It should be of interest to general readers, particularly those with some knowledge of China, and to those wishing to do further research.

Working with the assumption that divination, fortune-telling, and other mantic practices can be best understood in terms of a larger framework, Smith devotes the first three chapters to the historical and cultural background. The Qing period (1644–1911) is most heavily emphasized, but enough discussion focuses on the earlier periods to suggest how divination functioned on the political, social, and personal levels. Still, to cover a time span of more than three millennia in a little over 100 pages is no small task, and thus we are given only brief glimpses of ideas and practices which, in many cases, are still barely understood. Even so, Smith's emphasis is well taken: that mantic phenomena such as oracle-bone divination, state calendars, and almanacs have been important at all levels of society, from the state to the individual, and have been relevant to all social classes, from the educated elite to the illiterate commoner.

Smith allots a full chapter to each of the three most important mantic categories. These consist of geomancy, or the siting of dwelling places of the living and the dead; fortune-telling, or the prediction of the future; and practices relating to shamans, spirits, and their messages. In each chapter he discusses the theoretical foundations, the practices, and selected aspects of the social context, including the background of practitioners and possible reasons for the enduring appeal of these activities.

Smith provides a generous amount of detail. He gives illustrations of some of the more interesting features, including the geomancer's compass, maps of topographical formations, horoscopes, and facial and hand features significant for physiognomy. In describing the contents of Chinese manuals, he introduces the reader to the numerous categories of the different mantic systems. To cite a few examples, Smith identifies each of the concentric rings of the geomancer's compass and lists the twelve primary patterns of mountains found in the geomancy manuals. For practices concerning the calculation of fate, he lists the specific ingredients of the different extrapolation systems, such as the five seasonal and twelve life-cycle phases and the four pillars. The categories of physiognomy are also identified as they apply to facial features, characteristics of the hands, and body types. Space does not permit mention of all the practices and categories Smith describes, but the sheer number included helps the reader to see how

the cultural patterns were manifested in varying forms.

The strength of this book lies in the amount of descriptive and bibliographic information provided. In identifying the explicit features of the various divination systems, Smith demonstrates the pervasiveness of correlative thinking, a fundamental characteristic of traditional Chinese culture. Although a single study cannot include everything, I would have liked more discussion that was critical and evaluative of the original Chinese ideas and the ideas of the secondary sources. Smith has done much, however, to provide a firm footing for future research into this vital aspect of Chinese culture, past and present.

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KATHRYN BERNHARDT. *Rents, Taxes, and Peasant Resistance: The Lower Yangzi Region, 1840–1950*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 326. \$37.50.

In this work Kathryn Bernhardt provides a highly valuable study of the social and economic history of the Lower Yangzi through tumultuous times: the Taiping rebellion, the collapse of the Qing, and the Republican period. The focus of the book is on the fiscal regimes and strategies of peasant resistance in Lower Yangzi China after 1840. But the author provides a highly readable narrative of the economic and social history of this period and place as well.

Bernhardt characterizes the struggle between the state, landlords, and peasants over the surplus as a zero-sum, three-part contest: taxes or rents could only increase at the expense of peasant consumption. Landlords and the state had some interests in common; thus, the state had an interest in aiding the collection of rents. And peasants had sharp conflicts of interest with both state and landlord: taxes and rents were directly related to consumption levels. The book makes a thorough effort to reconstruct as far as the sources permit the overall patterns of landownership, tenancy arrangements, and tax institutions in the period. A central finding is that there is a marked trend toward increasing state involvement in rent relations throughout the Republican period, both in the form of rent collection institutions (pp. 165 and following) and in regulations that set rent ceilings and abatement requirements (pp. 172 and following).

The organizing theme of the book is the continuing significance of collective rent resistance in the lower Yangzi throughout the late-Qing and Republican periods. Peasants were confronted with classic problems of collective action. In spite of these obstacles, however, Yangzi peasants engaged in a century-long pattern of periodic collective resistance. Bernhardt documents a sizeable increase in tenant collective action between 1912 and 1936 (p. 189). Moreover, in the lower Yangzi this increase took the form of rent resistance rather than tax resistance (contrary to what

we might expect on the basis of current thinking about the process of state-building). Particularly useful is the author's description of some of the organizational forms around which rent resistance took place: lineage ties, temple societies, and cooperative-labor practices in the Qing, and larger scale peasant associations as well as traditional organizational forms in the Republican period (p. 194).

Bernhardt argues that the Taiping rebellion was a central turning point in the struggle over the harvest in this region of China. She maintains (contrary to Philip Kuhn, for example, in his *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864* [1970]) that landlords' position with respect to peasants was weakened as a consequence of Taiping ideology and institutional changes (p. 9). Moreover, the Taipings' leveling ideology left traces in peasant politics that endured into the twentieth century and prepared the ground for Communist mobilization efforts (p. 115). Bernhardt concludes that landlords were the net losers throughout this period: real rents declined as consumption and tax levels increased. And this decline had significant consequences for the Communist Party's fortunes: "When the Communist Party gained control of the region in 1949, it confronted not a strong landed elite, but one that had already been seriously weakened by greater state intrusion and growing tenant political power" (p. 11).

The book is a worthy addition to the growing literature on the social and economic processes that underlay the tumultuous political events of twentieth-century China. It provides a well-documented and insightful perspective on state-society relations in rural China.

DANIEL LITTLE
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HANS J. VAN DE VEN. *From Friend to Comrade: The Founding of the Chinese Communist Party, 1920–1927*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xi, 373. \$45.00.

In this useful and thought-provoking work, Hans J. van de Ven revises our understanding of the early history of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Previous accounts of the Chinese Communist revolution emphasized an early and successful commitment to Leninist organizing and a tardy realization that the true center of mass revolt lay in the countryside. Without denying the importance of the shift to rural revolution, van de Ven suggests that, even during their city phase (1921–27), the Communists were poorly led and organizationally ill-equipped. The CCP's alliance with the Nationalists in 1924 may have been a mistake, putting the party in a position to be brutally attacked by Chiang Kai-shek in 1927. But given the CCP's limited capacities, charting its own course early on would have meant remaining a fringe

sect with limited appeal beyond a coterie of intellectuals.

Van de Ven insists that the initial turn toward Marxism-Leninism in China had less to do with the model success of the Bolsheviks in 1917, as has been assumed, than with a powerful domestic reaction against the decadence of republican government. So sick of government corruption and weakness were many intellectuals that only an antipolitical politics stood a chance of appearing fresh and untainted. For example, in 1920 Mao Zedong complained that his native "Hunanese have no brains, no ideals, and no basic plan. Politics is shrouded in dark clouds; it is corrupt, and there is no hope for the path of political reform" (p. 25). This helps explain the broad appeal of anarchism during the 1910s and early 1920s and the gradual conversion of political radicals to the uncompromising, anti-liberal message of Marxism-Leninism. "Anything but republicanism" seems to have been the prevailing mood among fledgling Communists. But such iconoclastic sentiments did not prepare CCP members for ideological orthodoxy or party discipline. Many approached Communist activism as a continuation of the free-thinking, socially inbred "study society" salons of the late 1910s. Friendship and the life of the mind/heart often took precedence over "What is to be done?"

A key force driving the CCP toward greater organizational unity appears to have been the united front with the Nationalists. Here was a practical opportunity to use conspiratorial methods to subvert and control a rival organization. The increasingly virulent reaction of anticommunist Nationalists to this incursion reinforced a sense of separateness among Communists and made the case for a national, rather than regional, strategy more compelling. The failure of the alliance paradoxically strengthened the Leninist impulse by making it convenient to purge those responsible and to elevate a party line that by definition could not fail if properly identified and implemented. Militarization of the CCP after 1927 placed further limits on individual and local spontaneity as "comrades" rather than friends took charge of mobilized communities.

The organizational history of a body that failed to organize until seemingly the last possible moment is bound to be a catalogue of miscues and missed opportunities. As such, and barring an interest in the comic possibilities of a "gang that couldn't shoot straight" (the bloody consequences were anything but humorous), an author is faced with the stylistically challenging task of making a case for what did not happen. Greater attention to what Communists were doing when they were not being good Leninists would have added more spice and texture to the narrative. As the work stands, there are many interesting indications of complex sexual, generational, and cultural tensions in the CCP that competed for time and energy with the demands of organization-building. Van de Ven has done scholars an invaluable

service by freeing them from the simple search for deviations from an orthodoxy that was late in coming and from a leadership that was as much a function of who did not follow it as it was of who did.

DAVID STRAND
Dickinson College

MARIUS B. JANSEN. *China in the Tokugawa World*. (The Edwin O. Reischauer Lectures, 1988.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 137. \$24.95.

This thin volume is the product of the 1988 Edwin O. Reischauer Lectures at Harvard University. The purpose of this lecture series has been to attempt to reintegrate the study of China and Japan in research on East Asia. In less mature days in the American academy, the civilizations of China and Japan were more often taught as part of the same part of the world, but because of the creeping specialization that overtook East Asian studies long ago and the self-segregation of scholars interested in one part of Asia far more than another, China and Japan scholars scarcely talk to one another any more. Marius B. Jansen has always been an exception. From his early work on Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) and Sun's Japanese contacts, Jansen set a standard toward which we all still work. Even his major biographical study of Sakamoto Ryōma took considerable account of the impact of intellectual trends from the mainland.

This work is an effort to assess the impact of Chinese things and people on Japan during the years of the Tokugawa regime (1603–1867), when actual contacts were severely restricted by both sides. By relying on the latest advances in scholarship from both Japan and the West, Jansen offers here in clear and succinct prose a marvelous synthesis of mountains of scholarship, demonstrating the great importance that China had for Japan in many different areas.

The first chapter primarily concerns the manifold nature of Sino-Japanese contacts in the port city of Nagasaki, dealing with issues of its origins, local commerce, trade, and how the shogunate sought to control it. The second chapter concerns the impact actual contacts had on the image of China in Tokugawa Japan. Jansen admits that "this is not an easy question" (p. 53). Indeed, it really cannot be neatly answered, but Jansen's multifaceted approach—looking at such aspects of the contact as religion, art, law, and above all the book trade—leads us in numerous fruitful directions for future research.

Jansen also attempts valiantly to assess the roles "China" and, indeed, the literary Chinese language played for Japanese intellectuals. At what point did China, in the Japanese imagination, cease being the fount of civilization and become simply one nation on a par with Japan? At what point did Japan and

Japanese neo-Confucian thought seem to Japanese scholars to overtake China? What brought these developments about? Was it a simple linear development that can be dated? Scholars have been debating these issues for many years, but Jansen sets a new standard of sophistication for us all.

There are few misprints or errors. He notes, based on the research of Ronald Toby and Ōba Osamu, that the term *Tōjin* (literally, "men of T'ang"), a Tokugawa-period expression for Chinese, was used not only for Chinese (as formerly thought) but for all foreigners and that it was a term of deprecation. He suggests, following Ōba, that by using this Japanese reflex for the "T'ang" (Tō in Japanese) dynasty, Japanese "dismissed the millennium of Chinese history that followed the T'ang as irrelevant and denied the existence of the contemporary Chinese dynasty [the Ch'ing] by never referring to it as 'Shinkoku'" (p. 86). Jansen notes that this may be an exaggeration and in fact it is. The term *Shinkoku* (land of the Ch'ing) is a pure Japanese innovation, rarely if ever used by Chinese, and in fact attacked years later by some Chinese. Furthermore, the logic of this point would make terms like *Kanji* (Chinese characters) and *Chūka ryōri* (Chinese cuisine) equally dismissive, and we know that they are not.

His short final chapter looks ahead to the early Meiji period and at a variety of different sorts of materials from early travel chronicles of Japanese in China, to the early Meiji political leaders' views of China, to Japan's growing desire to "depart from Asia" and gain parity with the West.

The inclusion of Chinese characters in a bibliography or in the otherwise excellent bibliographical note would have been helpful for readers. This book is not for beginners, though graduate students would be well advised to read it closely. The suggestions for future research, implied and stated, could fuel dissertations in Sino-Japanese studies for a generation.

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RICHARD H. MITCHELL. *Janus-Faced Justice: Political Criminals in Imperial Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 235. \$30.00.

In this book, Richard H. Mitchell argues that imperial Japan was a "paternalistic police state" (pp. xvi, 176), marked by two lines of continuity with the past. The first is with Tokugawa's "transcendental administrative state," whose "outstanding trait . . . was a lack of redress against authority" (p. 1). Along with the typical rhetoric of benevolence came "a near total dependence on confessions coupled with a willingness to use brutality and torture." The Meiji enlightenment brought sharp criticism of abuses, introducing a second line of continuity: the concern to respect human and procedural rights, and to rule through

"humane laws." Mitchell's concern is to analyze the "conflicting realities" (p. 175) associated with this dual legacy.

The state's threshold of ideological tolerance was low from the outset. Paternalism was slow to emerge. In addition to military force, the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement, Seinan Rebellion, and agrarian uprisings were met with foundational repressive legislation. Mitchell attaches special importance to the Administrative Enabling Law of 1900, likened by a contemporary criminal lawyer to a "knife in the hands of a lunatic" (p. 25). Also, for some two decades, an "embryonic gulag" (pp. xv, 17–22) functioned on the newly colonized island of Hokkaidō.

The category of the "ideological offender" (*shishōhan*) emerged only in the twentieth century, when socialism was legally defined as the ideological Other to the imperial state: the Special Higher Police (Tokkō) was formed in 1912, the Peace Preservation Law passed in 1925. "Taishō democracy" and the "people's police" notwithstanding, police brutality in fact increased during the 1920s.

Under the set of innovative procedures designed to induce *tenkō* (ideological conversion), leftist offenders were treated "as people in need of correction and rehabilitation rather than as deviates to be imprisoned or killed" (p. 174). Only a suspect's remorse, however, could set this paternalism in motion; recovery of "latent Japaneseness" (p. 142) required a confession. This was an invitation to brutality, even torture, particularly on the part of the "justice police" (*shihō keisatsu*). Some of the penchant for violence may have derived from the importation by Japanese transferees from Korea of methods used to crush the colonial nationalist movement. Despite repeated expressions of concern by procurators, judges, and high state officials, such practices proved unstoppable.

Mitchell scrupulously notes instances of humanness and concern for suspects' rights, finding that the judiciary "came closest" to providing "a fair measure of justice" (p. 175). The record of state ministers is equivocal, occasionally shocking: "the law," Home Minister Suetsugu Nobumasa declared in 1938, "is not almighty" (p. 102). By the 1930s, liberal academics and members of the bar "were not much concerned about procedural rights for those who repudiated the *kokutai*" (p. 136); Mitchell might have noted that this was the condition for their survival as liberals. Leftist lawyers often ended up in court as defendants themselves.

Weighing evidence from a variety of political systems, Mitchell concludes that "brutality and torture can flourish under any type of government" (p. 172). Imperial Japan's "mother-and-father type policy toward thought crimes" (p. 107) did contain genuine and effective innovations aimed at encouraging reintegration of offenders. Such "soft rule," however, presupposed what might be called the "demonstration effect" provided by legal violence. Mitchell makes this point implicitly, but should have done so explic-

itly. For the many to be reincorporated, some few had to have "acid . . . poured over the eyes" (p. xiv). The discursive creation of power is now a commonplace idea among historians. Mitchell's book is a salutary reminder of its all too physical manifestations as well.

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CARTER J. ECKERT. *Offspring of Empire: The Koch'ang Kims and the Colonial Origins of Korean Capitalism, 1876–1945*. (Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 388. \$40.00.

The history of South Korean industrialization is replete with beginnings. For most developmental economists, the beginning is the much publicized liberalization reforms of 1964–65, which catapulted Korea forward as the industrial *Wunderkind* of the late twentieth century. The mercantilist political economy and colonial backwardness that preceded export-led development mostly serve to demonstrate the stunning success of South Korea's industrial growth. For uncritical historians in Japan (and also some in the United States), the proper place to begin is Japan's modernizing conquest of Korea in 1910, which prefigured the developmental triumph of the 1960s. From the Korean perspective, however, that year marks the start of massive colonial underdevelopment, posing for nationalist historians the tantalizing, if unanswerable, question: in the absence of Japanese colonialism, could Koreans have developed a vibrant capitalist economy of their own? In search of signs of incipient native capitalism, some Korean historians have combed through the commercial record of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Korea to show that they could.

It is this nationalistic scholarship that Carter J. Eckert takes to task. His argument, garnered from the family archives of one of Korea's most prominent industrial families, is that the origins of Korean capitalism must be sought in Japanese colonial policies toward Korea—indeed, that one of Korea's earliest *chaebol* (Korean equivalent of the *zaibatsu*) families, long respected not only for its entrepreneurial but also its educational and nationalistic activities in Korea, could not have survived without the helping hand of the Japanese colonial government. By highlighting four decades of collaboration, Eckert throws into question the nationalist credentials of the Koch'ang Kims, as well as the very notion of Korean national capital, what he calls the "crux of the myth," or the "hoary view" (p. 66), of nationalist historiography in Korea.

Eckert offers a superb case study in colonial industrialization. The Koch'ang Kims transformed great landed wealth into industrial capital primarily through investment in the textile industry. The Kim

brothers commanded a complete, vertically integrated cotton textile operation, including ginning factories, spinning and weaving facilities, as well as bleaching, dying, and clothing factories. They also built a textile factory in Manchuria, and maintained business offices in Osaka, Beijing, and in the interior of central China. Much of this expansion was financed through preferential rates and conditions offered by the Industrial Bank of Chosen, a key agent of colonial industrialization. In return for the largess, the Kims supported Japan's imperial program by making contributions to Japan's war chest, regularly purchasing war bonds, and investing in war-related industries.

The Kims, Eckert informs us, were willing cogs in the wheel of the Great East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere, going along and getting along through a Japanese scheme to develop Korean industry that was not directly competitive with core industries. Manchuria became the main outlet for Korean textile goods, with the Kims soon engaged in the same kind of economic exploitation of the Chinese that Koreans had suffered under the Japanese. This is remarkable grist for the mill of recent scholarship on the history of northeast Asia, which has emphasized policies of regional integration, the division of labor, and product cycles—that is, dependent development in the Japanese imperium. For some reason, however, Eckert fails to acknowledge his debt to this previous scholarship, which provides an important mooring to his empirical effort.

This book was meant to contribute to “cross-fertilization between social sciences and the more humanistically oriented Korean studies field.” The social science that Eckert wants to graft onto the Korean field is not very robust, however. He does not convey the complexity of concepts such as nationalism (except to reiterate frequently that the Kims did not possess much of it), national capital (a myth when used by Koreans in this book, but one that Eckert does not examine in comparative or theoretical perspective), and colonial development and underdevelopment (too often conflated with “modernization”). He also gratuitously and somewhat condescendingly mocks “Korean scholars,” as if all were alike, for not understanding the meaning of capitalism. According to Eckert, “capitalism as an economic system cannot be separated from industrialism” (p. 4)—several centuries of capitalist development before the Industrial Revolution notwithstanding. Regardless of Eckert's own misunderstanding of capitalism, his inescapable conclusion is that Korean capitalism is the mere creature (“offspring”) of Japanese imperialism.

In another misreading of the history of capitalist development in the “West,” Eckert argues that whereas the Western capitalist class was “able to capture the imagination and sympathy of other classes by articulating and pursuing their interests in terms of [the] principles [of] freedom and . . . liberal democracy,” the bourgeoisie in colonial Korea fell far

short of this mark. Rather than “class transformation,” which was modal for the West, “class conflict characterized the rise of a Korean bourgeoisie.” Collaboration was not simply the price paid for survival in colonial Korea; instead, driven by “myopic self-interest,” the Kims offered few material concessions to the working class—quite unlike the capitalist class in the West (p. 189).

Democracy might not have been the forte of the Korean bourgeoisie, true, but then a liberal democratic world-view was also the exception rather than the rule in much of continental Europe (let alone in the rest of the world), during the early stage of industrialization. Many scholars of capitalism, moreover, would describe “myopic self-interest” and lack of concern for fair wages as the essence of textile development, no matter where it has occurred.

Eckert harshly criticizes Korean nationalist scholarship for dwelling on the theme of Japan's exploitation of Korea, and not that of modernization. This is unfortunate, not only because the “capitalist sprouts school” that he directs his attack at is mostly unknown outside of Korea and therefore many readers will not be able to judge the soundness of his critique (most of the work is untranslated) but also because Japanese exploitation of its colonies is an important theme, and so is the theme of Korean resistance and struggle. A double-sided analysis of development and underdevelopment would avoid these problems and enable a critique (instead of Eckert's conspicuous silence) about the claims that Japan “modernized” Korea.

This book therefore is theoretically stymied, cognizant of the deadening weight and narrow purview of area studies, but unable to break out of it to provide a useful comparative frame of reference. In place of the nationalist historiography that Eckert argues serves a deep psychological need of Koreans, he has erected another myth: the uniquely mendicant and dependent nature of Korean capitalism. It is not a myth that the Korean “offspring” are likely to embrace, especially with Eckert's excessive and curiously revealing attacks on nativist historiography. But neither is it a myth that ought to be taken seriously: it merely mars what is otherwise a fine case study of textile industrialization in a developing country.

MEREDITH WOO-CUMINGS
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DAVID P. CHANDLER. *The Tragedy of Cambodian History: Politics, War, and Revolution since 1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 396. \$35.00.

When David P. Chandler published *A History of Cambodia* (1983), he was hailed by scholars in Southeast Asian studies as a preeminent authority on Cambodia. The present work is a sequel to that volume, which had covered the period from ancient times to the attainment of independence in 1953 (endorsed by the Geneva Agreements of 1954). Prin-

cipally based on primary sources, unpublished documents, and very extensive interviews with a large number of participants of all levels—princes, politicians, pundits, and peasants—Chandler's book is a masterful account of the history of modern Cambodia from the end of World War II to the Vietnamese invasion that brought down the hated Pol Pot regime in the last week of 1978.

The author commences his account with an extensive backdrop of the events involving the internment of French officials by the Japanese on March 9, 1945, giving the twenty-two-year-old King (later Prince) Norodom Sihanouk the chance to declare the end of the protectorate the French had established over Cambodia in 1863. Although the road to final Cambodian independence passed through many political vicissitudes thereafter, the period from 1945 to 1954, noted for some of the most imaginative initiatives by the astute, dynamic Sihanouk, must be rated one of the golden periods of Cambodian history. Chandler has rewritten his account of the period to incorporate newly opened archival sources dealing with the aftermath of World War II, not available to him at the time he wrote *A History of Cambodia*.

Chandler's new book does not truly begin for at least another decade, when the devastating war in neighboring Vietnam brought instability to a peaceful, nonaligned Cambodia. He notes that even the politically and diplomatically resourceful Sihanouk could not keep the Vietnamese Communists from using the eastern part of Cambodia for transit and asylum, thereby extending the theater of war to his country. While paying tribute to Sihanouk's strong points, Chandler brings out the liabilities—obesity and depression, pervasive interference in the political process, intolerance and ruthlessness—that were responsible for the rise of underground opposition, not exclusively Communist, to his leadership.

Even so, Chandler squarely blames the Cambodian tragedy on the policies of the United States, which toppled Sihanouk and brought in Lon Nol, who soon suffered a stroke but continued to head an increasingly ineffective administration for five crucial years that "marked the high tide of factionalism and fragmentation in Cambodian politics." According to Chandler, the country could have been taken over by the Khmer Rouge some years before they actually did in April 1975 were it not for North Vietnamese interests in keeping the Americans busy on another front.

The concluding chapter, "Inside the Typhoon," gives testimonies from a variety of ordinary people who were fortunate enough to survive the holocaust made familiar to millions of viewers by the film *The Killing Fields*. The eyewitness accounts form one of the most valuable parts of the book, a testimony to the immense suffering of a "gentle land."

The scholarly world will be grateful to Chandler for his very well-documented and lucid account of modern Cambodian history. The only regret is that

he stopped in early 1979, when the hated Pol Pot regime was ended by the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, and did not bring the story up to date. That should be enough justification for Chandler to write a shorter sequel to this volume in the not too distant future.

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ROBERT CRIBB. *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution, 1945–1949*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 222. \$32.00.

In recent years historians and political scientists have enhanced our understanding of the regional dynamics of the Indonesian revolution (1945–49). In so doing, they have also provided insight into the culture and political history of segments of Indonesian society neglected in previous accounts of this complex nation. Based on dissertation research carried out during 1979–84, Robert Cribb's volume on the Jakarta people's militia is an intriguing addition to this growing body of revisionist literature. Cribb analyzes the social background of the Indonesian revolution in Jakarta and the surrounding coastal plain, revealing that the region lacked most of the corporate and inward-looking social structures sometimes mistakenly attributed to Javanese society as a whole. In this long-colonized portion of the island, labor bosses, not native aristocrats, stood at the heart of the indigenous social structure. They supplied workers for Dutch and Chinese employers, provided rural migrants with access to scarce employment opportunities, and controlled an invisible network of thugs eminently well suited for such criminal activities as armed robbery and extortion.

During the twilight years of East Indies colonialism, when the Dutch government successfully neutralized most of the nationalist organizations that challenged its rule, young nationalist militants initiated contacts with leaders of the Jakartan underworld. The underworld gangs had survived the repression that had decimated other indigenous organizations and had demonstrated what was from the young radicals' perspective an admirable if sometimes misplaced expertise in armed resistance to colonial authority. For the gangsters, nationalism offered an opportunity to legitimate their role as power-holders in the community. During the turmoil of the Japanese occupation (1942–45) and the subsequent war for independence, the nationalist struggle also provided the gang leaders with numerous opportunities for plunder and profiteering. Despite growing conflict with higher-level nationalist leaders, for a few turbulent years there was a congruence of interests between the gangsters and the local-level radicals who drew them

into a patchwork alliance known as the "People's Militia of Greater Jakarta."

Although both the radical nationalists and the gangsters hoped to secure important positions for themselves in postcolonial society, they were progressively marginalized—or, in numerous instances, physically liquidated—in the final months of the independence war. It is in the analysis of this process that Cribb's work achieves its most important insight. Having demonstrated that the social roots of the Indonesian revolution were more complex than often thought, Cribb's exquisitely detailed local account also testifies to the painful but ultimately successful efforts of Indonesia's leaders to forge an effective and regionally uniform military and state structure.

The author is not a cultural historian and the underground nature of the phenomenon he has investigated does not lend itself to interpretive exegesis. Readers thus will not find in this work the kind of richly textured cultural sociology characteristic of much postwar American and English writing on Indonesian history. What they will find, however, is a rich and important chronicle that succeeds in its twin goals of revealing the local politics of the Indonesian revolution and illuminating the unfamiliar but intriguing social foundation on which it was built.

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MARIAM DOSSAL. *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City, 1845–1875*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 251. \$29.00.

Mariam Dossal examines the development of public works between 1845 and 1875 in Bombay through the contributions of British planners, institutions, and government, which transformed Bombay from a town to a city. By 1875, Bombay's fort had been "unwalled," additional land reclaimed from the sea, and cotton mills, railroads, and docks all became features of the new colonial city.

The first part of the book situates Bombay's urbanization in the context of Victorian values of order, civic improvement, and British hegemony. Located on India's western coast, Bombay was a center for British trade and government. As an intermediate link between the "core" and "periphery," Bombay was of vital economic and political significance for the British empire. Increasing immigration into the city led to dramatic demographic changes. For the colonial authorities, urban restructuring was necessary to maintain civil order in Bombay, to maximize economic gain, and to increase British political control over the Indian subcontinent.

The second part of the book examines the various plans and schemes that were critical in transforming Bombay as a city. These plans were prepared by British professionals such as Henry Conybeare, a hydraulic engineer, and administrators such as Bartle

Frere, the governor of Bombay, who embodied Victorian ideals. They charted out the plans and "generated" financial resources locally for Bombay's urban development. Yet their plans were not always implemented. In examining this gap between planning and implementation, Dossal brilliantly illuminates the nature of a taxation system within the structure of colonial administration that allowed British authorities in Calcutta to spend the revenues collected in Bombay. This structure was exploited by certain collaborating colonial authorities and local merchants to frustrate some of the plans for Bombay's urban development.

The Indian taxpayers, especially the merchants, resented the long-term economic burden of financing certain urban projects that were of no immediate benefit to them. Thus, Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, a prominent businessman, regarded the Vihar Water Works scheme as unnecessary since Bombay's average rainfall was enough to meet its annual water needs. Even the British authorities considered colonial urbanization not an end in itself but rather a means for effective political and economic control. Often the British gave precedence to political and economic issues over urban development.

Given the colonial politics of urban development, it is somewhat puzzling to see Dossal, who relies exclusively on British sources, lament that nowhere was she "able to locate alternative plans for Bombay's municipal development drawn up by the Indians" during this period (p. 6). As a paramount power, the British monopolized the technology and technical expertise as tools of political and economic control (see Daniel Headrick, *The Tentacles of Power: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism* [1988]). This book might have been enriched by including perspectives of contemporary Indian nationalists such as Dadabhai Naoroji and Mahadev Govind Ranade, who made issues of public works and taxation central to their political discourses.

Based on primary sources gathered mainly from the Maharashtra State Archives and the India Office Library and Records, the book relies heavily on government documents and private papers of British officials involved in the restructuring of Bombay. Notwithstanding its focus on the British, the book is clearly written and well illustrated with numerous tables, plates, maps, and plans. It is an important contribution to the growing scholarship in the field of urban history.

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GARRY WOTHERSPOON. *"City of the Plain": History of a Gay Subculture*. Sydney: Hale and Iremonger. 1991. Pp. 256. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$24.95.

Extending the work begun by scholars on the history of Western Europe, Garry Wotherspoon's study illuminates the post-World War I evolution from "homosexual" to "gay" in Australia. The Biblical, even Proustian, aspects of the title refer specifically to Sydney, long considered the nation's most liberal city, but it serves as an example for wide-ranging changes throughout the country. The story unfolds through a broad variety of sources, especially fiction, oral history, and media reports. The author chooses to limit his topic to the gay male subculture, a common, albeit debatable, choice. (Those opposed to "homosexuality" rarely differentiate between gay male and lesbian in their discrimination.)

In six chapters, along with an introduction and an epilogue, Wotherspoon details how Sydney's (and Australia's) male homosexual minority moved from "a double world" (p. 78), where public stigmatization set limits to private sexuality (1920s–1950s), to a society in which that division between public and private identities might be bridged (1950s–present). In the 1920s and 1930s, a homosexual identity began to emerge despite attempts to confine it through the state sodomy laws. Homosexuals have always found ways to circumvent such restrictions, and a variety of safe havens (cruising areas, professions, even churches) are evocatively described.

The 1940s mark "an end of unknowing" as sexual attitudes changed and greater numbers of homosexuals entered the subculture. That tenuous step forward evoked, in the 1950s, repressive measures from the majority culture. New and harsher penalties for homosexual activity were enacted, and homosexuality was increasingly defined as a problem medical intervention might eliminate. But, as throughout the twentieth century, these efforts to contain the perceived threat of homosexuality had just the opposite result. In response, "homosexuals themselves created a new definition—gay—that allowed them to build both a new identity and a new political movement" (p. 215).

Gay identity and politics more fully evolved in the 1960s and 1970s, under the influence of changing economic factors (increased availability of the automobile and of housing stock) and of other social movements. Particularly important in defining gay identity in the early 1970s was the group CAMP (with its demand that all gays should come out), whereas gay identity in the 1980s seems shaped more by the growth of a commercial subculture and "The Impact of AIDS" (the title of Wotherspoon's epilogue). Both have broadened the definition of "gay" and, perhaps surprisingly, strengthened the integration of the subculture.

While this study is thorough, it can best serve as a first telling of the story. Although the author sets the story within the framework supplied by Michel Foucault, he steers clear of explicit theorizing that might have helped him focus his narrative. We read much of the slowly changing manifestations of homo-

sexuality, homophobia, identity, and community (all necessary parts of the tale), but very little analysis of the root causes of those evolutions.

The lively quotes and many photos make this a welcome text for the general reader. The extensive endnotes will aid other scholars in continuing Wotherspoon's work. His valuable book adds fascinating detail and new aspects to the paradigm of repression-produces-community-produces-identity that gay and lesbian scholars have been exploring in their search for a silenced past.

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JAMES A. HENRETTA. *The Origins of American Capitalism: Collected Essays*. Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1991. Pp. xxxvii, 312. \$35.00.

As an essayist, James A. Henretta has few peers. Specialists in colonial American history are already familiar with many of the classics in this volume; some of them have been required reading in graduate school for years. Collected together for the first time, these essays represent some of the most sophisticated and thoughtful writing on early American social and economic history to appear in the last quarter-century. The collection contains seven essays, all but one previously published, and a twenty-three page introduction.

Some of Henretta's best known essays are contained in this volume, including "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Preindustrial America." In this path-breaking essay, Henretta examines the agricultural economy of colonial America. Instead of finding nascent capitalism and rugged individualism (as predicted by the liberal or consensus school historians) he discovers a transitional form of subsistence agriculture. Colonial farmers, especially in New England and the middle colonies, engaged in exchange by trading foodstuffs and labor with neighbors. Any surplus left after exchange with neighbors was sold in the market economy for cash or store credit. Exchange with one's neighbors, however, imposed limitations on prices for products and services. Subsistence and exchange were priorities; production for the market was not. Having concluded a halfway covenant with capitalism, these colonial "subsistence plus" farmers remained trapped in the precapitalist consciousness until late in the eighteenth century.

Henretta has adopted what he calls an "environmentalist approach" to the question of the origins of colonial capitalism. He argues persuasively that the material and cultural environments determine not only economic behavior but help shape cultural values as well. Thus, a farmer without access to a market will not work to produce a surplus. Opportunity had to knock before the capitalist impulse could be freed.

If a precapitalist consciousness prevailed in the

countryside (at least in New England), why then did Calvinism not come to capitalism's rescue? In a thoughtful essay entitled "The Weber Thesis Revisited: The Protestant Ethic and the Reality of Capitalism in Early America," Henretta reexamines the old connection between Protestantism and capitalism first posed by Max Weber. Using Weber's definition of capitalism as "the rational capitalistic organization of (formally) free labor" (p. 46), Henretta explores the causal relationship between Protestantism and capitalism. His interest is not in proving or disproving the Weber thesis but in investigating the interaction of ideas and material conditions. Not surprisingly, Henretta's analysis suggests that "the circumstances of life—spiritual and material—in early New England militated against the expansion of capitalist enterprise" (p. 53). America's Calvinists wanted to control the market, not unleash it. Calvinism would serve as a brake on capitalism until the end of the seventeenth century. In the countryside the precapitalistic tradition would linger even longer. Calvinism's emphasis on frugality and industry and the Puritan's nagging doubt of personal salvation surely drove some to accumulate wealth, but Calvinism was never at peace with a system that necessarily championed individualism. "Calvinism had pushed capitalism forward, only to be devoured by its creation" (p. 66).

In a long interpretive essay entitled "The War for Independence and American Economic Development," Henretta asks whether the war for American independence accelerated the process of economic growth leading to a more capitalistic society. He also tests the concept of protoindustrialization as a method for understanding colonial economic growth before and during the war. In doing so, he takes issue with the so-called "staple thesis" espoused by some historians. Henretta concludes that the American Revolution stimulated new rural enterprises but actually delayed the emergence of a manufacturing sector.

Henretta reminds us in his introduction that "knowledge is not understanding" (p. xv). Twenty-five years of "new social history" have produced mountains of statistics and a blizzard of antiquarian details. If we are to go beyond the simple accumulation of data, we must keep up the discussion on methodology and historiography. This book is a major contribution to that discussion.

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JEFFREY H. RICHARDS. *Theater Enough: American Culture and the Metaphor of the World Stage, 1607–1789*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1991. Pp. xxi, 335. \$34.95.

Although the title of this book strikes one at first as a trifle opaque, the subtitle conveys quite well what

Jeffrey H. Richards has set out to do in this well-researched and engagingly written study. First, and most impressively, he has canvassed the literature of colonial and revolutionary America in search of passages that invoked the ancient metaphor of the *theatrum mundi*, the world as stage. Those passages turn out to be far more numerous than one might have expected from a society so hostile to the stage. Moreover, as Richards argues, they reveal the distinctively, not to say constitutively, American manner in which Puritans and patriots—his two main subjects—seized on an otherwise suspect metaphor to put their respective missions in the most flattering light.

Framed by prologue and epilogue, the book falls into four parts or acts. The first section runs roughly from Plato to the Pilgrims and sketches out the intellectual genealogy of the *theatrum mundi* before 1630, with special attention to the peculiarly Stoic branch that English Puritans clung to as they crossed to America. Part 2 develops this argument further by examining the theatrical figures of speech into which Puritan leaders from John Winthrop to Cotton Mather cast both their collective errand in the wilderness and their individual sense of a watchful God, or, as Mather put it, "the *All-Seeing Eye* of that Majestie, who to mee, shall be *Theatre* enough" (p. ix).

Part 3 surveys the century before the American Revolution—the "Theater of Blood"—with a view toward tracing the gradual rhetorical transformation of the theatrical metaphor from a fundamentally theological image of intimate, divine scrutiny to a fundamentally political image of public obligation and example. Part 4 carries this argument to its conclusion by focusing on the rhetoric of the revolutionaries as a "politicized millennialism" (p. 203) that drew on the figure of the stage to capture the global dimensions of their providential project.

All this is useful as far as it goes, but as Richards seems implicitly to recognize, it does not go far enough; or, rather, it is not theater enough for him, or for us. Indeed, he repeatedly reminds the reader that Americans ignored, where they did not deliberately reject, the critical microcosmic vision of self-fashioning and social theater—what Richards alternately calls the intratheatrical or Tory figure—that issued out of the English Renaissance, preferring instead the more archaic, extratheatrical image of the stage as a field of fateful action. On this side of the Atlantic, the *theatrum mundi* was less a theatrical than an amphitheatrical figure (p. 11), at least in terms of the senses of theater that had become available to English-speaking writers by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

When early Americans invoked the stage, then, they meant to suggest history, not histrionics; action, not acting; in short, drama, not theatricality. Richards's careful genealogy thus enables us to discern the distant rhetorical origins, say, of a slogan like the "New World Order"—understood as a grand theater of operations—but it cannot show how a twentieth-

century American like himself might also choose to see the slogan as a posture rather than a position.

One could scarcely fault the author for this failing were it not for the fact that his preface frames the study "as a prolegomenon to some future, more fully developed theoretical statement of how it is that cultures can be scrutinized through the figure of the stage—a theatrics of culture" (p. xiv). This far more ambitious historical and ethnographic project, carried out under the theoretical auspices of Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner, is presumably what licenses Richards to read large measures of "social theatricality" (p. 8) into texts that insistently placed themselves in the context of "cosmic drama."

By treating colonial society as always already theatricalized—from John Winthrop's "hill stage" and George Whitfield's awakening through John Adams's revolution—the author is thereby able to interpret its suppression of the theater and its correspondingly Stoic vision of the *theatrum mundi* as symptomatic of a radical displacement of primitive theatrical urges and energies from the stage as such to larger, more consequential theaters of action. "My point has been all along," he concludes, "that theater will out in one form or another and that the peculiar circumstances of American settlement produced a culture that was at once poor in playhouses but rich in figural stages" (p. 294).

Perhaps, but such a zero-sum approach to human histrionics owes less to a theatrics of culture than to a hydraulics of culture, a model that Geertz himself has dismissed and that, by Richards's own account, few of his subjects would have cared to embrace. American patriots, the author declares, "did not need ethnographers or sociologists to tell them that a dramaturgical model helps explain societal interactions" (p. 247). Indeed not, and not simply because (as he puts it) "they knew already, and knew it dynamically," but because such knowledge of the social stage smacked of just that kind of Tory theatricalism that the revolutionaries were least disposed to apply to themselves. With their *novus ordo seclorum* they had, as Richards shows so well, theater enough.

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VIRGINIA DEJOHN ANDERSON. *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 232. \$34.50.

To the familiar shelf of single-town, New England community studies, Virginia DeJohn Anderson adds a synthesis, demographically based but with a different focus. From the seven surviving complete passenger lists of ships freighting the Great Migration, all from 1635–38, she fashions a universe of 693 individuals. Arguing that this sample of 4 to 5 percent of the total number of emigrants involved in that enter-

prise is generally representative, she then presents a collective biography that illuminates with precision and grace the distinguishing traits of New England's generation.

New England's settlement did not result from the economic motives that linked contemporary internal English migration and emigration to the Chesapeake. Neither did mixed reasons, incapable now of being ordered in levels of importance, fuel its establishment. Rejecting these more recent theses, Anderson recasts religion in the principal role, repeating and refining the claims of her earlier work ("Migrants and Motives: Religion and the Settlement of New England, 1630–1640," *New England Quarterly* [1985], 339–83). Much of her complex argument hinges on the demographic profile of her sample—on the contrast between a family oriented Great Migration, roughly reflective of England's overall population in its age and gender structure and limited to the 1630s, and the long, drawn-out migration to other early settled American colonies in which young unwed males predominated. Seeking pure religion undergirded by a modest prosperity or "competency," relatively comfortable couples, mostly in their mid-thirties, departed for New England, almost always with children and, in many cases, a servant or two. This scenario applies to three out of every four ship passengers. To achieve their goal, participants in the "Great Migration" next embarked on what Anderson terms the "Great Reshuffling." Numerically dominant families, single migrants, and, eventually, former servants moved about within New England, living in as many as three towns and locating permanently where initial grants, plus proprietary rights, promised land-based competencies, not just for former urbanites and wood-pasture farmers but for their children as well. Thanks to New England's restricted opportunities for accumulating wealth, the region's economy of freehold farms dovetailed nicely with its intensely self-conscious, religion-derived communalism. Decades of stability resulted, and religion long flourished. Still, the adult participants in the Great Migration—clearly identified by a dearth of post-1640 newcomers, by their own longevity, and, above all, by their voluntary involvement in an exodus whose enduring achievements they shaped—remained New England's generation, a distinct biological cohort in whose remembered presence their grown, even aging, children felt inadequate.

Such a compressed summary inevitably slights the richness and subtlety and, in so doing, the originality of Anderson's achievement. No doubt her book, like her aforementioned article, will spark debate, with some critics, for example, choosing to emphasize that 38 percent of her Great Migration households consisted of single individuals, instead of dwelling on the fact that these persons were only 11 percent of all passengers. But in my opinion, she has been eminently successful in identifying and highlighting central tendencies: religion as the motive for removal,

the migration's family character, the crucial marriage of piety and competency, and the relative stability—she would claim no more—of early New England society.

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PATRICIA A. WATSON. *The Angelical Conjunction: The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1991. Pp. 187.

Ministers of God who also heal the body share an alignment of skills and purposes that Cotton Mather called the "angelical conjunction." Writing in 1702, Mather spoke to a community descended from the angelical Puritan errand into New England more than two generations earlier. But in using the term "conjunction"—a term derived from both astrology and astronomy—Mather addressed a wider intellectual audience. And in observing how minister-physicians were particularly useful in the still raw New World, especially among the poor, Mather described an American version of an ancient symmetry: healing the body and healing the soul.

Patricia A. Watson's brief book is built around 126 New England minister-physicians who worked within the angelical conjunction during the years between 1630 and 1770. She traces the lingering Puritan association between sin and sickness, discussing conflict between the ministers and their townsfolk. She considers intellectual themes in the era's medical science, especially the extent to which the Galenic theory of balanced bodily humors was challenged by a view of the body as a rush of chemical transformations. She gives us a glimpse of how medical language turned up in these men's religious writings. In doing these things, Watson touches on some important themes in the history of science, medicine, and religion in this place and time: the minister's changing role as an intellectual figure; the persistence of both Christian and occult visions of the world; the tension between scholasticism and faith.

The difficulty with this book is that these themes are all too familiar, and Watson's 146 pages of text are not enough to engage us anew in a complex social and intellectual terrain. Watson has done some good archival work, and she attempts a wide angle of vision. But in the compass of so few pages the comparison of New England with Europe as far back as the thirteenth century is distracting rather than fulfilling. When the study does confront individuals or issues in New England, there is no consistent focus on the social context of either sickness and health or the ideas that animated the minister-physicians. With regard to ideas, Watson discovers some blunt, bodily, "medical" figures of speech in the rhetoric of sermons. But there is little analysis of how this rhetoric

shaped the meaning of the text, or of how the text illuminated thought and then ministry. In terms of the social context of sickness, Watson provides fascinating glimpses of minister-physicians assisting at childbirth, performing autopsies, and mixing medicines. But the stream of examples does not permit her to go deeply into the work of individuals to see how the angelical conjunction mattered to the life of the minister's community—or to his own career. Sometimes the dual role seems to have helped a man gain standing and income; but at other times, for reasons that are not clear, it detracted from a man's rewards. Nor is there a sustained comparison of how the work, language, clientele, or scientific vision of minister-physicians differed from their colleagues outside the conjunction. Did the glory of God shine on medicine in such a way as to guide the scalpel differently?

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CYNTHIA A. KIERNER. *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675–1790*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 283. \$39.95.

In this gracefully written account of four generations of the Livingston family, Cynthia A. Kierner throws down the gauntlet to recent historians of colonial New York who have labored to demonstrate the decisive influence of ethnic and religious pluralism on the colony's development. Contending that the experience of the New York elite was, in essence, indistinguishable from that of other colonial elites, Kierner eschews consideration of cultural identity and denominational predilections as she traces the economic and political fortunes of the dynasty begun by Scotsman Robert Livingston and his Dutch wife, Alida Schuyler, thereby documenting the metamorphosis of a rich family into a genteel one.

As merchants, landlords, and entrepreneurs, the Livingstons left an indelible mark on New York's economy and in the process amassed great wealth. Robert Livingston, the clan's ambitious founder, skillfully cultivated the good will of the colony's governors and was rewarded with a huge parcel of Hudson Valley land dignified by the name of Livingston Manor. Subsequent Livingston landlords, employing their merchant kinsmen in New York City as agents, profited by selling the grain raised by tenant farmers and the products of the ironworks that Philip Livingston established on the manor in 1743.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Livingstons, along with their social peers, had embraced the life style of Britons of the upper echelons, constructing and furnishing mansions in keeping with Georgian standards of taste, sending their sons to college, and seeing that their daughters were instructed in the graces of polite society. The notion of politics as a

means of self-aggrandizement that had energized Robert Livingston was rejected by his descendants, who preferred to characterize their involvement in political life as the expression of public spirit.

In the decades before the American Revolution, lawyer William Livingston, whose intellectual brilliance radiated from his writings championing the rights of dissenters, spearheaded the faction that carried his family's name. Conservative in their social views, scions of the Livingston clan reluctantly joined the revolutionary movement but subsequently withdrew from public life, unable or unwilling to adapt to the newly democratized world of New York politics.

Kierner's rendition of the Livingstons' history leaves the reader to ponder the significance of the fact that this was a Scottish-Dutch family whose loyalties were divided between the Presbyterian church and the Dutch Reformed church. Anglicization had a double meaning for New York's non-English population, reflecting not only aspirations toward gentility but also the renunciation of cultural identity. Subjecting the Livingstons' private life to closer scrutiny, particularly in areas such as marriage choices and religious affiliation, might have revealed dimensions of the family's history masked by the author's near-exclusive focus on the careers of its prominent male members.

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GREGORY EVANS DOWD. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, number 4.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiv, 261. \$24.95.

Gregory Evans Dowd seeks to place two of the most famous Indians in American history, Pontiac and Tecumseh, in their proper context. Instead of giants who, almost singlehandedly, managed briefly to unify Native Americans east of the Mississippi River, the two were part of a larger movement that drew on a deeply rooted and remarkably resilient ideology of pan-Indian resistance. Tracing the movement's origins to refugee Indian communities along the Susquehanna River before 1750, Dowd tracks its spread in the decades that followed. He finds nativists everywhere, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes, and everywhere their message was much the same: resist European (and particularly Anglo-American) intruders through ritual, prophecy, and other native sources of power while at the same time transcending town, clan, and tribal divisions.

Dowd's interpretation of the militant campaign against imperial pretensions and ambitions makes clear that nativism was not blind devotion to some mythical past but a spectrum of belief and behavior capable of incorporating the new. At the movement's core lay a determination to maintain the Indians'

control of their land and their destiny. While describing nativism's various guises, Dowd never forgets that militants faced opposition not just from whites but from town and tribal leaders as well. Indeed, the book's most poignant passages tell the stories of Indians who tried to remain neutral during the American Revolution and the War of 1812, or who otherwise sought accommodation with the invaders. In the end, of course, no strategy—from bitter warfare to cautious welcome—could halt the American advance.

Read in conjunction with other recent books on Native Americans, this work promises to reorient our understanding of Indians and their place in America's past. With Joel Martin (*Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World* [1991]), Dowd argues convincingly for the religious foundations of Indian political and military culture. With Richard White (*The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* [1991]), he eschews standard chronological and tribal boundaries. Moreover, even as he chronicles Native American efforts to keep whites at arm's length, Dowd also hints at important parallels in the experiences of Indians and Europeans. During these years, he suggests, both peoples had a Great Awakening, both issued declarations of independence, and both endured a contest between localists and those who thought continentally.

Thinking continentally himself, and intent on drawing connections across time and space, Dowd occasionally is less successful at picking up nuances in the messages he has retrieved from native America. The book would have profited from more attention to changes over time, since after the American Revolution natives faced with massive white encroachment and a radical government program of cultural change had different pressures—and, perhaps, different visions—than their counterparts before 1776. The study would have profited, too, from still greater care in its use of the terms nativist and accommodationist. In these pages Indians who allied with the United States tend to be lumped as accommodationists, while all those attached to France, Spain, or Great Britain were adherents of nativism or “a modified form of nativism” (p. 48), using European powers to achieve their own ends. Accommodation is a particularly slippery word, including as it does leaders who shared with nativists “the united Indian defense of both land and political autonomy” (p. 91) as well as those firmly in the American camp, pursuing policies of acculturation and removal. It may be that such labels, like the older, exclusive focus on tribal affairs, obscure as much as they clarify. Indian country is looking more complicated, and more interesting, all the time.

JAMES H. MERRELL
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SAMUEL HABER. *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750–1900*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 478. \$39.95.

When Samuel Haber began working on the professions in the later 1960s it seemed that “the traditional notions” were nearing collapse. Law could function more equitably in democratic society without the barriers imposed by the legal profession, medicine without the monopoly of medical associations, and so on. Two decades later Haber has revised this view. Despite heavy historiographic criticism that the professional organization of work has merely been a cleverly constructed device to dominate trade (wealth) and politics (power), Haber argues that the persistence and growth of professional authority since the eighteenth century deserves consideration as a unique form of work surpassing that of the self-interest of capital and labor. Both of the familiar models of explanation, Max Weber’s liberalism and Karl Marx’s radicalism, are inadequate for understanding the persistence of professional authority in American history. On the one hand the knowledge claims of scientific rationality have continually met skepticism by encouraging the proliferation of “irregulars.” On the other hand the impoverishment of professional work incorporated either into a proletariat or a pure profit system has largely failed to materialize despite expressions of white-collar discontent.

Haber notes that by the late nineteenth century professionals—clergy, lawyers, academics, engineers, physicians—did sell their labor in a marketplace to organizations. Protecting an “autonomy” in principle, however, they never sold the right to be commanded or surrendered the right to define work in gratifying ways. Whereas the division of labor in industry often led to deskilling, specialization in the professions brought prestige. Haber cogently presents the special position of professional work in contrast to a craft or trade. Historically it is significant that Americans more often chose to trust professionals in order to address injury, dispute, threat, and perversity rather than turn to administrative means of state bureaucracy or the collective means of industrial unionism.

This weighty book of intellectual synthesis belongs with the current reevaluation of the importance of “civilized” whiggish civic leadership in the nineteenth century. Daniel Walker Howe and Richard Bushman among others have begun to analyze the early and middle phases of this educated leadership; Haber now moves the theme forward to the turn of the twentieth century in the context of professions. The perspective is classical and was expressed earlier in this century by R. H. Tawney and Alexander Carr-Saunders writing on professional ethics. Accordingly, Haber’s book is organized into three parts, each introduced with an overview: gentlemanly professions from 1750 to 1830, egalitarian interregnum from 1830 to 1880, reestablishment of stratification

from 1880 to 1900. The periodization is conventional, but the emphasis in contrast to the recent historiography is not.

What sets Haber’s argument apart is the emphasis on “honor”—first residing in the social rank, office, character, and disinterest of the preindustrial learned professions of 1750. By deferring to honor and repute, the client returns gratitude, respect, and obedience to the publicly sanctioned learned gentleman for his skill, attention, and fidelity. Through membership in societies, licensing, ideological displays of character, and social position—reinforcing public stature and official recognition—honor as authority continued to work effectively in the significantly changed professional structures and practices of 1900. Haber restrains the democratic reforms of the middle period by arguing that the honor system successfully met the challenges of political democracy, market capitalism, and evangelical revivalism. Rather than sharp historical breaks, the book focuses on the continuities and coherence of a public service mercantile culture. In each section, individual professions—first the three major ones, then including academics and engineers—are examined at length. In two chapters on nineteenth-century Memphis and Cincinnati, Haber skillfully tells how the professions provided civic leadership, drew in the irregulars, and worked to neutralize the popular impatience with expert authority. The volume concludes with a detailed account of the largely successful monopolistic efforts to build a conservative system of stratification rooted in honor and deference within modern society.

Predemocratic, premodern, and premarket, Haber’s interpretation presents a useful conservative perspective. Conceptually, however, it does not sufficiently account for middle-class ambition, advantage, and interest that expanded within professional forms in the nineteenth century. One would have welcomed a fuller discussion about how personal identity with a career was reconciled with corporate standards for character. Substantive changes of meaning occurred when honor and honorable turned into honorifics and honorariums. How does one explain why honor as an attribute seemed to decline as references to honest became more prevalent? Also we need to know more about the shift in the nature of client relationships when the layman in the eighteenth century became the amateur in the nineteenth. In any future study of the field, Haber’s book will be a necessary work to consult.

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LESTER C. OLSON. *Emblems of American Community in the Revolutionary Era: A Study in Rhetorical Iconology*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1991. Pp. xxi, 306. \$40.00.

Aided by the handsome reproduction of several dozen prints, newspaper and magazine cartoons, broadsides, and pieces of currency, Lester C. Olson examines in this book "the underlying rhetorical structure" (p. 14) of the visual images used both by Whigs and Tories to represent the American colonies in the revolutionary period, images used, as Loyalist Daniel Leonard put it, to enter the "avenues of the human heart" (p. 5) and help define political sentiment. Olson identifies four dominant images: America as snake, as Indian, as child, and as the limbs of a dismembered body politic. He is most interesting when discussing the efforts to control the not always stable political and thematic valences of these images.

For example, although Whigs originally chose the snake as an appropriate image for the united colonies because it was indigenous, associated with vigilance and prudence, believed capable of reabsorbing even severed pieces, and with its tail in its mouth was a traditional figure for eternity, the snake also carried the problematical Christian associations of guile and wickedness. Hence, to *The New-York Gazetteer's* question, "Ye sons of Sedition, how comes it to pass/That America's typed by a Snake—in the grass," *The Massachusetts Spy*, which used the snake in its masthead, was forced to reply: "Ye traitors! The Snake you with wonder behold, is not the Deceiver so famous of old" (pp. 34, 36). Tories responded in turn by using the metaphor to their own purposes. Anti-British papers, they claimed, were "instilling the poison of disaffection" into its readers as a snake administers its poison through its bite (p. 38). So continued the process. If Whigs figured America as an innocent woman, Tories turned her into "a slut" and a whore (p. 151). Neither group, however, saw any contradiction in using politically disenfranchised groups—women and Native Americans—to represent America.

Although Olson argues, with little evidence, that these images had a powerful effect on illiterate and semiliterate segments of society, many of these images not only appear embedded within texts but also have complex learned associations (for example, England as a dismembered Belisarius). The book chronicles the unstable meanings of many of these images but ultimately rests its rather circular argument (an argument that fails to distinguish between images helping to create political conviction and images merely confirming it) on the assumption of their self-evidence. "If one believed that the existence of the colonies resembled that of the arms and legs of Britannia . . . one would have believed that survival itself depended upon perpetuating the connections within the British empire" (p. 255).

More attention to the vast contemporary literature on rhetoric and the dynamics of persuasion would have permitted a more nuanced account of how "speaking pictures" (and their analogue, figural speech) were understood to influence belief and action. Still, Olson offers an extremely useful taxonomy of images that represented revolutionary Amer-

ica and the often contradictory and contested purposes to which they were put.

JAY FLIEGELMAN
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PETER D. G. THOMAS. *Tea Party to Independence: The Third Phase of the American Revolution, 1773–1776*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. 357. \$69.00.

Following the high standard Peter D. G. Thomas set in his earlier volumes, in this study he adds much detail to the broad outlines of British policy set down by previous scholars. Thomas sees the Boston Tea Party as a more direct and violent challenge to British authority than those against the Stamp Act and the Townshend Duties Act so that unlike previous administrations the North ministry could not and would not overlook it. In emphasizing the Boston Tea Party, however, Thomas treats casually the debate between Governor Thomas Hutchinson and the legislature of the Bay Colony, an exchange in which, according to Thomas, both houses made "pronouncements incompatible with the acceptance of Parliamentary supremacy over America" (p. 9). This is an understatement, for what the legislature did was publicly adopt Benjamin Franklin's contention that Massachusetts and the other American "states" stood in the same relation to Britain that Scotland did to England from the accession of James I (1603) to the Act of Union (1707), that is, they were independent, separate political entities sharing a common monarch. In condemning George III in the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues were not so much engaging in dishonest propaganda or constitutional inconsistency, as Thomas charges, but accusing the monarch, among other things, of conspiring "with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended Legislation," thus claiming that Parliament had never had any authority over them.

Unofficial negotiations in London between Franklin and emissaries of the administration, Thomas concludes, have received undue attention from historians. That they were aborted is true, but perhaps because they became moot once Franklin became aware of the unyielding position of the Continental Congress. In Philadelphia Joseph Galloway, who sought negotiations, was outmaneuvered by men "with other plans" (p. 155). What these were Thomas does not indicate. In transmitting the demands of Congress to London, Secretary Charles Thompson posed as alternatives either resistance or submission. The American Whigs, he informed Franklin, would choose the former. But did not the colonial dissidents, on the basis of information received from Franklin himself, Arthur Lee, and others, as well as from the behavior of previous British governments,

expect that the North ministry would back down? Was it not this attitude that made negotiations pointless? In this sense Thomas is correct when he writes: the war was "the result of a political miscalculation," as Britain did not back down and called the bluff of the colonies confronting the delegates at the next Congress with the choice of "armed conflict or ignominious retreat" (p. 175). Although Thomas does not delve into the dynamics of the colonial political scene, he rejects the contention of some observers who cherished a conspiratorial theory: colonial resistance was masterminded by men intent from the first on independence. Thomas is on more sure ground in rejecting the view of men on both sides of the Atlantic that America was the first line of defense of British liberty. Such "myths and misconceptions," he concludes, distract attention from the "root cause" of the revolution: whether Parliament was the legislature for the empire (p. 332).

Certainly Thomas's scholarship should dispel the myth of British tyranny, but what drove the Whigs in America? Were men seized by the paranoid rhetoric of radical republicanism? Were partisans employing British measures to attack their local opponents, associating their rivals with a spurious imperial plot, hoping to gain an immediate political advantage without considering the possible long-range consequences of their actions?

With his superb command of the British political scene, Thomas concludes that the London radicals and Edmund Burke, notwithstanding the situation in Britain, rendered impossible any policy that would match colonial demands. Yet it may be added that from the outset ministerial policy from 1765 was defective in that little attempt was made to correct the gross propaganda in the colonial press, little to reassure American minds.

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LIGHT TOWNSEND CUMMINS. *Spanish Observers and the American Revolution, 1775–1783*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 229. \$32.50.

The craft of intelligence—gathering information to plan and execute military or diplomatic strategy—has a lengthy historical lineage. During the American Revolution British, American, and French agents and spies worked for their respective interests throughout. Cecil B. Currey even fingered Benjamin Franklin as a double agent, although the charge has not stuck (*Code Number 72: Benjamin Franklin, Patriot or Spy* [1972]). Light Townsend Cummins's careful reconstruction of Spain's intelligence network in England's American provinces therefore provides another piece of the secret history of the revolution. And even

Cummins builds on previous research on Spanish agents, most of it published in Spanish.

After the Treaty of Paris of 1763, the courts of Madrid and Versailles marked time for revenge against England. Spanish leaders, defensive-minded about their American empire and eager to restore territorial losses, brightened at news of England's colonial turmoil. Broad instructions from Seville and his own initiative spurred Cuba's Captain-General Antonio Bucareli to collect traders, merchant captains, fishermen, a priest serving the Greek colony of New Smyrna, Florida, and the governor of Louisiana into a web of observers, as Cummins prefers to call them. Undercover agent is a more lurid term, but perhaps more akin to their missions. Bucareli thus created an intelligence network that shaped the evolution of Spanish policy in the era of the American Revolution.

Spain is not a forgotten player of this time, as Cummins avers, but he brings these men into the historical daylight. Juan de Miralles was intelligent and cunning, dutiful, energetic. He traveled as a flour merchant, joined the American Continental Congress at York, Pennsylvania, while the British occupied Philadelphia, and remained close to American leaders until his untimely death. He worked with Robert Morris, became a fixture in Philadelphia society, and deluged his masters in Havana and Madrid with reports, the information verified and peppered with cautious judgments. He also became an unofficial envoy as Spain slid from a biased neutrality to belligerency in 1778 and 1779.

The Spanish court kept pace with France after 1775—watching, evaluating, professing neutrality, but favoring the rebels, and attacking England at the opportune moment. Despite the Bourbon alliance, Spain delayed war until 1779, and then enjoyed a last burst of martial glory when Bernardo Galvez swept British power from the Lower Mississippi Valley and conquered West Florida. Cummins argues that, from first to last, these observers did their jobs, helping decision makers create policy in Spain's best interests.

Cummins deepens our knowledge of court politics and Spain's policy and actions during the revolution, but he does not revise our overall understanding of Spain and the war. Galvez's campaigns in the Gulf Coast, as scholars have recently pointed out, were for Spanish, not American, interests. And we have known about Galvez and others, but never from this perspective. Miralles emerges in a more favorable and complex light on these pages.

This book won a prize from the Spanish government for its scholarship, and one can see why. Primary research goes beyond the Archive of the Indies in Seville to other depositories. Cummins incorporates Spanish-language historiography into the story, which is well told. For those reasons, students of a wide range of late-eighteenth-century topics, such as the origins of Spanish-American relations, Spain's entry to war in 1779, Caribbean-American relations,

and the revolutionary war in the Southwest and Gulf Coast regions, as well as international affairs, will profit from this work.

REGINALD C. STUART
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LARZER ZIFF. *Writing in the New Nation: Prose, Print, and Politics in the Early United States*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 209. \$25.00.

As the ambiguity of "writing in" suggests, this book is both a study of early American writing and a study of how that writing contributed to the making of early America.

Larzer Ziff's thesis is that the new culture of print promoted what he calls "representation" over "immanence." It overthrew the belief of Puritans and others that "reality resided in a region beneath appearance and beyond manipulation" and imposed "the belief that [reality] could be constructed and so made identical with appearance" (p. xi). In the case of autobiographies, for instance, this meant a shift from "self-awareness," or one's becoming aware of one's soul, to "self-knowledge," in which the emphasis was on the story of how one learned and on being what one wanted to be or said one was (p. 17). Benjamin Franklin is Ziff's obvious example of this victory of "representation" over "immanence," but he shows how such different people as William Bartram, J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, Thomas Jefferson, and Meriwether Lewis also used writing to probe the differences between truth and appearance, to delineate appearance and representation, and to construct new realities in landscape, science, and politics.

Adding to Ziff's argument are Stephen Burroughs's *Memoirs* (1798) and Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1791), two best sellers in the new nation that literary historians used to ignore or apologize for. The impostor Burroughs was the kind of phenomenon that emerged in the borderland between societies that believed in a person's inherent or changeless character and ones that prized social mobility and so accepted represented virtue. Burroughs insisted that if he could successfully act as a preacher, despite not being ordained, then he should be allowed to be one. Seduction novels like Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* made a woman's chastity a "determinate reality in a world in which the worth of most things was indeterminate." The presence in seduction novels of themes of bankruptcy and deception make this emphasis on a woman's purity all the more ironic, not to say hypocritical. "Women were put into the position of embodying the quality of a fixed reality that had disappeared from the everyday world of getting a living" (p. 72).

A counter theme in the argument is that writing and print were also conservative forces, since literacy and the literary tradition were, on the whole, the possessions of the wealthy and educated. The autobi-

ographies of John Adams, Benjamin Rush, and Thomas Jefferson, Ziff notes, were all written from a sense that published histories needed correction and amplification. They wrote "to correct myths about the history they had lived," while Franklin "supplied . . . the myth that codified the experiences and beliefs of his countrymen" (p. 119). Ziff also gives some telling examples of how eastern gentlemen like Nicholas Biddle altered frontier exploration journals.

Altogether, Ziff uses new theories of the reality constituted by texts in order to make the texts problematic—and therefore of heightened interest.

ROBERT F. SAYRE
University of Iowa

CONRAD EDICK WRIGHT. *The Transformation of Charity in Postrevolutionary New England*. (New England Studies.) Boston: Northeastern University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 330. \$40.00.

In the years between the late eighteenth century and the 1820s, according to Conrad Edick Wright, New Englanders exchanged their doubts about the possibilities of social improvement for an optimistic faith that organizations could solve most personal and communal problems. They expressed their new meliorism by creating charitable institutions, whose number grew from about fifty to 2,000. Wright's two major contributions, based on meticulous research into scattered, hard-to-locate primary sources, are his detailed census of these institutions and his description of what they did and how they changed.

Wright attempts to describe the growth and transformation of institutions from the vantage point of the New Englanders who created, supported, and ran them. For this reason, he pays close attention to language, especially the shifting meanings of "charity," although not to either "institution" or "public," two other key terms whose meanings in this period are not wholly clear. Wright's attention to the language of contemporaries results in a net that captures a wider array of institutions than those usually thought of as "charitable." These include those devoted to insurance, missionary work, and social reform, as well as ones that concentrated on the relief of one or another type of dependence.

Why did this institutional growth and transformation take place? Wright suggests a variety of influences without exploring any of them in detail, although he does drop some tantalizing clues, including the simultaneous growth of corporations and formal institutions in other areas of American life. He is sure, however, that most historians have erred in their interpretations of early New England charity, which, he claims, fall into two camps: social control and evangelical religion. No clear correlation, asserts Wright, connected the state of the economy or social order to institutional creation, and, contrary to

what several historians have asserted, the institutional explosion began before the Second Great Awakening.

Because Wright by and large concentrates his challenge on older literature and forces dichotomies that few modern historians would support, neither of his historiographical arguments is wholly convincing. In fact, they point to the book's two major weaknesses. First, Wright says almost nothing about public poor relief, even though it was ubiquitous, expensive, and controversial. Despite Wright's claims to the contrary, contemporaries believed that poverty was becoming more widespread and that expenses for poor relief were growing. In the very years about which he writes, New Englanders participated in international debates over poor law reform, altered poor laws, and built almshouses. No adequate account of attempts to ameliorate poverty and other forms of dependence can ignore this public action.

Wright's interpretation, or lack of interpretation, also suffers from a narrow and inadequate conceptual framework. Whether the growth of institutions correlated exactly with short-term economic trends does not constitute evidence about their relation to the larger social and economic transformation of New England in these years. As a result, relations between social and institutional transformation remain not refuted but unexplored.

MICHAEL B. KATZ
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DAVID A. ZONDERMAN. *Aspirations and Anxieties: New England Workers and the Mechanized Factory System, 1815-1850*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 357. \$45.00.

In this ambitious work, David A. Zonderman systematically surveys the recorded opinion of operatives employed in work sites that made substantial use of power-driven machinery—armories, clock factories, rope walks, metalworking and machine shops, paper mills, and especially textile mills. He has read and absorbed the by now rather numerous studies of individual companies and factory towns in an attempt to build on and go beyond them. More specifically, he aims to create a piece of “working-class intellectual history” that can “convey the depth and subtlety of these workers’ ideas” about technological, economic, social, and cultural aspects of the early factory system in New England as a whole (p. 4). The book may thus be seen as an attempt to present the working-class side of the debates captured in Michael Folsom and Steven Lubar’s collection, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1982).

The present work is encyclopedic in both scope and structure. Organized topically, its nine chapters range across time and space in order to examine workers’ recorded views concerning machinery and the factory’s place in and interaction with its physical and socioeconomic setting; owners, managers, and other

workers; work rules, contracts, and wage labor as such; and the extent, form, content, and significance of factory labor protest. These chapters, in turn, reflect an extensive reading of diaries, letter collections, the labor press and pamphlets, and petitions, a good deal of which is extensively quoted. Some of this material has been published previously in documentary collections or case-study monographs. Much, however, has been ferreted out of local museums, libraries, historical societies, and legislative records and is here made available for the first time.

“This study,” Zonderman tells us in his introduction, “is concerned with both the physical reality of these operatives’ working lives . . . and the perceptions working men and women had of the objects and events in their work lives” (p. 13). And, in fact, this volume does add to our knowledge about subjects as diverse as factory structures; mill regulations; conditions, hours, and remuneration of labor; and the various forms of collective resistance mounted in this era. At various points in the text, the author speculates about the impact on the formation of individual opinions of such factors as age, gender, skill level, place of birth, and factory size and location.

The volume’s overriding emphasis, however, is decidedly on the collection and presentation of the opinions themselves. “First and foremost,” the author writes, it “is an effort to let these working people speak for themselves, to bring what they said about their own lives to the attention of present-day readers” (p. 4). Zonderman’s signal contribution in this regard is to stress and amply document the existence of lively discussion and debate among members of the early factory labor force. The unevenness of working-class consciousness even within a sector of the working class that had so much in common occupationally, geographically, and culturally is striking indeed.

In framing his project, the author acknowledges the daunting difficulties involved. He notes, thus, that “workers’ ideas about their changing workplaces fell across a broad spectrum, ranging from enthusiastic support, to profound ambivalence, to outright condemnation” (p. 6). Moreover, “some workers changed sides over their years working in the factories” while more than a few expressed views containing evidently “contradictory elements” without always being aware of those contradictions. The discussions among workers thus often revealed “a broad continuum of ideas between and even within individual operatives” (p. 6), which Zonderman strives to convey “in a coherent and nonreductive manner” (p. 4).

This is no small task. As one might expect, accordingly, some chapters are more successful than others in capturing the variety, complexity, and occasional volatility of working-class thinking. In chapter 3, which addresses what workers wrote about “the social relations of production,” Zonderman seems at times to exaggerate the sharpness with which opinions on that subject polarized and the thoroughness with which critics analyzed and rejected the economic

system developing around them. In contrast, chapter 4 (which examines differences and divisions within the work force) is particularly rich and suggestive, notably in Zonderman's discussion of the role played by gender roles in shaping expectations, ambitions, and the relations between female employees and male co-workers, owners, and supervisors. Chapter 7, which describes labor organization and mobilization, also displays considerable sensitivity, deftness, and insight.

That a chapter about organized protest and struggle is among the book's most satisfactory may not be coincidental. Where workers have come to regard themselves as members of a separate social class with distinctive interests, values, and goals, they have commonly done so in the course of active, collective confrontations with their employers. The study of strikes and other forms of social conflict can thus throw the real content (including disputes, contradictions, and volatility) of working-class thinking into sharp relief. Nor are such mobilizations revealing solely as reflections of working-class thought. They have also spurred the further evolution of ideas by creating dynamic, practical contexts in which existing views could be tested, reevaluated, discarded outright, modified, or championed with new energy and enthusiasm. All of which suggests that the study of workers' intellectual history is inseparable from the study of their organized struggles.

BRUCE LEVINE
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DAVID J. BODENHAMER. *Fair Trial: Rights of the Accused in American History*. (Bicentennial Essays on the Bill of Rights.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 173. Cloth \$24.95, paper \$9.95.

Winston Churchill commented that a society is measured by how it treats its most unfortunate groups, including criminals. By that standard, for all the complaints leveled against America's criminal justice system, we fare pretty well. No other country has developed such a rigorous system of protecting the rights of persons accused of crimes.

As part of the bicentennial of the Bill of Rights, the Organization of American Historians together with Oxford University Press undertook to publish a series of essays on various aspects of constitutionally protected rights in the United States. David J. Bodenhamer, in his survey of rights of the accused, has achieved the goal of this series. He has produced a clearly written and well-organized essay on the origin and development of the specific rights granted to the accused, as well as the more inclusive guarantee of due process of law. It is the latter provision, embodied in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, that in many ways has been the most important, not only in extending the original protections against the states but also in giving courts a jurisprudential framework

in which to elucidate the meaning of particular provisions.

Legal scholars will not find much new in this study, nor does Bodenhamer claim to be original or even revisionist. But I think it is the best single synthetic handling of the topic and should be useful to teacher and layperson alike. High school teachers especially will find it helpful, as it surveys criminal justice in America from its English and colonial origins down to the present.

Bodenhamer points out that for most of our history, criminal justice has been a local matter. Trial by jury of one's peers, in the locale where the alleged crime took place, rests on the assumption that a fair trial is best achieved locally. It also reflects the colonists' resentment against British laws that set up special courts to try smugglers and others far from their homes, as well as the founders' fears of strong central government. The belief that local justice equated with the fairest justice was and is a strong factor in our history.

In the nineteenth century, industrialization and urbanization brought about significant changes in criminal law, and the emphasis shifted from punishment for crime to social control of the lower classes. The Supreme Court continued to insist that criminal law remained the purview of the states until the 1930s, when in the *Scottsboro* case it began the process of incorporation of the rights of the accused, a process not completed until the Warren Court's work in the 1960s.

Bodenhamer does a fine job in taking the reader, especially the nonspecialist, through this maze, and also explaining differing jurisprudential theories used by the courts in their efforts to explicate the meaning and reach of different provisions. His sympathies are clear; he believes the Warren Court's work was not only proper but also long overdue, but he draws a fair portrait of the opposing view as well. This is a good introductory book to an important topic.

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KERMIT L. HALL and ERIC W. RISE. *From Local Courts to National Tribunals: The Federal District Courts of Florida, 1821-1990*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson. 1991. Pp. x, 252.

Interest in the nearly 100 U.S. district courts, the principal federal trial courts, is a relatively new matter. Historians and political scientists were long concerned only with the Supreme Court and touched on the lower courts merely to show the background of an important case. Not until Erwin C. Surrency's *History of the Federal Courts* (1987) was there a good general history of the federal court system at all levels. Now three of the district tribunals are the subject of Kermit L. Hall and Eric W. Rise's rather brief vol-

ume: the U.S. Court for the Northern District of Florida, for the Middle District, and for the Southern District. The first and third were created when Florida was divided into two districts in 1847, while the middle dates only from 1963.

The Florida territorial courts, another neglected area of legal history, receive some attention here. Patterns for types of legal controversies established then would long be found on court dockets. Admiralty law cases run through the history of the area, and so do Spanish land grant controversies. Slavery is an obvious issue, and in 1844 a judge ordered the branding of an abolitionist with the letters "ss" for "slave stealer." After statehood, in 1845 trends already established continued, and the authors conclude that "The federal district courts of antebellum Florida often resembled local tribunals with little concern for federal policy" (p. 29).

During the Civil War the court in the Southern District was the only federal tribunal to operate in a Confederate state throughout the war; the area was under military occupation. It was during Reconstruction that the courts started to make meaningful the title of this book and move from local courts to national tribunals. Congressional acts of 1870 and 1871 began the lengthy history of federal attempts to enforce the civil rights of citizens. Other significant legal topics of the times were centered on railroad building, partisan political squabbles, and, as a result of the Spanish-American War, many new admiralty cases. A topic one does not expect to encounter is peonage, but it was of concern early in the twentieth century.

With the coming of the Progressive Era, the federal courts in Florida began to provide a forum for controversies over the regulation of business, the rights of labor and consumers, and briefly prohibition, which is a reminder that a new federal criminal code was in the process of creation. In more recent times desegregation and civil rights issues obviously came to the fore.

While some attention is paid to many legal subjects, readers are left with the desire to explore various issues in more detail on their own using this volume as a guide. The useful biographical material on the judges of the three courts demonstrates that, among other things, Florida federal judges are accident prone. Three were impeached and two convicted and removed from office. The footnotes are thorough, as is the bibliography, all of which combine to make a useful and welcome work.

JOHN S. GOFF
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EUGENE D. GENOVESE. *The Slaveholders' Dilemma: Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820-1860*. (Jack N. and Addie D. Averitt Lecture Series, 1990.) Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 116.

It is a tribute to Eugene D. Genovese's analytical skills and intellectual generosity that this book manages to absorb so much recent scholarship while actually strengthening the position he first staked out in *The World the Slaveholders Made* (1969). Once again Genovese subjects the contradictions of conservative proslavery thought to a respectful if withering critique.

In the first of three cogent essays Genovese introduces the dilemma: slaveholders were committed to freedom and to the "progress" freedom brought, yet they simultaneously defended a social order grounded in human slavery. The second essay outlines the conservative search for a solution to this dilemma. The Old South's best theologians and philosophers eventually argued for slavery as a buffer against freedom's convulsions and the excesses of progress. Thus, where the iron laws of political economy doomed "free society" to chaos and misery, southern slave society held out the promise of rational freedom and enlightened progress. In the third essay Genovese examines more closely the thought of two of slavery's most articulate defenders, William H. Trescott and James Henry Hammond. Neither was willing to abandon faith in progress; each recognized the historic relationship between progress and freedom, yet neither could fully reconcile that recognition with his forceful defense of slave society.

As he has in the past, Genovese insists that we bracket our understandable revulsion against slavery in order to appreciate the depth and power of conservative thought. He is more precise than ever about where proslavery thinkers accepted assumptions common throughout America and where they departed, particularly in their critique of "free labor." Perhaps it would be better if Genovese said "wage labor," since conservative attacks on the "hireling system" were aimed specifically at wage work. Even though northerners defended wage labor only as a temporary way station toward economic independence, that was still a critical concession that southern conservatives would not make.

Genovese bypasses the problem of race; at one point he refers to race as the "functional equivalent" of class. To be sure, he is quite persuasive in his claim that conservatives gradually developed a coherent defense of slave society. But the most sophisticated case for slavery as a system could never produce a justification for the specific enslavement of anyone, including blacks. Similarly, nothing in the internal logic of racist ideology automatically produced a defense of slavery. So George Fitzhugh, for example, used both arguments: slave society was superior to free society, he said, and we are lucky to have at our disposal a "race" of people peculiarly suited to slavery. Thomas R. Dew said the same thing. So did James Henry Hammond. They all said it: slavery is the perfect system—and blacks are perfectly suited to slavery.

But Genovese is uncharacteristically evasive about this. He quotes John C. Calhoun feverishly denying

that he advocated the enslavement of whites, but dismisses this as political expediency. He quotes Hammond ("Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose" [p. 93]), but passes silently over the implications. This seems unnecessary. Genovese's case would only be strengthened by the acknowledgement that racism made the reactionary defense of slave society possible. Without that critical racist assumption about who would be enslaved, the abstract defense of slavery would have been unspeakable, particularly in the political arena.

This prompts one last observation. We take it for granted that political parties, especially the Republican Party, articulated "northern" ideology in the 1850s. Did proslavery conservatives reflect the mainstream of the southern Democrats, the ones who made the proslavery case in Congress and who led their states out of the Union?

But this risks nitpicking beside the powerful lesson Genovese so effectively draws from his subjects: the freedom and progress of the West have been purchased at a staggering human cost. It is a lesson we are fools to ignore as we rush headlong into the "New World Order."

JAMES OAKES
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VALARIE H. ZIEGLER. *The Advocates of Peace in Antebellum America*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 241. \$35.00.

Two interpretive problems seem inherent to the study of antebellum pacifism. First, the histories of "ultraist" nonresistance and of the much-studied Garrisonian wing of the abolitionist movement are nearly indistinguishable. It would be all too easy simply to present the familiar ideological development of that movement as synonymous with much of the history of antebellum pacifism. The second problem is that the evolution of the American peace crusade was ultimately captured by the dynamics of the coming of the Civil War. It might therefore seem proper just to link the "inevitability" of pacifism's failure to the "inevitable" sequence of violent events that led to the breakup of the union. In short, pacifism might easily be presented as a derivative and doomed crusade, inspired in part by an abolitionist sect undone by the forces of sectionalism. It is to Valarie H. Ziegler's credit that her study displays neither of these weaknesses and is instead a substantial contribution to the literature of antebellum reform.

Three characteristics of this study, in my opinion, contribute to this useful result. First, instead of reducing systems of religious belief into simplified ideologies, Ziegler takes theology seriously, exploring carefully the meanings that peace activists drew from their various readings of scripture and from their understandings of their various Protestant creeds.

Second, instead of only distinguishing between the "conservative" American Peace Society of William Ladd and the "radical" New England Non-Resistant Society of William Lloyd Garrison, as earlier studies have done, Ziegler also explores the dilemmas encountered in common by all peace activists in the violence-prone culture of antebellum America. And, finally, Ziegler successfully balances narrative not only with analysis but also with humane portrayals of the peace crusaders themselves. Although this study is largely devoted to the histories of movements and doctrines, portraits of important figures such as William Lloyd Garrison, William Ladd, Elihu Burritt, Adin Ballou, George Beckwith, Lydia Maria Child, and others are carefully drawn and revealing.

As a result of these approaches, peace activists are convincingly portrayed in this volume not as failures but as serious thinkers, fully engaged with difficult and significant moral issues. Yet this is not to suggest that Ziegler lacks critical perspective on her subject. Building on the work of Lewis Perry, Peter Brock, Aileen Kraditor, and Lawrence Friedman, she explores the deep ambivalence that radical nonresisters harbored when attempting to reconcile their dreams of slave emancipation with their commitments to living out the Sermon on the Mount. When presenting the history of the American Peace Society in the 1840s and 1850s, Ziegler is equally critical in analyzing the contrasting influences of Burritt and Beckwith while documenting the Society's ongoing efforts to develop approaches to international arbitration and disarmament.

At the same time, however, Ziegler's account also raises questions that deserve further exploration. What, for example, might the relationships have been between peace activism and such obvious instances of state coercion as governmental policy toward Native Americans or Mormons? To what extent, following the work of Lori D. Ginzburg and others, might pacifism have registered critiques of prevailing gender roles and ideologies? Whatever the answers to questions such as these, Ziegler's account of peace activism enriches the historiography of antebellum reform.

JAMES BREWER STEWART
Macalester College

DEBORAH PICKMAN CLIFFORD. *Crusader for Freedom: A Life of Lydia Maria Child*. Boston: Beacon. 1992. Pp. viii, 367. \$30.00.

In her biography of Lydia Maria Francis Child, Deborah Pickman Clifford steers mercifully clear of psychoanalyzing her subject or making her the pawn of feminist theory. Confessing that she found Child a "paradoxical, often maddeningly evasive woman" (p. 4), she does not probe the core of such paradoxes but rather frames them clearly and lets the narrative of Child's life speak to their resolution.

Born in 1802 to a Massachusetts baker and his wife, Lydia Francis grew up in an orthodox Congregational household whose roots were artisanal, whose present was mildly entrepreneurial, and whose most distinguished offspring were destined respectively for literature and the Unitarian ministry. As a girl and even more as a grown woman who marked her independence by changing her name to Maria, she found herself entangled in ill-defined thickets of class and subject to society's gender definition of the roles available to her. Rather than confront those limitations head-on, Child (the name change that came with marriage) circumvented those she could and voiced her critiques of others as persuasively as she might.

Yet when slavery was the issue she was a vigorous opponent, committed to immediate emancipation. Her *Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (1833) cost her dearly. She had been lionized in Boston for her first novel, *Hobomok* (1824), and thereafter derived a steady income from her children's magazine and her how-to manual of domesticity, *The Frugal Housewife* (1832); but her subsequent five-volume series of women's history and her second novel sold poorly to an audience offended by the author's open abolitionism. Undeterred, she proceeded in 1841 to edit the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, where, unintentionally, she stirred up controversy among Garrisonians by presenting the antislavery message in too palatable a tone. Yet it is her resignation in 1843 that presents Clifford with her first major paradox, for thereafter Child virtually ignored the cause until Bleeding Kansas, Harpers Ferry, and the Civil War placed slavery, Reconstruction, and freedmen's rights in the national forefront. Then, once again, she took up the mantle of a radical reformer. Her last novel, *A Romance of the Republic* (1867), like *Hobomok* promoted sympathy for miscegenation, while her *Freedmen's Book* (1865) fed black pride.

Clifford's second major paradox is Maria's marriage in 1828. Idealistically drawn to quixotic David Lee Child by his gallant legal and editorial battles with windmills, she soon found that these endearing attributes obliged her not only to support them both but also to watch the proceeds of her writing pour into his creditors' pockets. Even so, she was blissfully happy until they moved from Boston to David's remote and unproductive sugar beet farm in Northampton. Three years later Maria went to New York as an editor. For ten years they lived apart. After David's bankruptcy swallowed up the couple's remaining property, Maria sheltered her future earnings under New York law. Seeing her husband only rarely, when he showed up ragged and dirty, she formed intense ties with several younger men, pursued new interests in art and music, and regained a broad readership for her work. Then in 1850 the marriage resumed, once again isolating Maria on Boston's semirural periphery. Like her reform hiatus, her marital separation and reunion leave unresolved

questions. How much were the almost simultaneous fraying and renewal of marital and reform ties related to each other? Was Child motivated primarily by her need for artistic freedom or by rebellion against customary restraints on women?

Still less clear is Child's response to class. Her awareness of her social distance from her friends among Boston's elite is well-documented in her letters to them, while her observations of slum and immigrant life are vividly portrayed in her popular *Letters from New York* (1843-45). But did she do more than observe? Here Clifford seems to have missed the dynamics signaled in a letter from 1877 that contrasts the emerging class structure of the Gilded Age with that of her youth, when most Americans lived in households headed by farmers or artisans who owned their own homes and workplaces and few Americans were propertyless factory workers.

The structure of narrative biography may well preclude addressing these paradoxes fully. Perhaps they require different approaches. Meanwhile, however, Clifford's study stands as the most comprehensive overview of Child yet in print.

JANE H. PEASE

University of Charleston

BRUCE LEVINE. *Half Slave and Half Free: The Roots of Civil War*. (American Century Series.) New York: Hill and Wang. 1992. Pp. x, 292. Cloth \$30.00, paper \$11.95.

Historians have long debated the causes of the crisis that brought the nation to its knees in the 1860s. In recent decades earlier views of bungling statesmen, states' rights versus central government, and the breakdown of the two-party system have given way to an emphasis on slavery and race as the basic issues that caused the Civil War. Such is the conclusion Bruce Levine reaches in this study. In a brief, well-written social and political history of the first sixty-five years of the nineteenth century, Levine offers no startling interpretations but rather presents a convincing overview of the period that will be more useful to students and general readers than to antebellum specialists.

Levine argues that the Civil War was the second act of America's incomplete democratic revolution begun in 1775, one which had encouraged emancipation. The process of gradual emancipation, so promising in the 1780s, was abandoned in the early nineteenth century and had to be restarted in the 1830s. In describing the growth of two antagonistic systems of social and economic organization, one based on free labor and the other on slave labor, the author leads the reader to the conclusion that the war was an irrepressible conflict over race and slavery, with emancipation thus completing the revolution.

This study is especially effective in its first chapters describing the economic and social differences of the

competing systems. In the South, the paternalism of the ruling class reinforced the chains of the slaves. The planters increasingly became dependent on physical coercion and fear to maintain their supremacy. The dominant slave owner was a materialist devoted to a life of physical pleasure. His supremacy was not only over his slaves but his family as well, and his wife was often forced to watch his sexual abuse of slave women in silence. In rejecting the puritanical cultural standards of the North, planters enjoyed yachting, horse racing, fox hunts, and lavish parties. They defended family values but rarely respected those of their slaves. Southern white Christianity accommodated itself to this life style, forcing slaves to practice their own kind of Christian faith as a means of survival.

In sharp contrast, the life of the northern free population revolved around the family farm with distinct and separate spheres for men, women, and children. The concentration of wealth in fewer hands increased the separation of the classes on a social level as well. Northerners had disdain for the South's aristocracy, but the polarization of wealth in the free states produced a society almost as stratified. Levine's account of these sharply contrasting ways of life provides few surprises, but it nonetheless offers a concise and effective evaluation of the differences between the sections.

The second half of the study is less satisfactory because it reviews the more familiar ground of the political differences between North and South. Levine's interpretation does have the advantage of both brevity and clarity, however. He skillfully brings his readers through the maze of congressional maneuvering, which typically revolved around the issue of slavery's expansion or containment, and he shows how the deep distrust of the two sections for each other made war inevitable. Unlike many studies of the antebellum years that leave the key issue of slavery unresolved, Levine does not stop with the election of Abraham Lincoln. Rather he carries the story logically through the process of secession, war, and emancipation. In describing how the war destroyed slavery, he also shows how the use of freedmen in Union armies helped complete the process of liberation and made the war a revolution in itself.

A work of synthesis such as this does not require documentation, but the author includes a lengthy essay that expertly evaluates the most relevant secondary works. Levine presents a well-written, balanced, and objective account of a complex era. While breaking little new ground, he nonetheless effectively summarizes the current stage of Civil War historiography. Instructors will find the study a useful supplement whenever a concise overview of the causes of the Civil War is sought.

FREDERICK J. BLUE
Youngstown State University

CHARLES EDMUND VETTER. *Sherman: Merchant of Terror, Advocate of Peace*. Gretna, La.: Pelican. 1992. Pp. 347. \$25.00.

William Tecumseh Sherman has puzzled historians. Attempts to understand Sherman, a man who tended to speak loudly and carry a big stick, have led historians to approach the controversial Union Civil War general from many directions. Charles Edmund Vetter believes that every flanking movement historians have tried against Sherman's defenses, both military and psychological, has at some crucial point failed to tell us what made Sherman tick. Vetter has tried yet another approach, that of the sociologist, and he believes he has found the answer to the Sherman riddle.

In a book that is neither a biography of Sherman nor a military history of his campaigns, Vetter examines five issues he considers central to a proper understanding of Sherman: the general's personality, the evolution of his philosophy of war, the unique relationship between Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant, Sherman's contributions to military science, and, finally, the sociological significance of the general's campaigns. Applying the wisdom of sociologists, Vetter analyzes the events in Sherman's life that he thinks illuminate these five issues, apparently deriving his insights from printed letters, documents, memoirs, and biographies, from which he quotes liberally. By citing only one manuscript collection in his notes (a diary that also exists in printed form), Vetter leaves unclear which of his conclusions regarding Sherman come from the pertinent manuscript material listed in his bibliography.

Vetter concludes that Sherman's revolutionary concept of war began evolving when he entered West Point at age sixteen and further developed in the heat of wartime experiences. At Shiloh, Sherman acquired much-needed confidence; Memphis and Vicksburg taught him that he was fighting a people, not just an army; and at Meridian, Mississippi, he learned the futility of frontal assaults. By the fall of 1862, Vetter maintains, Sherman's philosophy of war was complete: the North must engage in total war, resulting in the South's economic, moral, and social destruction. In April 1864 Sherman was finally in a position to implement his military strategy.

Vetter's main contribution is his emphasis on the sociological disruption of the South that came in the wake of Sherman's marching columns. He concludes that Sherman's attack on the undefended heart of the Confederacy rendered families dysfunctional, disrupted institutions, and endangered social cohesion, making precisely the psychological and sociological impressions Sherman intended on the southern people.

While the arguments presented are interesting, what Vetter sees as a clear evolution of thought in Sherman's mind remains to me the muddled gropings of an innovative general who, as late as the

capture of Atlanta, was still unsure of the significance of the changes that were occurring. And while Sherman's march created the social disorganization that Vetter claims, the end result of total war seems to have reinforced rather than weakened the Old South's social customs and values. Vetter's sociological maneuver continues the debate, but Sherman's defenses remain intact.

MARION B. LUCAS
Western Kentucky University

PAUL D. CASDORPH. *Lee and Jackson: Confederate Chieftains*. New York: Paragon House. 1992. Pp. xii, 498. \$24.95.

Beginning with prewar biographies of Robert E. Lee and T. J. "Stonewall" Jackson, Paul D. Casdorph proceeds to their Civil War careers and concludes with a brief epilogue sketching the war in the east after Jackson's death and Lee's postwar career. The result is a brisk, well-written account.

Casdorph states a traditional thesis with no questions asked. What was Lee's strategic view of how the war was to be won? Was his aggressive warfare, with his disproportionate casualties, wise or unwise? No consideration is given to such larger questions. Lee's campaigns are considered simply from a tactical standpoint. The usual justifications for Lee's acts are provided. When he entered Maryland in 1862 he had "no option" (p. 312), a Lost Cause assertion that has never been convincingly explained. The standard villains are here. James Longstreet is, as usual, the principal *bête noire*. He, not Lee, was "bullheaded" (p. 396) at Gettysburg. The implication is that George Pickett's charge would have succeeded had Longstreet handled it correctly. Richard Ewell's "defeatism" (p. 396) late on the first day of Gettysburg is also criticized, without analysis. The author is mistaken that Lee had ordered Ewell to take the high ground "if possible" (p. 396). Lee's words were "if practicable," a quantum difference from "if possible," and Lee's instruction added the further caveat that Ewell was to "avoid a general engagement."

Casdorph adopts John Esten Cooke's statement that Lee's army in Maryland conducted itself "with perfect regard for the rights of property and the feelings of inhabitants" (p. 316) although Lee officially reported that "a great deal of damage to citizens is done by stragglers . . . wantonly destroying stock and other property." Lee was the principal military leader of a government expressly based on slavery. He owned slaves, did not voluntarily emancipate them, saw to the capture of his fugitive slaves, trafficked in slaves, characterized slavery as "necessary," and late in the war wrote that he considered "the relation of master and slave . . . as the best that can exist between the white and black races." Nevertheless, Casdorph identifies Lee as "the man who had opposed slavery" (p. 404).

Since the book concentrates on the Lee-Jackson relationship, Jackson's death at Chancellorsville is seen as a decisive event. Casdorph is clearly of the view that Jackson's effectiveness was the key to Lee's tactical successes. For example, although George McClellan's failure of will was surely his undoing before Richmond in 1862, the author writes that "with Abraham Lincoln's help, [Jackson] had ruined McClellan's peninsula campaign" by keeping Federals in the valley (p. 248).

The book's problems result from the author's unquestioning reliance on numerous questionable writers, then and now, advocates of or apologists for the Lost Cause, among these being Cooke, J. W. Jones, A. L. Long, Robert L. Dabney, and the later neo-Confederate, Clifford Dowdy. Casdorph's use of quotations from such writers to characterize critical events provides an apologetic gloss to the book.

Concluding with the obligatory panegyric to Lee, this time a Biblical quotation that describes Lee as "the perfect man" (p. 408), the book is a conventional restatement of the southern tradition.

ALAN T. NOLAN
Indianapolis, Indiana

WILLIAM S. McFEELY. *Frederick Douglass*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1991. Pp. xiii, 465. \$14.00.

With this beautifully written, full-scale biography of Frederick Douglass (1818–95), the most important African American of the nineteenth century, William S. McFeely solidifies his reputation as one of the finest historical biographers of our time. McFeely's Douglass assumes center stage in a sweeping drama that proves nothing less than riveting throughout. Douglass's life and times powerfully unfold as an extraordinary window onto the triumph and tragedy of the nineteenth-century American experiment.

McFeely shows that Douglass's best and most influential narrative and his most stunning achievement was his own life story. The author of three autobiographies (1845, 1855, 1881 [rev. ed. 1892]), Douglass possessed a strong sense of both himself and his role in his nation's history. Runaway slave, abolitionist orator, newspaper editor, social reformer, Republican Party advocate, race leader, American nationalist, and world citizen, Douglass juggled a variety of public struggles and roles. Ever the proper Victorian gentleman, he reveled in an exceptional public persona that vastly overshadowed a far more troubled domestic setting. Perhaps the most impressive aspect of this biography is McFeely's evocative reading of Douglass's complex personal world: his family, friends, and emotional life. McFeely does a marvelous job of deconstructing the self-constructed Douglass and sensitively explores the interconnections between the public and private man. Douglass's elitism, arrogance, and miscalculations appear fully rendered alongside his egalitarianism, humanism, and accomplishments.

McFeely's deft historical re-imagining of Douglass is especially evident in his mining of the extensive correspondence between Douglass and white confidantes Julia Griffiths Crofts of England and Ottilia Assing of Germany. These relationships are among the most fully realized and revealing in the biography. World-wide, women were among Douglass's most enthusiastic and loyal supporters. At times it is difficult to gauge the separation (if any) between support for the various causes he espoused and support and admiration for, even attraction to, Douglass the man.

Indeed Douglass's relationships with black and white women throughout his life demonstrate a man more at ease with women than men. McFeely's insightful re-creation of Douglass's interracial familial drama—on both kinship and affective levels—offers abundant evidence why, how, and to what effect this was so. Not surprising, therefore, Douglass, the prototypical male abolitionist-feminist, delighted in reading and discussing books with “women, whom he never found intimidating. (With men, he was somewhat intellectually insecure, and deferential and even, at times, dangerously malleable)” (p. 301).

The paradox of an African-American leader seeking to rise above the absurdity of race in a profoundly white supremacist democracy confounded Douglass's leadership. McFeely might have explored this vexatious dilemma a bit more closely, in particular giving more attention to the range and depth of Douglass's ties to Afro-America, notably his involvement within various black networks and institutions as well as his relationships with blacks generally. Douglass himself was often distressingly silent on these issues as he sought to operate beyond and outside the strictures of race.

That Douglass's life vividly illuminates the ongoing American racial dilemma has never been so clearly and perceptively explored. McFeely offers a nuanced vision of both a quintessential American hero and an exemplar of American notions of self-made success and manhood. Douglass exuded the optimism of the American spirit notwithstanding the horror of white racism. As McFeely so movingly demonstrates, Douglass simultaneously embraced—sometimes too enthusiastically—the best of American idealism and struggled ceaselessly against all manner of injustice. This made for a most compelling life, and McFeely's perceptive narrative of that life promises to be the standard biography for years to come.

WALDO E. MARTIN, JR.
University of California,
Berkeley

JAY R. MANDLE. *Not Slave, Not Free: The African American Economic Experience since the Civil War*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 137. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$12.95.

This is a revised version of Jay R. Mandle's earlier work, *The Roots of Black Poverty* (1978). In both books Mandle, an economist, seeks to explain the persistence of African-American poverty since emancipation. Employing a Marxian style of analysis, he describes the southern plantation economy as a “mode of production” (p. 65) and claims that black poverty was “rooted in the organization and productivity of southern plantation agriculture” (p. 43). Such a system required a large pool of low-paid unskilled labor and, claims Mandle, it was this system that kept blacks poor and uneducated and was responsible for the underdevelopment of the southern economy generally. Using the labor of sharecroppers instead of slaves, the revised plantation system lived on until the labor needs of World War II undermined it forever. For this reason Mandle calls World War II “the principal point of discontinuity in the black experience in this country” (p. 84).

When *The Roots of Black Poverty* first appeared it was praised for the way it synthesized the African-American economic experience with an “all-encompassing sweep” but, at the same time, reviewers faulted it for virtually ignoring emancipation as a major point of discontinuity. These strengths and weaknesses remain in the new version. Although the current study integrates relevant scholarship since 1978 and adds new material pertaining to the history of black poverty since the 1960s, it still does not adequately confront the challenge posed by emancipation and the introduction of free labor.

Throughout, there is tension between thesis and evidence. On the one hand, the book is organized around the argument that the plantation was the central force behind African-American poverty. On the other hand, Mandle is scrupulously fair in presenting evidence that suggests a more complex picture. We are told that “for the black labor force confinement more than opportunity characterized the labor market” (p. 21). Such a statement would seem to suggest that blacks were confined by the plantation system itself. But this does not seem to be what Mandle means, for, quite correctly, he makes it clear that, in the South, debt peonage was not an effective brake on movement and that black laborers frequently moved from one plantation to another and from one state to another. He also shows that the failure of nineteenth-century blacks to move North was due far more to racial discrimination by northern employers than to the machinations of the planter class. And again, Mandle is quite right when he speaks of the way blacks within the South were denied employment in a host of non-plantation occupations. Certainly the plantation was an oppressive structure, but the evidence cited in this book shows that the plantation was only part of larger complex of culture and history. Concepts like racism and the legacy of slavery go much further in explaining African-Amer-

ican poverty than does an emphasis on the plantation economy of the South, important as that was.

WILLIAM COHEN
Hope College

BARRY A. CROUCH. *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 187. \$24.95.

With a body of work that spans more than a quarter of a century, Barry A. Crouch has joined a select group of historians who are recognized as national authorities on the history of Reconstruction. He has published pathbreaking articles in such journals as *Prologue*, the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, *Phylon*, and the *Journal of Social History*, just to name a few. Certainly, this book can only help solidify Crouch's reputation.

Known for his masterly command of the historiography of the field, for his "overarching" conceptualizations, and for his grasp of subject matter, Crouch is an unabashed revisionist, and his present effort is a collection of masterful essays. He begins his volume with a sweeping overview of the historiography of the Freedmen's Bureau (nationally and in Texas); next comes an evaluation of the bureau's assistant commissioners who functioned in the Lone Star State. In chapters 3, 4, and 5, Crouch delves into "microhistory" in three different ways: first, he provides coverage of local bureau activity in just one Texas subdistrict (the 30th); then, he details and evaluates the performance of one subagent, William Kirkman, who was murdered in the line of duty; and finally, he surveys one county, Brazos, its race relations, and a virtual local race "war" that developed—initiated by whites—in Millican, the leading town in the county. In a brief conclusion, Crouch places himself in the forefront of the "revisionist" ranks when he praises, rather than condemns, the bureau's effort in Texas. The bureau was not a failure there, but rather it achieved partial success, especially in helping advance black education and in helping develop community organizations. Moreover, its agents had decent motives and tried to do more, only to be "hamstrung" by labor shortages, thwarted by white racism that often led to violence, and hampered by distances (too large a territory to serve). Nevertheless, Crouch judges that "the Texas Freedmen's Bureau did what was humanly possible" (p. 131).

Of course, anyone who studies the bureau in Texas steps into a proverbial hornets nest. For example, William Richter in his *Overreached on All Sides: The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas* (1991) remained critical of the bureau's efforts in Texas. And, indeed, many of his points, based on a lifetime of work, were well made. Richter's criticisms of the Texas bureau include its red tape, which slowed action, and its labor supervision of freedpeople, which, he contended,

helped entrench the exploitive system of sharecropping.

Yet Crouch responds to such critics by mentioning present-mindedness, which leads to "ex post facto judgments . . . The Bureau has been judged by a standard that would be impossible for most current . . . organizations to attain . . . [T]he Texas Freedmen's Bureau . . . performed rather well. Indeed, black Texans would have been much worse off without its presence" (p. 128).

JAMES SMALLWOOD
Oklahoma State University

ROGER LANE. *William Dorsey's Philadelphia and Ours: On the Past and Future of the Black City in America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 483. \$29.95.

Throughout much of the late nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century, William Henry Dorsey collected material on African and African-American life, especially from Philadelphia, the city where he lived and helped organize the American Negro Historical Society. The Dorsey collection disappeared after his death in 1923 and was not discovered until 1976. The portion of this material now available at Cheyney State University offers a rich new source for understanding the African-American past. Roger Lane describes Dorsey as "a natural 'social' historian generations before the historical profession caught up" (p. 2). Lane has made creative use of the collection for a study of the black Philadelphia in which William Dorsey lived. He also compares Dorsey's Philadelphia to his own and suggests how understanding this historical context can contribute to dealing with problems faced by the black population in cities today.

In the chapters on Philadelphia's past, which make up over three-fourths of the book, Lane is not clear whether he is presenting late-nineteenth-century black Philadelphia as seen by one contemporary or a general history based largely, but not exclusively, on this collection. Some additional primary material, as well as the work of historians from W. E. B. Du Bois to Lane himself, are used to supplement the Dorsey material. If the approach is unorthodox and sometimes confusing, it does work to create a richly detailed glimpse at the daily lives of and daily indignities suffered by this black urban population. Lane uses whatever material he has available, primarily the *Dictionary of Negro Biography*, to sketch the lives of such well-known black Philadelphians as Fanny Jackson Coppin, James Forten, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, William Still, Benjamin Ossawa Tanner, and Henry McNeal Turner, as well as Dorsey and members of his family.

Yet he retains a perspective unique to the Dorsey collection by establishing a hierarchy of elite status based on the number of times an individual was

mentioned there. The majority of black Philadelphians received no mention in the collection; nevertheless it is rich in material pertinent to their lives, which Lane skillfully analyzes. He demonstrates how the blatant and subtle ways of racism shaped the lives of humble and elite alike. A black student able to enter the University of Pennsylvania was curtailed off so as not to offend the other students. Patrons in white-run restaurants watched as waiters broke their used plates, insinuating that they were contaminated. Black Philadelphians were exposed daily to the steady stream of racial caricatures so prevalent in the newspaper clippings that Dorsey, perhaps painfully, pasted in his scrapbooks. They may not have seen, as Lane can from a historian's perspective, that racism combined with a changing economy to make their chance of succeeding, as a group, remote. "Simple racism openly applied," Lane points out, meant that "black workers were simply shut out of the contemporary urban-industrial revolution" (p. 63). The rich detail available in the Dorsey collection enables Lane to support such analysis with personal example. Roll-books from the Institute for Colored Youth document that 604 black Philadelphians between the ages of twelve and fifty-seven signed up in one year to learn a new trade. But with few instructors available, most of them could never become the plumbers or cabinetmakers or dressmakers they wanted to be. Lane's concluding chapters look at black Philadelphians today and their prospects for the future. Here he relates the experiences of these failed artisans to today's troubling "underclass." Lane concludes that "the condition of the underclass today is a direct heritage of that earlier injustice" (p. 372).

This book is a significant addition to the historical literature on urban and African-American history. It is also a timely source for those struggling to understand and overcome the impact of these earlier injustices.

BESS BEATTY
Oregon State University

TYRONE TILLERY. *Claude McKay: A Black Poet's Struggle for Identity*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 235. \$24.95.

Claude McKay was hardly a typical writer of the Harlem Renaissance. He was West Indian, not from the United States, his principal literary connections in the early 1920s were with Greenwich Village radicals, not with Harlem writers and intellectuals, and he spent the peak years of the Harlem Renaissance in Europe and North Africa, not in New York. And yet *Harlem Shadows*, his book of Harlem poems, and *Home to Harlem*, his best-selling novel, make him one of the most important and well-known black writers of the movement. At the same time, the many twists and turns of his career make him difficult to define or

analyze. Tyronne Tillery is the most recent to attempt a biography of this enigmatic character.

Tillery's work differs from that of McKay's other principal biographer, Wayne Cooper (*Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance* [1987]), by focusing on the Jamaican's political and ideological development rather than attempting a critical assessment of his literature. Tillery defines his objective as twofold: "to offer a psychological portrait of a complex, deeply conflicted literary figure, and to use McKay's life as a vehicle for analyzing the larger problems of identity, vocation, and politics that confronted black intellectuals and artists during the interwar years" (p. ix). Although he does not completely achieve these objectives, his efforts produce an interesting and readable study of one of the most interesting characters of the Harlem Renaissance.

Tillery's attempt to probe the complex psychology of McKay is ambitious but only partially successful. He describes McKay's political inconsistencies, his problems with his sexual identity, his difficulty in establishing and maintaining friendships, and his inability to assume responsibility for his own decisions and mistakes, but he offers no real explanation of the reasons for McKay's personality disorders. To a large degree his efforts are undermined by the scarcity of reliable sources on McKay's early life and early career. Consequently he is forced to rely heavily on correspondence and writings from the mid to late 1930s as the principal source for the events that occurred fifteen to twenty years earlier, even though he acknowledges that the Jamaican's autobiographical writings were marred by his "lifelong tendency to rewrite his own history" and "to supply idealistic reasons for practical decisions in his retrospective explanations" (p. 42). Tillery's effort to use McKay to illustrate the problems confronting black intellectuals suffers because McKay was so atypical. He was the consummate outsider: alienated not only from white America but from black America as well. While Tillery acknowledges the stress between West Indians and African Americans, he does not adequately explore the degree to which McKay's West Indian roots affected his relations with the black literary establishment during the Harlem Renaissance.

These problems notwithstanding, this is a fine book that adds significantly to our understanding of McKay and black America in the early twentieth century. Tillery's analysis of McKay's politics are the best yet. He chronicles McKay's political transformations, from a Marxist to a race nationalist, then to a rabid anticommunist, and finally to a Roman Catholic, clearly and in a manner that makes this strange odyssey understandable. He effectively uses the scattered collections of McKay's correspondence, especially that with Max Eastman, to provide new insight into some of the key moments in McKay's career and to illustrate his relationship with major figures in both twentieth-century black history and in the history of the American Left. This achievement alone makes

this well-researched book essential reading for anyone interested in the Harlem Renaissance or the history of twentieth-century American racial and leftist politics.

CARY D. WINTZ
Texas Southern University

MICHAEL W. HARRIS. *The Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 324. \$29.95.

Thomas A. Dorsey, perhaps best known for his hymn "Take My Hand, Precious Lord" and his work with Mahalia Jackson, played a major role in the development of the gospel blues—"a blend of sacred texts and blues tunes" (p. xvii) that emerged in the African-American churches of the urban North in the 1930s. Dorsey's life and music bridged several dualities: rural and urban, southern and northern, sacred and profane. Most important to author Michael W. Harris, however, is the "twoness" African Americans experienced in choosing between assimilation into white culture and the preservation of an indigenous black culture. This book has its own duality; it is at once a compelling analysis of an important African-American cultural expression and an insightful account of the first forty years of Dorsey's life.

Born in rural Georgia in 1899 to an itinerant preacher-showman and a devout mother, Dorsey played a "'lowdown, downhome' blues" piano, first in Atlanta and then in Chicago (p. 87). He became a composer and arranger as well, and after several years as a small-time musician, his blues career began to take off in the early 1930s. At that point, however, Dorsey experienced a third and final return to religion following the death of his wife and newborn baby. He then developed a new musical form, the solo gospel blues, with lyrics that at once issued a call to conversion and expressed a cry of suffering rooted in the African-American experience as well as his own pain. Dorsey accompanied several gospel singers, and this new career allowed him to fuse the models offered by his parents: religious performer from his father and pious believer from his mother. In addition to writing and performing, Dorsey contributed to the rise of the gospel blues by helping establish gospel choruses within northern urban, black churches. These choruses eased tensions between the old-line African-American denominations, which had denounced black religious excesses and adopted white musical forms, and their newer members from among southern migrants, who clung to religious expressions rooted in slavery. Gospel choruses did so in part, Harris argues, by incorporating the call-and-response of the slave song and the community solidarity of the "'bush arbor'" meeting (p. 250).

Harris cleverly weaves together his biographical and cultural analysis. He may be too critical of the

assimilationist tendencies within the African-American denominations, at times seeming to deny them an authenticity, even a true "blackness." Nor does his analytical framework easily account for Dorsey's debt to English evangelical Isaac Watts's tunes or the popularity of Dorsey's gospels among southern whites. Harris does not explore the shared aspects of southern white and black evangelical subcultures. Nevertheless, he has written a fine book from which historians, even the tone deaf among them, will profit. Harris treats music as an expression of culture, so his analysis of the gospel blues contributes much to an understanding of the role of the church, the implications of the Great Migration, and other aspects of African-American culture.

GAINES M. FOSTER
Louisiana State University

JILL WATTS. *God, Harlem U.S.A.: The Father Divine Story*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 249. \$30.00.

The black minister known as Father Divine has enjoyed nearly as eventful an ascent in the realm of historiography as in his rise from poverty to become "God" to thousands of black and white followers during the Great Depression. As an evangelist who guided a multimillion-dollar business network in the 1930s, Divine became the subject of cynical, often humorous biographies that fixed on the cult trappings of his Harlem-based ministry. In later decades, as his influence faded, writers such as Charles Samuel Braden (*These Also Believe* [1949]) and Kenneth Burnham (*God Comes to America* [1979]), rehabilitated Divine as a sincere man who taught the inner divinity of all persons. My own study of the minister (*Father Divine and the Struggle for Racial Equality* [1983]) placed him in the vanguard of currents in black religion, as a wide-ranging activist for civil and economic rights who expressly linked spirituality with the struggle for justice. Now Jill Watts, in her well-researched and clearly written volume, sheds new light on the spiritual roots of Divine's leadership.

Watts notes Father Divine's varied social activities but views him "foremost as a religious leader" whose "appeal rested on his theology, a unique blending of several popular religious traditions" (p. x). Chief among these was a movement called New Thought, which flourished in American society during the early twentieth century. "A precursor of the New Age ideology of our own day," New Thought taught "that God existed in all people, that the channeling of God's spirit eradicated problems, and that unity with God guaranteed salvation" (p. 22). Although Divine's enthusiasm for New Thought has figured in earlier biographies (notably Robert Parker's *The Incredible Messiah* [1937]), Watts extends our understanding of how Divine absorbed and expounded this doctrine, as

in his assertions that positive thinking would ward off poverty and racial discrimination.

Among the virtues of this book is its research into the early years of Father Divine. Contemporaries had identified Divine as a former gardener in Baltimore named George Baker, but his exact origins remained uncertain until Watts unearthed census records of his birth in Rockville, Maryland, in 1879. Watts also offers a fresh account of Baker's conversion in 1906 (highlighted by his "speaking in tongues") at the Azusa Street Revival, an interracial Pentacostal gathering in Los Angeles that suggests the geographic and spiritual range of Divine's formative years. The book presents a more familiar but well-drawn portrait of Divine's leadership of the Peace Mission, whose interracial membership was pledged to chastity and spiritual rebirth. Watts devotes special attention to the movement's influential following in California, which included veteran adherents of New Thought who encouraged Divine's growing political activism.

Although Father Divine did draw from New Thought much of his egalitarian and optimistic theology, Watts tends, at times, to overestimate New Thought's contribution to his ministry. The minister's communal ventures, militant integrationism, and other challenges to the status quo all attested to his focus on institutional change and to the influence of reform currents in the Depression era, even as mainstream New Thought continued to stress individualistic routes to fulfillment. There were, indeed, some politicized adherents of New Thought who served Divine, but his own vision remained dominant—indeed, deified—within the Peace Mission. Still, these are matters open to varying emphases and interpretations, the more so given Divine's openly eclectic philosophy. In all, Watts has perceptively explored an important dimension of Father Divine's distinctive and complex ministry.

ROBERT WEISBROT
Colby College

SUDARSHAN KAPUR. *Raising Up a Prophet: The African-American Encounter with Gandhi*. Boston: Beacon. 1992. Pp. xi, 222. Cloth \$28.00, paper \$14.00.

In early 1950, Martin Luther King, Jr., then a student at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, attended a sermon in Philadelphia on Mahatma Gandhi delivered by Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University. King was so impressed with Johnson's sermon that he purchased as many books as he could find on Gandhi's life and work. King became intrigued with Gandhi and began a serious study of his philosophy of nonviolent direct action.

In this informative and inspiring study, Sudarshan Kapur explores the "bridge builders," such as Johnson, from the Gandhi-led nonviolent Indian independence movement to the African-American civil rights

struggle of the 1950s and 1960s. African Americans learned about Gandhi and the Indian liberation movement early in the twentieth century from Indian nationalists who visited the United States, black leaders who traveled to India and met Gandhi, and the African-American press, which reported extensively on the Indian freedom struggle. Moreover, black leaders such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Hubert Harrison, John Hope, and Booker T. Washington noted the similarities between the Indian and the African-American condition, especially the plight of the "untouchables."

Gandhi's dark complexion, references to Jesus Christ as the first nonviolent resister, condemnation of "untouchability," and staunch support of Ethiopia after the Italian invasion in 1935 attracted African Americans to him. The black press followed the evolution of his thought on noncooperation, civil disobedience, and nonviolence. Several prominent African Americans, among them Du Bois, E. Franklin Frazier, Charles Johnson, William Pickens, and George Schuyler, questioned the applicability of Gandhian techniques to the problems of African Americans. They contended that African Americans were a numerical minority, whereas Indians were a majority in their own country; that the Constitution and law in the United States supported the principle of equality and should be used as instruments for change; that self-defense was important to African-American self-respect, and that African Americans were not prepared for the type of material sacrifices practiced by Indians.

Despite such reservations, A. Philip Randolph was the first black leader to employ Gandhian techniques on a large scale with his March on Washington movement during the 1940s. Randolph sought to engage the black masses in the struggle for freedom through a campaign of "non-violent, good will, direct action." He saw his program as a modified expression of Gandhi's principle of nonviolent civil disobedience and noncooperation. His program differed from Gandhi's in that it sought to uphold rather than to destroy civil government. Indians strove for independence through the breakdown of British rule, while African Americans struggled for equal protection under the law within the existing system of American government. Black leaders such as James Farmer and Bayard Rustin elaborated the concept of nonviolence within an American context in the Fellowship of Reconciliation and later in the Congress of Racial Equality. The latter organization failed to activate the black masses according to Farmer, one of its founders, because of its secular orientation.

Kapur cogently argues that King marked a shift, that he took an idea that was present among African Americans for at least four decades and added to it a religious dimension appropriate to the African-American experience. Through the black religious tradition, King made Gandhism relevant and effective. For Kapur, King was the ultimate "bridge build-

er" between the Indian freedom struggle and the African-American civil rights movement.

ROBERT L. HARRIS, JR.
Cornell University

JOYCE W. WARREN. *Fanny Fern: An Independent Woman*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 374. \$29.95.

Fanny Fern, Joyce W. Warren vividly points out in her biography, is an American original worth studying. The first woman newspaper columnist, the highest paid American newspaper writer in the mid-nineteenth century, and the author of a best seller extolling the virtues of female financial independence, Sara Payson Willis (the real Fanny Fern) makes any future scholarly work of social history that does not deal with her popularity irredeemably in error. To be ignorant of Fanny Fern is, finally, to be ignorant of the ideals and obstacles faced by middle-class women in nineteenth-century America.

Warren has crafted a scrupulously researched biography that has the flow and zestful appeal of a good novel. The primary research into archives, private letters, and collections has been done painstakingly, but the scholarly arguments have been relegated to extensive notes, rather than allowed to break the flow of the narrative. The research is solid and compelling. In its desire to let Fern speak loudly for herself, it gives the reader the three-dimensional sense of the woman who divorced a brutal, sexually exploitive husband and ended up abandoned by family because of his lies and the ensuing scandal.

Forced to support herself and her children, Fern learned some hard lessons that she then passed on in her columns over the next twenty years: never trust a husband to be the sole financial manager of the family. Always know where the money is going. Be able to earn a living. Have a saleable skill. Equal pay for equal work. There is no freedom for women without financial independence.

If this biography has a weakness, it is its lack of accurate historical context for Fern's work. As even Warren acknowledges, Fern's columns were extremely popular. Obviously, she was not as out of tune with most public sentiment as Warren suggests if readers continually rushed to get her weekly column. Not only did the *New York Ledger* double circulation because of Fern's work but also others paid her the complement of stealing her name.

Warren might find it useful to look at some of the highly popular advice books contemporary with Fern's columns. Popular writers such as T. S. Arthur, Dio Lewis, Mrs. Abel, Mrs. Graves, and Reverend Weaver in their work all reflected the influence of various current reform movements and most called women to job training, exercise, financial independence, educational and dress reform, just as Fern did. Books by these authors regularly remained in print

over twenty years. Fern, although more extreme in her suggestion of a career during marriage, was part of a larger chorus of voices objecting to True Womanhood's suicidal ignorance and passivity. Fern's uniqueness is in her witty and abrasively worded revolt against those tenets.

Despite contextual irregularities, however, this is a highly readable biography about an original and fascinating American woman. It is time someone rescued Fern and her advice from the undeserved scholarly obscurity of the last hundred years. Warren has done so.

FRANCES B. COGAN
University of Oregon

ROBERT S. FOGARTY. *All Things New: American Communes and Utopian Movements, 1860-1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1990. Pp. vii, 286. \$34.50.

Robert S. Fogarty, one of the leaders in the study of American utopian communities over the past two decades, sets out in this volume to fill a void in the literature on the subject by dealing with the period from the Civil War to World War I. He challenges the standard notion that communitarianism lost its appeal in that industrial age. Fogarty draws on a wide range of documentary sources—many of them remote—to demonstrate the existence of a continuing tradition of collective community organization. These communities, both religious and secular, were informed by a strong sense of social purpose shaped by the rapidly changing circumstances in America. In an appendix Fogarty lists in chronological order by name and location 140 communal societies established between 1880 and 1914. (Often the names chosen for the communities reveal a great deal: Harmonial Vegetarian Society, Social Freedom Community, Fairhope Industrial Association, Spirit Fruit Society, Free Acres Association, to cite but a few.) Many other groups that issued statements of intention or prospectuses, according to Fogarty, probably did not succeed in launching their experiments. Admittedly, most of these communal societies were short-lived and did not embrace large numbers of followers. In that respect, this volume may lend support to the older view that communitarianism faded in relative significance after the Civil War. And yet Fogarty's research forces us to reevaluate all simple formulas concerning intentional communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Fogarty tells the stories of the diverse communitarian experiments after the Civil War in three chapters corresponding, in his judgment, to three kinds of utopians—what he calls charismatic perfectionists, cooperative colonizers, and political pragmatists. Each held different views of the ways in which collective action offered guidance for dealing with the future. Each also handled the issue of leadership

differently. All, however, believed that the best hope for American society lay in the principle of community. The perfectionists, according to Fogarty, sought to establish the perfect society, a new Eden. These communitarians, both religious and secular, often looked to the West—Kansas, Texas, and California—for their Eden. For them and others, the physical journey itself frequently became part of the quest. The cooperative colonizers were driven to the principle of community by mounting problems of the day that often focused on issues involving land and labor. The planned colony of Pacific City at Topolobampo Bay, Mexico, is a case in point. It was one of the most prominent efforts to bring together capital and labor. The political pragmatists, according to Fogarty, frequently formed their communities as a response to the evils of the emerging urban society. In their concern for social reform, these utopians directed special attention to the plight of children. The pragmatic communitarians, perhaps the most radical of the three groups, sometimes derived their inspiration from unconventional sources, including Eastern religions, the Social Gospel, and the occult.

Fogarty writes anecdotal history, telling of the men and women who set out on utopian journeys during these years, many of whom were networked with one another in complex ways. Those readers who are looking for a systematic or full account of particular communities will be disappointed because Fogarty moves swiftly from group to group. At times it is difficult to discern the connective links or to know for certain why he has placed specific communities in one or another category. This caveat aside, the essay in the opening chapter more than compensates for the price of the book. In it Fogarty writes with insight on the subject of communitarianism. That essay, plus the checklist of 140 communities in the appendix, makes this volume a useful addition to the library of anyone interested in the study of alternative communities in America.

STEPHEN J. STEIN
Indiana University,
Bloomington

MINA CARSON. *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885–1930*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1990. Pp. xiii, 280. \$29.95.

Since the publication of Allen B. Davis's *Spearheads for Reform* (1967), the seminal work on the American settlement movement, others have either carried the settlement story forward in time, incorporated perspectives of race and gender, shifted focus from the major northeastern houses to lesser settlements, or challenged his positive assessment of the movement. Mina Carson now returns to Davis's original ground, concentrating her efforts on the same cities—Chicago, Boston, New York—and the same settlement

luminaries—Jane Addams, Robert Woods, Stanton Coit, Vida Scudder, and Graham Taylor. She does so, however, with a perspective informed by two decades of debate over the nature of social reform.

Carson is intrigued by social consciousness, its "various origins, motives, elaborations, and perversions," especially as it developed in the movement's leadership (p. x). To trace the transformation of this consciousness from ideas into action, she offers a "group biography" of the settlements' "primary actors," those who best articulated and applied the settlements' evolving ideology.

To sketch the intellectual climate that nurtured the settlement leaders, Carson takes from England the usual indictment of the industrial city, the dehumanizing effects of utilitarianism, the estrangement of the classes, and the example of Toynbee Hall. To this she adds the twin Victorian ideals of character and personal service, and, from social Christianity, the concept of an organic society. These ideas dovetailed with social thought in America where liberal Protestantism was preaching a Social Gospel, the nation's liberal colleges were encouraging "manly character" and "womanly service," and the social sciences were tying empirical investigation to social reform. In this heady atmosphere, theologians and professors weaned a generation of idealistic and restless graduates ready to put ideas into practice by taking up residence in the industrial slums.

Having established what motivated the leadership, Carson turns to a close analysis of their writings to trace the evolution of settlement ideology. She finds that the key to that ideology was in its method: character building through personal contact between the classes and social reform through research. By focusing on method Carson can reconcile the settlement's diverse and sometimes contradictory programs, activities, and reforms. She can explain their contribution to constructive reform campaigns, as well as their seemingly naive moral purity crusades and their self-defeating resistance to popular culture. She can explain why the settlements' commitment to democratic self-determination and cultural autonomy was repeatedly compromised by their inclination to intervene in their neighbors' lives with protective legislation, to serve *in loco parentis* when immigrant mores seemed to impede their children's opportunities, and to challenge the ward bosses to whom their neighbors were loyal. Is this social control? Most definitely. But its intent was benign, its concern humane, and, ultimately, it was consistent with settlement ideology.

This book contributes to a growing second generation of social welfare history. Carson's attention to the thought behind the settlement movement adds to Davis's comprehensive review of the movement's accomplishments. Her willingness to explore the contradictions, ambiguities, and tensions latent within

settlement ideology provides a critical edge to temper Davis's original enthusiasm.

JOAN M. CROUSE
Hilbert College

RUTH HUTCHINSON CROCKER. *Social Work and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889–1930*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1992. Pp. x, 347. \$39.95.

In this informative book, Ruth Hutchinson Crocker studies seven social settlements in Indiana. Located in Gary and Indianapolis, these reforming institutions achieved only local importance, and Crocker uses them to test the standard interpretation of the settlement movement, which is based on settlements of national prominence. Traditionally, histories have represented settlements as the vanguard of progressive reform, but Crocker argues that the records of her "second-tier settlements" force us to relocate the settlement movement from the headstream to the mainstream of progressivism (p. 6).

Crocker's greatest contribution lies in her exposure of the variety within the settlement movement. Unlike the more famous settlements in Chicago and New York, for instance, those in Indiana were not strictly secular. Evangelical women founded Christamore in Indianapolis; Presbyterian women established Neighborhood House and Methodist women founded Campbell House in Gary. Foreign House in Indianapolis, although created by the local Charity Organization Society and Commercial Club, was soon infiltrated by Protestant missionaries who made evangelism central to the settlement's programs.

Support from the Commerical Club illustrates another of Crocker's themes: the role of business in shaping the settlements. The Gary-Alerding Settlement emerged in 1923 from investments by the Catholic church and U.S. Steel. The latter also contributed mightily to Stewart House, a settlement for blacks that grew out of collaboration between the white Methodist Episcopal church, elite blacks, and the steel giant. Moreover, in the 1920s, Christamore received most of its funding from the business-dominated Community Chest.

As we increasingly believe of the more famous settlements, these second-tier settlements did not in the main support cultural pluralism. Although they wanted to protect their immigrant clients from rank exploitation, the Protestant settlements certainly intended to win converts. Although Gary-Alerding was Catholic, that settlement, too, meant to Americanize immigrants, especially by encouraging the strictest sort of political conformity. All aimed to enforce a single set of domestic habits.

With insight, Crocker lays out the response of her settlements to the migration of southern blacks to midwestern cities after 1910. Directors of Christamore relocated to a predominantly white district;

Campbell and Neighborhood houses integrated their programs. And two of her subjects were established specifically to serve black neighborhoods—Flanner House in Indianapolis and Stewart House in Gary. These two provided essential services but left race hierarchies intact. For example, Flanner House's program for wage-earning women amounted to a domestic service employment agency that regulated hours, wages, and conditions on behalf of black maids and simultaneously "served to institutionalize the black female as domestic worker" (p. 92).

Crocker thus concludes that the settlement movement was more conservative, especially more committed to Christianity and capitalism, than the standard interpretation has admitted. This, she claims, set the movement in the mainstream of progressivism, the central drive of which was "to discipline and modernize the urban masses" (p. 221). Because progressivism disciplined industry and modernized government nearly as much as urban masses, Crocker's narrow definition prevents her from illuminating the broader reform impulse as she considerably enriches our understanding of the settlements.

ROBYN MUNCY
University of Maryland,
College Park

RIVKA SHPAK LISSAK. *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1890–1919*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. xi, 252. \$35.00.

There can be few more powerful symbols of Progressivism than Chicago's Hull House and Jane Addams. But in this important revisionist study, Rivka Shpak Lissak turns a critical eye to an aspect of the famous settlement house that has been basic to its reputation of Progressivism, namely the relationship between Hull House and its immigrant neighbors.

Lissak employs a rhetoric of unmasking to consider "the realities behind the myth created around this most influential woman" (p. 9). At the risk of simplification, her approach can be summarized as an attempt to test what the settlement residents said about the immigrants against what the settlement actually did for and to the immigrants.

Lissak's book thus consists of two separate but connected inquiries. The first part carefully examines the social thought of the Hull House circle and their University of Chicago allies (collectively labeled the "Liberal Progressives") in order to locate their ideas about nationality, assimilation, and culture within the spectrum of contemporary theory. She concludes that historians were incorrect to label the Hull House residents cultural pluralists. Instead, she argues, they were humane reformers who opposed rapid, forced Americanization but whose ultimate goal was always the complete assimilation of immigrants and the extinction of separate ethnic cultures and communi-

ties. Although they spoke of "immigrant contributions" to American culture, the Liberal Progressives rejected both a mechanical and a chemical (melting pot) model of assimilation in favor of a competitive model where they confidently expected Anglo-Saxon culture to handily defeat the more "backward" immigrant cultures. Moreover, seeing American culture as already cosmopolitan (an amalgam of ancient Greek, Roman, European, and American influences), the settlement workers did not believe that immigrant contributions would effect significant change.

The second part of this study, a microanalysis of the relations between Hull House and its neighborhood, contrasts in method and perspective with the first. Using an impressive array of immigrant sources to examine the impact of the settlement on the dynamics of assimilation, Lissak argues that the Hull House circle not only misinterpreted immigrant culture but also held an inflated assessment of its own influence within the immigrant community. Lissak sometimes overstates her case. For example, she claims that Hull House "never made any meaningful efforts to preserve and foster immigrant cultures" (p. 131). Similarly, her interpretation of the Hull House campaign for a public school curriculum that would reflect ethnic diversity as no more than a temporary strategic retreat in an otherwise relentless drive toward elimination of cultural distinctiveness seems harsh. Moreover, it is surely inconsistent to describe Hull House as "a marginal institution" without influence over the immigrants (p. 122), while at the same time blaming Hull House for somehow thwarting the will of ethnic communities that were "moving towards institutional completeness rather than dissolution" (p. 37). Finally, Lissak's tendency to label as "marginal" those immigrants who used Hull House Americanization programs as a step toward their upward mobility seems to be a tautological argument that dismisses the evidence showing that some immigrants actively sought assimilation.

Lissak's bleak assessment of Hull House's relations with the immigrants rests on impressive documentation, but it is also grounded in her sympathy with ethnic persistence and reflects the engagements of "ethnic revival" history. Her thesis that the Liberal Progressives deluded themselves and deceived historians as to their real intentions vis-à-vis the immigrants makes for a polemical book that destabilizes Hull House historiography, traditionally written in a celebratory mode. For this reason, readers will find Lissak's perspective a bracing corrective to narratives of Hull House as feminist collectivity that marginalize the settlement's working-class neighbors. Although it is narrowly focused, and the absence of any gender analysis is a problem throughout, this book deserves careful study. Whether or not historians agree with Lissak's conclusions, they will admire her effort to write a multifaceted history of Hull House that re-

fuses to privilege the point of view of the residents alone.

RUTH HUTCHINSON CROCKER
Auburn University,
Auburn

JOHN L. RURY. *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930*. (SUNY Series on Women and Work.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 277. Cloth \$59.50, paper \$19.95.

John L. Rury's conclusions are intriguing: most high schools before 1900 provided girls the same education as boys and thus promoted gender equity; girls' numerical predominance over boys as high school graduates prior to 1890 was not correlated with employment opportunities for women with a high school education; public demand by 1900 for vocationally focused education led schools to differentiate their courses according to sex-typed job categories that introduced previously unknown constraints on high school girls; and, at least after 1900, the proportions of girls taking academic, commercial, and home economics courses in any school district reflected regional and local variations in the job market.

Rury draws some of his conclusions from the U.S. census and the U.S. commissioner of education, expanding earlier statistical analyses by Michael B. Katz, Ian Davey, Carl Kaestle, and Maris Vinovskis. He also examines patterns of schooling between 1900 and 1930 in Boston and Memphis, comparing them with data on Bridgeport, St. Louis, and Seattle collected by George Counts for his study on *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education* (1922). Because, as Rury admits, statistical correlation cannot throw light on the motivation of individuals, he turns with relish to the work of other historians and social scientists, particularly those who have written about women and work, including Ileen A. DeVault, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Lynne Y. Weiner. Although Rury's conclusions may surprise some, they are not startling. His book's strength lies in showing how the information from large-scale data bases can be augmented by reinterpretation at a later time and refined by historians and social scientists working from a qualitative and/or a theoretical perspective.

He argues that because the curriculum of the nineteenth-century high school was prescribed, "it may have given several generations of girls a historically unique sense of their ability to succeed in a context where they often competed with boys" (p. 35). Elsewhere he expands on girls' success competing with boys. He does not add that, in addition, high schools provided girls and boys with skills in cooperating on intellectual tasks. If Rury is correct about the importance of gender equity in high schools for several generations of women (and men), the skills of cooperation they learned in school may have been a

key to their later collaboration in local government and social reform movements.

Rury does not examine the consequences of their experience of gender equity in high school on women who may have aspired, unsuccessfully, to enter occupations that their male intellectual peers were free to enter, or on women who, unlike men, were brought up to accept success in school as an end in itself instead of as a key to success in some occupation. By concentrating on gross data, and focusing on women in commercial courses, Rury avoids discussing the impact of ideology in constraining women from expanding their work roles and in preventing schools from retaining gender equity once they introduced vocational courses. And although he acknowledges the impact of sex-segregation in the work force, Rury does not fully explore the educational significance of gradations within women's work. For instance, he ignores the fact that in business each male executive position developed a "shadow" secretarial position often with its own educational requirements; some women became secretaries only after completing an academic course in high school and a liberal arts bachelor's degree. Nevertheless, Rury's book is insightful. It provides useful interpretations of the link between women's schooling and work and should prove stimulating for graduate and undergraduate discussions.

JOAN N. BURSTYN
Syracuse University

DEBORAH FINK. *Agrarian Women: Wives and Mothers in Rural Nebraska, 1880–1940*. (Studies in Rural Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 242.

In her first book, *Open Country Iowa: Rural Women, Tradition, and Change* (1986), Deborah Fink took a clear-eyed and unsentimental look at how the work of farm women changed in the period from 1930 to the present. Fink's ability to disentangle the importance of women's actual activities from the farm myth that enveloped them made *Open Country* required reading for historians of rural life. Her new book is the logical but daring sequel to that earlier work, for here she takes on nothing less than the agrarian myth: Thomas Jefferson's yeoman farmer, the farm family, rural virtue.

Fink's wide-ranging chapter analyzing agrarian ideology from Jefferson to the Country Life Movement to Wendell Barry impressively demonstrates the male bias of the agrarian myth, showing what underpins the common rural feeling that "Even though women did much of the work of farming, men seemed to be the real farmers—the ones who mattered" (p. xv). Against the myth, Fink counterposes the actual experiences and feelings of Nebraska farm women in their lives as wives and mothers, the only appropriate roles for women in agrarian ideology.

Drawing on forty detailed interviews with farm women in Boone County, Nebraska, and on substantial work in local archives, Fink grounds her analysis in "the concreteness of [women's] actual lives" (p. 97). Taking a careful look at the lives of these women since the time of settlement, Fink argues (to simplify a considerably more nuanced argument) that farm women and their children have been exploited labor and that the much-vaunted equality and involvement of women in farming is the real agrarian myth.

In her chapter on settler wives, Fink effectively uses census data, reminiscences, and the work of Nebraska writer Mari Sandoz. The heart of the book consists of three chapters, based largely on oral history, about farm women in the difficult 1920s and 1930s. These chapters are distinguished by the thoughtful observation of telling detail that is characteristic of Fink's work. Today the failure of the family farm labor system is uncontested: farmers make up less than 4 percent of the American population, and farms are increasingly operated by corporate agribusiness. The agrarian myth failed, Fink argues, because it was "false, irrelevant," and "failed to consider the full human integrity of other persons," especially farm women (pp. 194, 196).

This is a deeply felt, well-argued, and convincing book, but it is difficult to avoid a David versus Goliath feeling. Forty Nebraska farm women against the weight of the agrarian tradition is an unequal contest. Yet Fink is correct in her belief that the details of women's lives and their own often unarticulated resistance are a rich source for a more complete understanding of farm life—for men as well as women. The value of this understanding is considerable, for Fink leaves us with the hope that "a broadening of vision . . . could generate . . . a new ideology, laying the groundwork for a more viable and democratic rural society" (p. 196).

SUSAN ARMITAGE
Washington State University

STEPHEN J. STEIN. *The Shaker Experience in America: A History of the United Society of Believers*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 554. \$40.00.

Despite recent popular interest in the American Shakers and the proliferation of scholarship about the group during the past two decades, Stephen J. Stein's massive and thoroughly researched study marks the first attempt at a comprehensive scholarly analysis of the entire 200-year Shaker experience in America to the present. Put off by the uncritical adulation and emphasis on material culture that have characterized many earlier studies of the group, Stein presents instead a highly critical revisionist interpretation stressing the complexity and factionalism of Shaker religious and social development in its larger American context. Particularly noteworthy is Stein's consideration of topics that have never before re-

ceived adequate consideration, including the impact of the midwestern Shaker communities on the group's development and the changes in and cultural impact of the Shakers in the twentieth century.

Stein's study is divided into five chronological periods, each of which presents provocative new arguments. Part 1, on the movement's beginnings and the role played by the early leadership in England and America until 1787, provides a severely truncated and often idiosyncratic introduction to the Shakers. Stein portrays the earliest Shaker movement as a characteristic product of the sectarian milieu of the period in England whose development in America followed the patterns of many similar charismatic groups, and little was distinctive about it. Deliberately avoiding use of later Shaker historical accounts in reconstructing the movement's origins, Stein almost completely omits any direct discussion of early Shaker celibate testimony and sharply deemphasizes Ann Lee's role in the movement. Instead, he stresses hostility toward the Shakers arising from their charismatic activities and from fears that they were possible British sympathizers during the American Revolution.

In part 2, Stein compellingly argues that far more important than the English founders to the development of the Shakers as a national organization were the second and third generation American leaders of the movement such as Joseph Meacham, Lucy Wright, and David Darrow. These and hundreds of less prominent Shakers of the "formative period" between 1787 and 1826 developed the communal structures and rituals that characterized "classic Shakerism" and helped sustain the society throughout its subsequent history. Stein is at his best in discussing the tensions and complexity of the efforts to introduce Shaker communitarianism, develop a theology and publications, and expand into the Ohio Valley during the early nineteenth century.

In his innovative periodization of Shaker history, Stein argues in part 3 that the years between 1827 and 1875 comprised not only a time of unprecedented economic prosperity and growing acceptance of the group in the United States but also a period of increasing difficulty in maintaining order and sustaining organizational momentum. Facing these difficulties, dramatized by the convulsive religious revival beginning in 1837, the Shakers struggled to reconcile conflicting demands of creativity and order and to reverse the decline in recruitment to the group.

In part 4, Stein presents a sophisticated analysis of the increasing Shaker accommodation to American culture and the precipitous decline in membership between 1876 and 1947. In response to the dramatic changes occurring in an ever more urban and industrial America during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Shakers increasingly gave up distinctive styles of dress, ritual, and belief; invested (often unwisely) in external business ventures; and struggled to sustain themselves as their dwindling

membership literally aged. The period was also one of great creativity, however, as a new cohort of talented female leaders kept alive and reinterpreted key elements of Shaker spirituality and practice in an increasingly "feminized" society.

The most recent period of Shaker history from 1948 to the present, analyzed in part 5, has been characterized by an extraordinary renaissance of external interest in the society and its material culture and experience, which Stein asserts is "without parallel" in American religious history. The handful of remaining Shakers have made creative use of this outpouring of popular interest in the mythic image of the Shakers to sustain themselves and seek revitalization, even though the last two Shaker communities at Sabbathday Lake, Maine, and Canterbury, New Hampshire, have been hampered by not being on speaking terms with each other during much of the period. Stein argues that it is still too early to close the books on this remarkable religious movement.

Anyone who has worked closely with the voluminous and widely scattered primary sources and secondary works on the Shakers, and the proliferation of scholarly studies of specific communities and subtopics in Shaker history since World War II, must express admiration for the thorough research and the generally successful effort at synthesis that have gone into this important study. The final product, nevertheless, remains curiously incomplete and misleading as a treatment of Shaker religious and social history as a whole. Most striking is the near-total omission of any detailed analysis of the sources, development, and impact of celibacy in the history of the group, even though Stein admits that this belief and its practice were among the most distinctive elements in the Shaker tradition throughout two centuries. To try to tell the story of the Shakers with only the most tangential mention of celibacy is like leading a tour of Brigham Young's homes in Salt Lake City without mentioning polygamy.

Also misleading, particularly for a study purporting to focus on the Shakers as a religious movement, is Stein's radical deemphasis on the role and significance of Ann Lee. One can sympathize with Stein's distaste for the naive antiquarians who talk with incomprehension about Shaker belief in a "female Messiah," but the complex issue of how early Shakers viewed their charismatic founder is given surprisingly short shrift. Without such a discussion, much of the later dynamism of the group becomes hard to comprehend. Scholars seeking a full and balanced understanding of the Shaker movement throughout its history would do well to juxtapose Priscilla Brewer's compelling analysis of the development of the northeastern Shaker societies to 1900 in *Shaker Communities, Shaker Lives* (1986) with Stein's more comprehensive but idiosyncratic book.

LAWRENCE FOSTER
Georgia Institute of Technology

THOMAS A. TWEED. *The American Encounter with Buddhism, 1844–1912: Victorian Culture and the Limits of Dissent*. (Religion in North America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiv, 242. \$29.95.

Nineteenth-century American Buddhists dissented from prevailing Western values, but most, Thomas A. Tweed makes clear, kept their dissent within comfortable limits. Sensitive to charges that Buddhism represented an Oriental passivity and nihilism, defenders discovered in it reassuring qualities of individual self-reliance, social activism, and personal theism. Not until somewhat later, however, did some Japanese-American adherents take to singing "Onward Buddhist Soldiers!"

The assimilation of an exotic tradition to native cultural patterns is of course to be expected, but the Americanization of Buddhism appears to have proceeded so far as to obscure the reasons for its appeal as an alternative religion. Tweed does not completely solve the problem that this creates, although he carefully classifies American followers as "esoterics," many of whom came to Buddhism by way of Swedenborgianism, Theosophy, or similar movements; "rationalists" impressed by Buddhist compatibility with natural law; and such "romantics" as Lafcadio Hearn and Ernest Fenollosa, for whom the attraction was primarily cultural and aesthetic.

Although helpful, these categories do not seem entirely to account for the deep emotional appeal that Buddhism clearly had for a significant and varied body of Americans. Why did Edwin Arnold's free-verse life of Buddha, *The Light of Asia* (1879), captivate so many? Why were intellectuals, who were more interested in Hinduism during the early nineteenth century, increasingly drawn to the rival tradition after the Civil War? Tweed notes that Buddhism was much praised for its ethical framework, but he fails to show why Americans should have found it superior in this respect to other religions, Eastern or Western. The institutionalizing of Buddhism by Asian immigrants and perceived parallels between Buddha and Jesus serve somewhat better as explanations.

Tweed's most interesting suggestion is that Buddhism's compatibility with science was a crucial source of its appeal, not only for rationalists but also for some esoterics and romantics. At a time when Christians were struggling to come to terms with evolution, Buddhism posed no obstacles to the acceptance of modern biology; from a more positive standpoint it lent itself to a quasi-scientific conception of divinity as impersonal force. In our own time popular writers have sought to find common ground between post-Newtonian physics and the Eastern religious traditions based on the "organic," interpenetrating nature of the universe toward which both seem to point. In the more mechanical world of nineteenth-century science, one is left to infer, the appeal was a little

different—perhaps that of installing a credible "ghost in the machine."

Although one would like to see such matters pursued further than Tweed attempts to do, one measure of scholarly achievement is the raising of significant questions, and by this criterion his book succeeds admirably. Future work on the subject might profitably take a comparative approach in exploring the appeal of Eastern religions in the West: Buddhism as opposed to Hinduism, nineteenth century as opposed to twentieth, perhaps Britain as opposed to America. In the meantime, Tweed has provided a solid, well-researched overview of an important episode in American intellectual and cultural history.

MICHAEL D. CLARK
University of New Orleans

GEORGE M. THOMAS. *Revivalism and Cultural Change: Christianity, Nation Building, and the Market in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 238. \$34.95.

George M. Thomas tackles an important, large, and tricky problem with this book. The relation between religious movements and general cultural trends is a difficult problem under any circumstances. In American history, the problem becomes labyrinthine. Homogenous Durkheimian categories crumble under the pressure of pluralistic realities, and we are still searching for viable models to comprehend the contours of American religious history. Fortunately, Thomas is aware of the difficulties and undertakes his journey with both caution and daring.

Noting the gap in studies of religion and society between grand theory and ideographic descriptions of phenomena, Thomas plots a midrange theoretical course by concentrating on a specific set of religious phenomena (revivalism) and attending primarily to ontological issues (the content and structure of the cosmos, how cosmology is related to myths, to what groups will a specific cosmology appeal). The resultant discussion and empirically based regression analyses suggest that new social realities give rise to new moral orders, which compete for dominance in a society searching for new cosmologies. Few would quibble with this outline, and most of us who have struggled with the complexities of nineteenth-century American religion would agree with the general statement. The question is whether we have learned anything new as a result of Thomas's analysis. Well, yes and no.

First the "no" part. Significant portions of Thomas's thesis are familiar themes in historical discussions from the 1950s and 1960s, thanks to the work of scholars such as Whitney R. Cross (whom Thomas cites) and Robert H. Wiebe (whom he does not). Specific portions of the argument, such as the relation between evangelical religion and the rise of the Re-

publican Party, were well stated two decades ago by Richard Jensen and Paul Kleppner. More recent sophistications of the general theme by Paul E. Johnson, Mary P. Ryan, and Anthony F. C. Wallace have already developed some of the more interesting parts of Thomas's model. (Although Thomas cites a 1956 article by Wallace, he curiously ignores *Rockdale* [1978], the subtitle of which indicates that the work is grist for the mill: *An account of the coming of the machines, the making of a new way of life in the mill hamlets, the triumph of evangelical capitalists over socialists and infidels, and the transformation of the workers into Christian soldiers in a cotton-manufacturing district in Pennsylvania in the years before and during the Civil War.*)

The "yes" part can be stated with brevity. There is considerable utility in seeing familiar speculations placed in the form of formal hypotheses, and seeing those hypotheses refined as a result of empirical tests. As Thomas wisely states, "It is a long way from regression coefficients relating variables constructed on census data to an abstract theory of market penetration and social movements" (p. 136).

In spite of a few serious lacunae (for example, I missed a discussion of the possible implications of the work of Mircea Eliade in Thomas's treatment of "Resacralization"), this book is based on a careful reading of the relevant literature and will pay significant dividends to those who invest time in reading it.

GREGORY HOLMES SINGLETON
Northeastern Illinois University

ROBERT T. HANDY. *Undermined Establishment: Church-State Relations in America, 1880-1920*. (Studies in Church and State.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1991. Pp. x, 204. \$29.95.

The recent intense interest in America's religious outsiders has generated new kinds of curiosity about the insiders, the people and churches of what is usually called mainstream Protestantism. In pursuit of more nuanced understandings of exclusion and dissent, as well as for other good reasons, historians have moved well beyond the traditional preoccupation with institutions and theologies, and even beyond the more recent fascination with a "Protestant ethos" suffusing nineteenth-century American culture. They want to know, for example, not just how white Protestant hegemony was organized and expressed, but how in God's name (so to speak) it defied immense demographic and social changes to persist as strongly as it did into the present century.

Robert T. Handy is one of those scholars who have approached such questions by reviving a perception common in the nineteenth century, especially among European observers: a society that had grandly denounced national churches and dismantled its own systems of state support had nonetheless evolved a shadow establishment more effective, perhaps more coercive, than the genuine article. This provision for

a Protestant-based neutrality, as Handy pointed out some years ago, remained fundamentally unchanged until the post-1920 era of realignment that he characterized memorably as a "second disestablishment."

In this new book Handy surveys the numerous processes of change—some well recognized at the time, others not—that preceded and helped produce that latter-day rearrangement. In the first three of his seven chapters, although he surveys familiar patterns of Protestant cultural dominance, he gives more attention to voices of questioning and protest, and to fissures developing beneath the surface. Handy points to the lonely but portentous expressions of self-doubt arising within mainstream traditions; to the troubled new awareness of non-Christian religions that mainstream Americans might actually have to take seriously; to voting patterns that expressed a weakening of "affinities between certain religious groups and political parties" (p. 55); and to Catholic resistance (along with Mormon forced capitulation) to a formula for "separation" that these groups and others experienced as at least mildly fraudulent.

The book's middle chapters treat two massive ventures, the new social Christianity and the churches' participation in international expansionism, that seem at first blush to relate more to the establishment's continuing cultural authority than to any reasons for its eventual demise. But the plot had already thickened, in Handy's view, and his final chapters reveal, *inter alia*, the new vulnerabilities that came with these intensified forms of public activism. In its reforming initiatives the establishment was torn between "scientific" and traditionally evangelical approaches to social problems; while the experience of World War I, from first shocks through aftermath, promoted realignment both by rushing newly respectable Catholic and Jewish players on stage and by discrediting some of the comfortable assumptions on which Protestant dominance had been grounded.

Yet, as I think Handy agrees, the Protestant churches' participation in domestic reform and international politics did also increase their visibility, their social relevance, and probably their staying power among the managers of a national agenda. Should we, therefore, think of such movements or events as the real agents in the subversion of America's informal religious establishment? Perhaps not. It can be argued (and again, Handy might well concur) that the establishment had long since been "undermined" by the enormous demographic and religious changes of the early nineteenth century. In that view, the turn-of-the-century "alarums and excursions" he describes so well may be best understood as contingent events that delayed, even as they promoted, adjustments that by then were long overdue.

WILLIAM R. HUTCHISON
Harvard University

ROGER A. BRUNS. *Preacher: Billy Sunday and Big-Time American Evangelism*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1992. Pp. 351. \$22.95.

It is about time that a biographer of Billy Sunday gave some attention to his baseball career. Sunday played for A. G. Spaulding's legendary Chicago White Stockings from 1883 to 1888. He probably became used to pageantry and overstatement in those days, for the White Stockings pulled into various towns "with an entourage of assistants and hangers-on," "like a conquering army in their handsome open carriages drawn by white horses" (p. 39). Roger A. Bruns concludes that Sunday was "too clean, neat, too seemingly naive and unseasoned"; although accepted by his teammates and grateful for the opportunity to play, baseball was not to hold him. Billy, bar hopping one night in Chicago in 1886 with members of the White Stockings and Giants, saw a horse-drawn "Gospel Wagon" from Pacific Garden Mission and heard its familiar gospel hymns. He followed the Gospel Wagon that night, and the rest, as they say, is history. In 1896 Sunday conducted his first solo revival in Garner, Iowa. In 1917 he took New York City by storm.

Bruns's biography is thorough and immensely readable. He was able to capture a bit both of Sunday's charisma and his demagoguery. Bruns helps us understand why Sunday was loved and hated. Most major themes in Sunday's message are given complete description and concise, accurate historical background. The chapter on Sunday's zeal for prohibition, for example, contains a fine overview of the temperance movement; the chapter on anti-Bolshevism contains Sunday's stinging attacks as well as the radicals' opinions of Sunday, no less stinging. The chapter that contains the best new material is about Sunday's Atlanta revival of 1917 and the issue of racial segregation in his revival strategy. Also, Bruns made me aware for the first time of just how crucial the choirs and gospel music were to the success of Sunday's campaigns.

Bruns simply mentions but does not give historical overview or analysis to one of Sunday's major themes, his "aggressive, militant masculinity" (p. 137). This is unfortunate because it was such an important and overdrawn part of the Sunday persona, and because there are now plenty of historical studies of gender roles in the United States, and in American religion, from which Bruns could have drawn historical data and interpretation.

The subtitle "Big-Time American Evangelism" is misleading. Bruns provides a helpful five-page overview of revivalism from Jonathan Edwards to Sunday, but devotes only about the same space to revivalism after Sunday, and that is limited to anecdotal links between Sunday and Billy Graham and Jerry Falwell. The book is not a detailed study of the influence Sunday and his methods had on succeeding generations of revivalists.

There recently has been a burgeoning interest in Sunday, made possible by the collection of his papers at the Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College. This is the second biography in two years, and by far the better. It is an impressive scholarly achievement and a good read for a general audience.

BETTY A. DEBERG
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LYLE W. DORSETT. *Billy Sunday and the Redemption of Urban America*. (Library of Religious Biography.) Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans. 1991. Pp. xii, 212. \$14.95.

The name Billy Sunday calls to mind much that is disconcerting about American revivalism. Critics then and now are quick to liken the famous preacher's approach and style to a carnival and to dismiss his message as harsh and out of date. Lyle W. Dorsett finds much to criticize the famous evangelist for in this biography, the first in more than thirty years. Yet the author is convinced that a balanced study of Sunday reveals "that he was not in fact the buffoon many believe him to have been" (p. 4). In Dorsett's treatment, Sunday is a likeable and honorable man who falls victim to his own success and—like many other Americans—falls out of step with the direction of a changing nation.

Following eight successful seasons in major league baseball, Sunday turned down an attractive contract extension to concentrate on full-time Christian service in 1891. He worked first with the YMCA and later with the evangelistic team of J. Wilbur Chapman. In 1896 he ventured out on his own and for a decade preached in small towns across America. Dorsett portrays these years as being happy, despite marginal finances and frequent difficulties with rented tents. Sunday was at home in rural America and his campaigns found him working alongside and getting to know the people who appreciated his ministry.

After 1907 Sunday vaulted onto a new level of evangelism with larger meetings in major urban areas. Dorsett argues that the decision to go big time was crucial; it "brought fame, wealth, and impressive statistics" even as it "brought a torrent of problems" (p. 86). Sunday's success over the next two decades thus became his downfall. With his wife, Nell, at his side as his most valuable business partner, the Sundays paved the way for personal problems by ignoring their children, by choosing an opulent life style that left them "increasingly unable to identify with the poor people of either race" (p. 98), and by setting the stage for a torrent of media criticism about their financial success. The result is the somewhat simplistic argument that Sunday had problems because he was successful.

Although he criticizes Sunday's financial and social

success, Dorsett portrays his progression as a natural outgrowth of the evangelist's own personal values and political views, as well as the changes in urban America. Ironically, it is precisely the post-1907 phase in which he credits Sunday with breaking down racial barriers by inviting black ministers to his meetings, preaching in black churches, and carefully orchestrating integrated evangelistic meetings at this, the height of the Jim Crow era.

The most impressive contribution of Dorsett's work is the abundance of evidence drawn from the Sunday family papers, a previously untapped source. The result is an intimate portrayal through which the famous evangelist emerges as a vulnerable human being who, despite personal shortcomings, contributed greatly to the religious life of his age. Part of a series of religious biographies, Dorsett's enjoyable account contains no academic footnotes; the short chapter on sources, however, will be particularly helpful to scholars.

JAMES R. GOFF, JR.
Appalachian State University

PATRICIA MCNEAL. *Harder than War: Catholic Peacemaking in Twentieth-Century America*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 316. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$15.00.

Roman Catholicism in the United States is often viewed as having produced conservative, moralistic doctrine concerning political life, the family, the ethics of war, and the status of women in church and society. Along with this image goes the stereotype of the Catholic laity as docile if not well-disciplined, a monolithic religious following that is generally not known for dissent or ethical pluralism. Against this backdrop the 1980s appear as a watershed, in which the Catholic hierarchy critically assessed U.S. policy concerning war and peace in their historic pastoral letter, *The Challenge of Peace* (1983). Drawing on the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, the bishops' letter critically assessed superpower relations and unequivocally endorsed pacifism for individual consciences.

Patricia McNeal provides an instructive and sympathetic survey of the individuals and groups whose efforts presaged this official embrace of pacifism: the Catholic Association for International Peace, the Catholic Worker and Dorothy Day, Thomas Merton, James Douglass, the Berrigan brothers, and Pax-Christi-USA. One learns of the variety of views within Catholic peacemaking, views that have ranged from all-out pacifism to nuclear pacifism to the endorsement of selective conscientious objection. One also learns about Catholic civil disobedience against the Vietnam War and against the production and testing of nuclear technology, protests that have spanned the 1950s through the 1980s. No one can finish McNeal's

book with the image of American Catholicism as either monolithic or socially conservative.

Yet in recounting the stories of Catholic peacemakers McNeal's main interests seem to lie elsewhere. Her main thesis, although somewhat muted, is that Catholic peacemaking cannot be understood apart from biblical sources and theological convictions. McNeal's account thus emphasizes two features of the Catholic commitment to nonviolence: its religious dimension and its uniqueness vis-à-vis Protestant alternatives. The first feature leads her to insist that we cannot explain the actions of Catholic peacemakers solely in sociological or economic terms; we must take into account the religious aspects of Catholic peacemaking as well. Here Dorothy Day's religious beliefs and her reliance on the Sermon on the Mount—foundational for the Catholic Worker—cannot be overemphasized. The second feature derives from the fact that, despite occasional alliances with Protestant pacifist groups like the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Catholic peacemakers generally marched to their own beat and took their cues from the writings and example of Day and the Worker movement.

McNeal's fastidious research produces a wealth of useful information about the names, dates, political activities, and beliefs of American Catholic peacemakers. But occasionally her interpretations either mislead or remain incomplete. In her account of Pope John XXIII's encyclical, *Peace on Earth*, for example, McNeal infers too much when she concludes that John XXIII implicitly rejected the doctrine of just war (p. 95). John XXIII's remarks about the unreasonableness of war to settle disputes in the atomic age could easily draw from just-war considerations, especially the criterion of proportionality. Moreover, McNeal faults *The Challenge of Peace* for invoking just-war criteria to assess nuclear issues (p. 255). Echoing Merton, she holds to the idea that just-war criteria are obsolete in the nuclear age. Yet McNeal fails to provide the kind of detailed ethical argument necessary to support her judgment.

Perhaps the main flaw of the book is that McNeal's allusions to the dominant alternative to Catholic peacemaking—the just-war tradition—suggest that nonpacifist ethics has been stable and monolithic in official Catholic teaching throughout the twentieth century. To the contrary: just-war teaching was only vaguely used by popes and the American hierarchy until the latter half of the century, and only recently has this teaching undergone the kind of refinement necessary for a detailed casuistry of war. One effect of this refinement is that official Catholic teaching now expresses greater caution about the legitimacy of lethal force to settle disputes than it did forty years ago, when reference to the justice of war returned to Catholic teaching in the writings of Pius XII. This increased caution about endorsing recourse to war—central to *The Challenge of Peace*—is also a function of the influence of Catholic peacemaking, and it is ironic

that the impact of peacemaking on the dominant ethics of war was excluded from McNeal's account.

RICHARD B. MILLER
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MICHAEL ORIARD. *Sporting with the Gods: The Rhetoric of Play and Game in American Culture*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xvii, 579. \$49.50.

Michael Oriard is one of the founders of the academic study of sport and play in American literature. He has been the most inclusive and fair-minded critic of a vitally important cultural activity and its representation. Nothing Oriard has previously contributed, however, prepares the reader for the scope of this work. With this volume, Oriard takes the study of American play, game, and sport metaphors to another level. In his own parlance, he has raised the stakes and pursued the game off the field into the fundamental activities of American culture such as business and religion and to our more mythical defining experiences on the frontier and through transcendence. He establishes play and game rhetoric as another starting point for cultural and literary critics who would attempt to explain nineteenth and twentieth-century America through the range of its literature.

Oriard is correct to state that "whatever claims I make on the reader's attention lie in the mass of details I have assembled" (p. xiv). Yet he drives the reader beyond accumulation to an important contemporary agenda: "the double challenge of cultural studies today lies in recognizing cultural diversity without ignoring the relationship of culture to political power." He consistently makes us aware that the patterns of play, game, and sport in American culture do not fit into easy assumptions about gender, race, class, and region: "middle class American culture is not uniform but diverse, not coherent but contested, not simply coercive but frequently at odds with itself" (p. iv).

This study is also a theoretical text in the best sense. Oriard is conversant with various and competing French and American feminisms and with the work of the newer American culture critics with whom he joins company, including David Reynolds, Richard Slotkin, Annette Kolodny, and Walter Benn Michaels. He is always capable of returning to the political and ideological dimensions of the examined material while not letting these dimensions dominate, a feat of gamesmanship.

One cannot do justice here to the variety of materials Oriard covers. In each chapter, Oriard surveys not only canonical writers but also the best-selling authors of a period, not only the WASP male pantheon but also the female writers' reaction to compet-

itive and gaming tropes. For example, in chapter 1, "Play, Sport, and Western Mythmaking," Oriard, while aware of the standard rhetorical development through James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, moves in original directions. He cites forgotten novelists such as Caroline Kirkland (ca. 1840) and her feminine critique of sportsmanship and gamesmanship. He provides an in-depth study of the noun "sport" in the dime novel. He quotes Pat Garrett as to why he could not fight Billy the Kid "on the square" and looks at the forgotten western fiction of Frederic Remington. This analysis completes the original cultural portrait of Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902), which begins Oriard's prologue.

Original contributions to literary and cultural debates abound. Where else can one find commentary on the psychology of success in Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women* and Eleanor Porter's *Pollyanna* prefacing a summary of Social Darwinism's transformation through game metaphor into a variety of twentieth-century success stereotypes? Oriard can be terse: he concludes that Theodore Dreiser's Cowperwood novels solve cultural dilemmas expressed in the "game of business fiction in the simplest possible way: they renounce morality" (p. 216). He correctly identifies the "cruelly sportive Melvillean agon" (the contest against God) as the high culture line of modern American literary development from Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner through Norman Mailer and Ken Kesey. He provides an absorbing discussion of the blues "as a game tragically lost" that informs fiction from the Harlem Renaissance through Ralph Ellison.

Oriard's tracking of play and game rhetoric in twentieth-century American material (parts 3 and 4) is less compelling than his work on the nineteenth century (parts 1 and 2). He appears to realize this problem himself when he writes, "By linking writers in this way I risk reducing [post-World War II] fiction to a single, endlessly reiterated narrative that can be read through its sporting rhetoric" (p. 285). With several lines on Thomas Pynchon's self-reflexively playful 700-page *Gravity's Rainbow* (1973), Oriard can do little more than cite the text as playful—and there are whole books devoted to variants of play in *Gravity's Rainbow*. The problem may be analogous to that of practicing psychological criticism on post-Freudian texts. Too much primary material is saturated with play in the contemporary period. Oriard's classifying is fresher, more sharply etched in the examination of the earlier writers.

Furthermore, there is a "Road Not Taken" in Oriard's study, the study of mimesis or representation (what Oriard calls "mimicry" and "performance") that he knows "would double the size of an already large book" (p. xii). Yet it is difficult to exclude such a major line of inquiry. Without a chapter on representation, key analyses are missing or truncated. One looks in vain for anything on Herman Melville's "Benito Cereno," an *ur-text* of

literary play. The discussions of Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* and Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* are sketchy, as are remarks on more recent texts, including F. Scott Fitzgerald's *Tender is the Night* and John Updike's *Couples*. One looks in vain for more on sexual play in Updike; indeed, the book is noticeable for a lack of commentary on play and the desiring imagination.

Caveats notwithstanding, we now have the play-game critical text that will become standard in American culture study. Oriard dazzles the reader with play's suppleness and scope. Finally, in his cool and necessary conclusion, he implies that we have managed our play and game rhetoric to tell us truths as often as we have told ourselves comforting tales through the same figures. The coming scarcities will continue to test the relevance of that play rhetoric.

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Chicago

RICK TILMAN. *Thorstein Veblen and His Critics, 1891–1963: Conservative, Liberal, and Radical Perspectives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 356. \$39.50.

In this first volume of a projected trilogy, Rick Tilman invites readers to enter a conversation, sometimes a vigorous argument with exclamation points, that he conducts with a group of economists and sociologists, writing between 1891 and 1963, who found weaknesses in Thorstein Veblen's political economy. Tilman's "main focus" is "the history and analysis of the confrontation between Veblen and his critics" (p. 178).

He divides Veblen's critics, in this case mostly Americans who wrote in English, into three groups (conservatives, liberals, and radicals), and presents them in chronological sequence responding to Veblen's hypotheses, such as his theory of status emulation as an explanation for consumer behavior or his dichotomy between business (making money) and industry (making socially useful goods). Critics range from the well-known, such as Irving Fisher (1867–1947), Talcott Parsons (1902–79), and Paul Sweezy (b. 1910), to the obscure, such as Richard V. Teggart (1903–79), a classical economist who wrote a doctoral thesis on Veblen.

According to Tilman, critical response to Veblen's work reveals the "ideological lenses" worn by social scientists of various political persuasions and illustrates that "these lenses have played an important part in the distortion of American intellectual history and of Veblen's role in it" (p. 12). Tilman notes that instead of examining "the logical consistency or empirical validity of Veblen's work," most critics of all persuasions focused on "the value-laden, that is, political and moral facets of Veblen" (p. 282). Although these conclusions will not startle historians,

Tilman's respect for the complexity of both Veblen and his questioners represents a thoughtful effort to sort out the influence of an intellectual who might, "when treated in a specifically American context as a theorist and critic of our culture and institutions" (p. xvii), rank near Karl Marx or Max Weber.

Eschewing standard textual exegesis, Tilman writes as an open advocate for evolutionary Veblenian political economy. Instead of Veblen's "convoluted rhetoric" (p. 139), not analyzed by Tilman, the master often speaks through Tilman. In this way, his "history" is unconventional. On pages replete with blocks of quotations, he aligns large chunks of others' discussions of Veblen—and sometimes verbatim excerpts of third parties' summaries of a particular critic—with his own arguments as a sort of defense lawyer for Veblen. After Tilman has "juxtaposed" (his term) the views of Veblen, as read by Tilman, and as interpreted by others, readers are encouraged to take a position in the argument.

Comparing Veblen to "progressive" economists such as George H. Mead (1862–1931) and Richard Ely (1854–1953), Tilman argues, as Dorothy Ross did in *The Origins of American Social Science* (1991), that the label "progressive" does not suit him. Veblen "envisioned more radical changes in the system of property relations and more thoroughgoing displacement of the market mechanism and price system than either Mead or Ely" (p. 112). Veblen's liberal critics of the period between the world wars and after, among others John R. Commons (1862–1945), David Riesman (b. 1909), and Daniel Bell (b. 1919), men who "neither abandoned the tenets of classical liberalism nor sanctioned advanced collectivism" (p. 261), are rebuked for marginalizing Veblen's ideas by treating them as "utopian" and for often focusing, as Riesman did, on Veblen's personal history as a source of his theories instead of analyzing the ideas themselves.

A brief signal of this book's tenor cannot convey the care with which Tilman has reconstructed these critics' encounters with Veblen, whose creed may command renewed attention, along with neo-institutionalist doctrines, as debates flourish over the political economy of the United States in the post-Cold War era.

ELLEN NORE
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ROSS POSNOCK. *The Trial of Curiosity: Henry James, William James, and the Challenge of Modernity*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 358. \$45.00.

Despite massive scholarship, the novelist and critic Henry James continues to be seen myopically. Was James an aesthete in flight from American realities and hence from history? Or was he a superb critic of the American scene? Such brittle alternatives still

shape the main controversy over James. Ross Posnock suggests that controversy so defined is not controversy at all. The alternatives are illusory, for the dominant conclusion has been reached a priori: James was, especially in his later work, an aesthete who had retreated to the palace of art. Posnock's book seeks to spring James free from this procrustean judgment.

Posnock sides with those who admire James's social criticism, which he finds not only in the novels but also in James's literary criticism, autobiography, and travel writings. Following the lead of Richard Poirier and Laurence B. Holland, Posnock extends their influential efforts to rescue James from his positivist detractors. He argues that the late writings—*The American Scene* (1907), a book recounting the expatriate's rediscovery of America after a twenty-year absence; the autobiographical *A Small Boy and Others* (1913); and the eighteen prefaces to the New York edition of the novels and tales (1907–17)—place James in the company of George Simmel, Max Weber, T. W. Adorno, and other "European theorists of urban modernity" (p. vii). Like Adorno, for instance, the late James composed an immanent critique of bourgeois society. Immanent critique recognizes that the critic cannot be outside his or her own culture and "thereby have an attitude toward it," an observation that highlights a fundamental flaw in Posnock's deconstructionist rival interpreters of Henry James (pp. 73–76). Deconstruction endows Henry James with "bourgeois befuddlement and romantic naivete," traits that deconstruction claims it can "cure." But Posnock shows that James does not fit this description, nor is there any "cure." Thus, in *The American Scene* James "recognizes the alien" on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, in particular the Jewish immigrant, "not as a stranger but as the quintessential American" (p. 278). Analogously, James also recognizes his own extraordinary class privilege on a trip to Charleston, glimpsing the irresponsibility of "his luxurious perch of spectatorship." When his train breaks down and passengers of all social kinds tumble out together, he realizes how thin the line was dividing him from them.

In his radical openness to experience, Posnock's Henry James resembles the robust Walt Whitman much more than he does the world-weary Henry Adams, with whom he is canonically paired. What is distinctive in this counterimage of Henry James results primarily from Posnock's use of two sets of foils, one of which consists of the European thinkers already mentioned. The other includes the James family, in particular the brother and philosopher William. About a quarter of this book is devoted to comparisons between Henry's life and work and William's. The still prevailing view of the two brothers seen side by side, Posnock shows, makes Henry appear "sissified" and "withdrawn," while William strides forth "active, manly, inquisitive" (p. 27). Posnock argues that this picture, although purporting to

disclose normal personal identity, is vulnerable to a powerful challenge originating in Henry's critical achievement. Posnock uses the brothers' letters and Henry's criticism to establish the sense in which William's life and thought remained stuck between the poles of "action and speculation," whereas Henry's life and thought matured because he sustained his capacity for getting "lost in wonder" while pursuing his famous "religion of doing" (p. 51). Running through these differences, however, was the brothers' common "suspicion of the assimilating, homogenizing thrust of totalizing systems," the telos of which is to frame "a monolithic American identity" (p. 16). Henry, in Posnock's view, creatively resisted these pressures, and accordingly was less self-deluded than William.

Posnock makes a good case for "lifting the yoke of the genteel" joining Henry the sissy and William the real man. He has a harder time keeping it off them, however, for he does not account for the historically powerful attraction of William's image of Henry. William seems to have voiced the dominant American opinion when he warned Henry that the latter's gigantic curiosity about life threatened to turn the novelist into "the curiosity of literature," that is, into the Henry James most literary and social historians think they know. "'Say it out, for God's sake,' they cry," William admonished Henry (p. 52). Can a writer be too curious?

At times in this otherwise refreshing interpretation, Posnock flirts with the one idea that can destroy it: the notion that it makes sense to determine whether Henry James was a social critic or a master formalist. There is much evidence and some argument here to reconfirm the deviant view that James was a great critic precisely because he was a master formalist, there being simply no other source of his brilliance.

DAVID MARR

Evergreen State College

ROBERT V. HINE. *Josiah Royce: From Grass Valley to Harvard*. (Oklahoma Western Biographies, number 4.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 218. \$24.95.

In 1908 Josiah Royce wrote, "The only possible ethical use of an individual is to be loyal. He has no other destiny" (p. 176). The wartime violation of civil liberties by the Woodrow Wilson administration and the subsequent Red Scare, followed in Europe by Joseph Stalin and fascism, has made Royce's thought seem ominously totalitarian. Robert V. Hine argues convincingly that such a characterization is unfair. Acknowledging the work of John Clendenning and Bruce Kuklick, Hine insists that the origins of Royce's thought lie in his California youth, not his German idealism.

Hine has not written an intellectual biography, nor does he address the complexities of Royce's thought.

Rather, he concerns himself more narrowly with Royce as a "Western" thinker. Hine explains, "Buried in these metaphors of great, beautiful and terrible things are the Sierra Nevada, the cradle of the western soul" (p. xiv). Hine follows Royce from his impoverished childhood in the mining frontier of Grass Valley to the cultivated refinements of Harvard. According to Hine, Royce's mother raised him to reject the hedonistic and antisocial environment of Grass Valley and, instead, to embrace religion, education, and government as the bastions of civilization and justice. Sarah Royce taught Josiah that without moral and institutional restraints human life would be reduced to the chaos of a California mining camp where women prostituted themselves for food, children suffered neglect and abuse, white miners tormented and murdered Native Americans and Chinese, and husbands carelessly abandoned their families. Devoutly religious, Sarah Royce imbued in her son the value of restraint, personal responsibility, and community. While rejecting her evangelical religion in favor of philosophy, and California for Harvard, Josiah Royce never deviated from Sarah Royce's teaching, which he carried to Harvard, translated as "loyalty."

Hine not only establishes Royce's California credentials but also situates Royce's philosophy securely in the mainstream of American thought with its roots in Protestant Christianity and its flowering in philosophical pragmatism. Royce considered individualism and cultural pluralism as givens of civil society. His pleas for loyalty and community were not simple-minded assertions of national chauvinism, but rather declarations of the primacy of the community over the individual, a community that served all of its members, in all of their diversity. In the wake of the disintegration of responsible government everywhere, no more so than in Royce's own California, his creed—"My life means nothing, either theoretically or practically, unless I am a member of a community"—no longer rings so ominously. Hine's unpretentious but well-told story contributes to Royce's restoration as an important modern thinker. Hine's unflinching account of early California also reminds us that, however discouraging, we do not, after all, live in the worst of times.

WILLIAM B. SCOTT
Kenyon College

JOHN WALTON. *Western Times and Water Wars: State, Culture, and Rebellion in California*. (A Centennial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 378. \$27.50.

This is an absorbing, intelligent, intellectually sophisticated, subtly argued, and important book. John Walton tries to tell "a big story through the lens of a small case" (p. xviii). He has taken the people who have in historic times lived in the Owens Valley, a

deep north-south graben that parallels the western escarpment of the Sierra Nevada for about a hundred miles, at a location some 200 miles north of Los Angeles, as the subject of a case study. It is of course a valley famous in western water history as the site of a lurid, generations-long controversy over Los Angeles's seizure of its abundant water resources for its own use, a seizure that has ended in the city literally owning essentially the whole valley in order to get the local water rights.

Walton, however, is not concerned with retelling that story, taking the city's culpability for granted. Rather, he examines how local popular rebellions against distant, overpowering authority take place. Thus, true to his disciplines of sociology and anthropology, Walton's narrative offers the reader a rich discussion of relevant social theories, such as those concerning Third World development in its relations with dominant Western countries and economies. The valley is seen as a colonial setting, defined as its resources being developed not for the benefit of the people who lived there, but selectively taken away for the benefit of others far away. Walton thoughtfully explores the role of the "state" in all of this. He sees, intriguingly, not an encounter between a remote government, living in its separate sphere, and local collective action, occupying its own self-contained arena. Instead, he finds the two interrelate in complex symbiotic fashion, each drawing on and needing the other. Local society makes much use of government and can flourish, despite misconceived scholarly theories about economic incorporation and bureaucratic domination.

Most of the book is simply a very good story well told and deeply researched, with the fascination of a novel. It begins with Native American Paiute culture and how the arrival of whites transformed its nature, and moves on through three "regimes and transformations" (p. 287): pioneer society, 1860–1890, when local whites embraced Gilded Age dreams of prosperity; the progressive state, when a powerful expert-led Los Angeles commission, with federal help, took over the valley's water resources and fought off local resisters to 1930; and the welfare state, 1930 to the present, which created a new foundation for the valley's life. The book ends in the 1980s, when an utterly transformed context of environmental law and supervision forced radical changes in the relation between Los Angeles and the valley.

Walton tests historians' classic frontier theories and finds them gravely deficient, being simply large assertions with little close-up grounding in local realities. Individualism is not the frontier's chief product. Instead the complex institutions of civil society, locally generated out of local cultural dynamics, informal and non-governmental, create community and collective action.

ROBERT KELLEY
University of California,
Santa Barbara

JAMES A. SANDOS. *Rebellion in the Borderlands: Anarchism and the Plan of San Diego, 1904–1923*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 237. \$24.95.

In this comprehensive book on one of Texas' most intriguing events, James A. Sandos argues that a close correlation existed between the anarchist philosophy of Mexico's activist Ricardo Flores Magón and the Plan of San Diego (PSD), an insurrectionist plot set in South Texas during the years 1915–17. According to Sandos, the exiled Flores Magón's attacks on the exploitation and oppression of Mexican Americans in the United States influenced segments of the Texas Mexican population to attempt the implementation of his anarchist principles.

Most widely attracted to Flores Magón's writings were the more literate and better-off Tejanos affected by the farm transformation and other changes created by Anglo-Americans arriving in the region during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Among South Texans alienated by the Anglo element were Aniceto Pizaña and Luis de la Rosa, both subscribers to the *Partido Liberal Mexicano's* (PLM) newspaper *Regeneración* who had established PLM cells in the region, and who in 1915 led the PSD armed struggle against the government of the United States. Rank-and-file followers of the PSD were inarticulate folks, but in Flores Magón's anarchist ideas they found their own notions of the kind of future they desired, including the destruction of the exploitation and oppression that existed along the border. According to Sandos, "The PSD represented an American anarchist response—South Texas anarchist style—to a specifically American condition" (p. 174).

A most welcome feature of this study is its assessment of various interpretations heretofore advanced for the development of the PSD movement. Sandos minimizes the role played in the rebellion by Germany, arguing that while the United States feared an organized conspiracy, the evidence does not support the thesis of a Germany-directed PSD. Yet he supports the general argument that Mexican President Venustiano Carranza used the PSD to win recognition for his administration in 1916. When it became counter productive to allow the PSD movement to use Mexico for attacks on U.S. soil, the Mexican leader used his political and military power to weaken the PSD in the north; Woodrow Wilson reciprocated by granting Carranza diplomatic recognition. As to the influence of Flores Magón's principles on the PSD, Sandos sees only an ideological nexus, as Flores Magón came to renounce the movement as a bourgeois plot to cover up Anglo capitalist and racial oppression of Texas Mexican workers and landowners in south Texas. More persuasive for Sandos is that the PSD movement was an indigenous uprising of discontented people inspired by the PLM doctrine

and the relevance of Flores Magón's anarchist thinking to their conditions in South Texas.

Sandos boldly argues that the story of PSD transcends international boundaries and that "only by viewing the PSD and frontier anarchism in the larger context of borderlands history, a perspective that permits a binational, bicultural focus, that the full complexity of the phenomena emerge" (pp. 172–73). For Sandos, the most radical aspect of the Mexican Revolution (that is, anarchism) manifested itself strongest in the trans-Nueces region of Texas, and so this study has appropriate relevance to borderlands, Texas, and Mexican-American history.

ARNOLDO DE LEÓN
Angelo State University

BRENT O. PETERSON. *Popular Narratives and Ethnic Identity: Literature and Community in Die Abendschule*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 273. \$36.95.

This study of a German-American family journal closely associated with the conservative Lutheran Missouri Synod originated as a dissertation by a Germanist with some background in history. Valiantly slogging through *Fraktur* type, hackneyed plots, and a schoolmasterly tone of admonition never far from the surface, Brent O. Peterson offers some valuable insights to historians with sufficient patience and tolerance of literary jargon. One is nearly 100 pages into the book before being exposed to much more of the *Abendschule* than its front cover. Peterson does a good job of placing this periodical in the context of German family journals that were its models and competitors, and (over)interprets its various mastheads, largely ignoring his own observation that many of the changes were prompted by nothing more than financial exigencies. A subsequent chapter exposes the inadequacy of virtually all historical and literary scholars of ethnicity except the one under review.

The core of the book for historians consists of three chapters exploring the models of ethnic identity presented in the *Abendschule*. Already in the founding era of the mid-1850s, the journal exhibited an anti-modern idealization of an old middle-class existence as village artisan or farmer, a prominent point on its agenda throughout the century. The era of German unification around 1871 presented the dilemma of juggling three allegedly incompatible identities: German, American, and (separatist) Lutheran. Peterson sees the replacement of Anglo-Americans by the "new" immigrants from southern and eastern Europe as the journal's primary negative reference group as undermining its original rationale for existence.

For the most part, the author is sound in his historical perspectives. Anyone aware of the defeat of Catholic Austria for hegemony in Germany in 1866, however, would hardly find the Prussian sympathies of the journal in 1869 "curiously prescient" (p. 165);

in fact, 1871 was much less problematic for Lutherans than for Catholics. Nor was "immigration from Germany . . . drying up" (p. 246) when the journal dropped the word "German" from its subtitle in 1881. More historical context of both the broader and narrower sort could have enhanced the study. Because Peterson did not consult either the Rowell or Ayer guides to newspapers, circulation figures remain sketchy; the few that he does present are not compared with statistics on the growth and geographic distribution of Missouri Synod Lutheranism. Nor did he consult much secondary literature on the Synod. If the subliminal messages of the journal's fiction are sensitively analyzed and interpreted, the overt political stance of its news section is largely ignored rather than examined for congruence. The Civil War era, so crucial to many Germans' self-images, is practically skipped over. Finally, the ideological stance of the *Abendschule* is seldom compared, except through its own allegations, with that of other segments of the ethnic press.

The author largely finesses the question of "whether narratives transmit values" (p. 130) and "the unknowable degree that readers actually followed . . . advice" (p. 184). He gives disproportionate attention to the early years of the *Abendschule* when it was being virtually ignored by contemporaries—its nationwide biweekly circulation was hardly one-tenth of that achieved by its "infidel" *Forty-Eighter* competition just in its hometown of St. Louis. While normative literature such as the *Abendschule* has received less attention than it deserves from historians, the best clues to ethnic identity remain what immigrants did and what they wrote home rather than what they may or may not have read.

WALTER D. KAMPHOEFFNER
Texas A&M University

PAUL JAMES RUTLEDGE. *The Vietnamese Experience in America*. (Minorities in Modern America.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 173. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$10.95.

Since the fall of the South Vietnamese government in April 1975, more than 600,000 of the more than one million refugees who have left Vietnam have found a new home in the United States. A dozen books and hundreds of articles have been published about them. Paul James Rutledge's study is the first attempt to provide an overview of their experiences. The eight chapters discuss the characteristics of the several waves of refugees, what happened to them in transit, their initial settlement in the United States, the formation of Vietnamese immigrant communities, the social integration of the group, the adjustment and identity of individuals, and contemporary Vietnamese-American society. Each chapter has many sections, some of which are not linked together as

coherently as they might be. Several key points—such as the importance of family life and religion—are repeated more often than is necessary in such a short text.

Prepared for the Minorities in Modern America series, the book will be useful for classroom assignment, but it is by no means a definitive scholarly treatment of the subject. Although Rutledge relies on information in various published works, he has made little effort to assess or synthesize the existing literature. Instead, much of the material is based on his own observations and on conversations with Vietnamese he has met, visited, and interviewed, somewhat randomly.

Rutledge relies most heavily on developments in Oklahoma (where he apparently taught for several years) and, to a lesser extent, in Dallas, Seabrook, Galveston, Houston, St. Louis, Denver, Seattle, Southern California (specific localities are not identified), and Honolulu to generalize about the Vietnamese-American experience. While events in these cities are certainly relevant, they do not tell the whole story. The 1990 U.S. census shows that the largest concentrations of Vietnamese (rounded to the nearest hundred) are in California (280,200), Texas (69,600), Virginia (20,700), Washington (18,700), Louisiana (17,600), Florida (16,300), Pennsylvania (15,900), New York (15,600), and Maryland (15,500). Oklahoma contained only 7,300 Vietnamese. Yet the book has virtually no information on the Vietnamese in California or in the Atlantic Coast states.

Rutledge does have some important insights, however. He points out that the "successful minority" image of Asian Americans is not only inaccurate but also "unfair." Positive though it may be, Vietnamese (and other Asian) American youngsters who do not excel academically are "denigrated as abnormal or failures," while their choice of careers is narrowed. The author believes that "disciplined study on a daily basis has more to do with the outcome of grade point comparisons than does inheritance" (pp. 94, 128–29).

A second insight is that severe intraethnic competition and conflict do exist among Vietnamese Americans—between generations whose members are adapting to American culture at different rates, between people of different class backgrounds, and between groups with divergent political beliefs and agendas (pp. 109–12).

Finally, the "model" of Vietnamese adaptation proposed (pp. 143 and following) is historically informed and multifaceted. It takes into account the long history of Vietnamese resistance to colonization and reminds readers that Vietnamese refugees and immigrants are not merely passive victims of their fate. Rather, they are simultaneously adapting to American society so that they can survive and succeed economically, resisting and rejecting those elements of American culture that they find unacceptable, and

retaining aspects of their own heritage that give them social and psychological support.

SUCHENG CHAN
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EDMUND JEFFERSON DANZINGER, JR. *Survival and Regeneration: Detroit's American Indian Community*. (Great Lakes Books.) Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1991. Pp. 260.

In the twentieth century, the American Indian experience has grown far more complicated than the old stereotype of life on isolated reservations in the West. By 1980 roughly three-quarters of a million, or over one-half of the total Indian population, had become urban residents, yet their story remains one of the most underresearched areas within Indian history. Scholars will therefore be pleased that Edmund Jefferson Danzinger, Jr., has pioneered in a neglected field with this solid study of the emergence and development of Detroit's Native American community.

Beginning in the early 1900s Detroit lured Indians from the Great Lakes area because it offered economic opportunity for working-class wage earners far beyond what could be found on reservations. During World War II, the ready availability of jobs in booming war industries accelerated the migration, and in the 1950s the federal program known as relocation that encouraged Indians to move to cities did the same. A distinct Native American enclave developed in Detroit, with an informal network where Indian newcomers could forge friendships to replace reservation kinship groups and find assistance in making the difficult transition between vastly different cultures. At first bars and flophouses served as the key community contact points, but eventually several Indian-operated centers appeared, often with help from churches and groups like the YWCA.

Indian response to the cultural dislocation varied. Some could not or would not reconcile the diverse cultural worlds and drifted back and forth between Detroit and area reservations, forever struggling with the desperate consequences of poverty that drove them to the city in the first place. A few found economic success and assimilated so thoroughly that most ties with the Indian world were severed. But others made the necessary adjustments to the new setting outwardly while clinging inwardly to their Indian roots. Mingling with members of different tribal groups, they forged a new pan-Indian sense of being Native American in a pluralistic metropolis.

The goals and ideals of Native Americans received a tremendous boost in the 1970s from the inspiration of the civil rights movement and its emphasis on militancy and cultural pride. In addition, the government aided their efforts at community improvement through Indian centers by passing a number of bills

within a new self-determination policy that encouraged Indian participation in programs. The 1972 Indian Education Act, the 1973 Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, and the 1976 Indian Health Care Improvement Act made a variety of federal grants available to local groups. Indian centers used the new monies to dramatically expand programs to ease the suffering of migrants from reservations and to serve the many needs of Detroit's Indian community as it struggled to survive without sacrificing cultural roots. By the 1980s an extensive Indian sociocultural infrastructure had evolved in Detroit, something that Danzinger celebrates as an example of government social programs that work.

But a bigger question about the future remains unanswered. Were the efforts of Indian centers only "band-aid" operations that facilitated the cultural reshaping of lives and alleviated some of the worst trauma as Indians adjusted to urban life, or did they represent something more, a foundation for further Indian community development in Detroit? It is perhaps too early to tell, but after recognizing looming problems like the dangers of dependency on federal subsidies that seemed increasingly insecure in the 1980s, Danzinger ends on a vaguely optimistic note.

Much of this study is appropriately based on hundreds of oral history interviews. Danzinger draws on them frequently for personal anecdotes to illustrate his observations and conclusions. They reveal clearly that much of the success of Indian centers in Detroit can be attributed to the heroic efforts of many individuals who worked tirelessly to make life a little more bearable for others and to make the Detroit Indian community a more liveable place.

LARRY BURT
Southwest Missouri State University

WILLIAM P. LEAHY. *Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 1991. Pp. xiv, 187.

William P. Leahy offers us a brief, well-researched, clearly written, and insightful history that emphasizes, but is not strictly limited to, the Jesuit presence in U.S. higher education since about 1900. The opening chapter summarizes the dramatic growth of the Catholic church and the even more striking transformation of higher education in the years leading up to World War I. These changes set the agenda for the interwar years, when attempts were made to raise academic standards and to professionalize Jesuit (and all Catholic) schools while not weakening their religious commitment, to open traditionally male-only institutions to women, and to make similar adaptations for lay professors and administrators. Leahy next provides an informative summary and discussion of Catholic efforts to keep up with the

headly expansion of higher education following World War II. Finally, the author briefly underlines what he regards as the principal strengths and problems that confront Catholic higher education on the eve of a new century. Among these problems remains the need to "effectively combine academic professionalism and religious commitment" (p. 157).

A major strength in this short treatment of a potentially unwieldy succession of persons, organizations, issues, and events is Leahy's candor. For example, before World War I most Catholic educators "kept aloof from developments in American academia or dismissed them as insignificant" (p. 21). Between the wars, Catholic seminaries were "profoundly inadequate" for the task of preparing leaders with vision, flexibility, and an awareness of contemporary secular thought (p. 46). More recently, the growth of Catholic higher education, especially at the graduate level, has witnessed "wasteful expansion and duplication" (p. 138), a malady the author traces to the "pervasive localism in Catholic society, especially among Catholic educators"; even Jesuit leaders failed to adopt "consistent positions concerning the development of Jesuit schools" (p. 146).

This multiplicity reflects the history of the "old time" Protestant colleges. Its persistence suggests that American Catholic religious orders and their schools, when viewed sociologically, might appear also to be vying sects, or competing divisions of a multinational corporation. Others might prefer a more theological discussion of the Catholic identity problem. Does it have more to do with what might be termed "Vatican" Catholicism rather than Roman Catholicism? Leahy, however, set out neither to analyze nor prescribe for these and other dilemmas. He wants first to identify and summarize them in their context. He has largely succeeded, and his book deserves a place in graduate and undergraduate libraries, especially those in Catholic institutions.

JOHN WHITNEY EVANS
College of St. Scholastica

JOHN H. FRYE. *The Vision of the Public Junior College, 1900-1940: Professional Goals and Popular Aspirations*. (Contributions to the Study of Education, number 51.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1992. Pp. x, 163. \$39.95.

John H. Frye examines the early history of the fastest growing educational institution in twentieth-century America, the public junior college. This distinctively American innovation first appeared around 1900, and by 1940, when Frye's account leaves off, there were 250 in existence. Since then the pace has continued to accelerate to the point where these colleges currently account for more than one-third of all higher education enrollments. The phenomenal success of this novel institution, Frye argues, cannot be attributed to the energetic efforts of its national

leadership. After 1920, the leaders of the American Association of Junior Colleges persistently presented a vision of the role of such colleges that was inconsistent with the aims that local boosters and students had for the institution. These leaders pushed for junior colleges to act as an upward extension of the high school that would provide students with a terminal vocational education. By positioning themselves in this manner, they hoped to draw a large number of postsecondary students and avoid direct competition with established four-year colleges. Ideologically, their vision was profoundly conservative, promoting the junior college as a mechanism for channeling students into lower-level white-collar jobs.

As Frye notes, however, people at the local level had different ideas. Founders and supporters of individual junior colleges around the country wanted them to provide access to higher education rather than terminal vocational training. Faculty members eagerly sought to establish the new institutions in the image of the four-year college rather than of the high school. And students voted with their feet by rejecting terminal programs in favor of transfer programs.

A number of other authors have discussed this historic tension within the junior college system over whether its primary goal should be social efficiency or social mobility, and several have done it better than Frye. The first part of *The Diverted Dream* (1989) by Steven Brint and Jerome Karabel provides a more authoritative general history of the public junior college, and recent journal articles by Kevin Dougherty provide more insight into the complex forces shaping the creation and preservation of junior colleges in individual communities. Yet Frye makes a potentially important contribution to the still sparse historical literature about the public junior college by examining a significant geographical anomaly in its institutional development. Before 1940, three-quarters of these schools emerged in only nine states—California, Texas, and seven others in the Mississippi Valley. Developing a version of the frontier thesis, he argues that the decline of open land in these areas led to a growing demand for access to the upper ranks in the work force via higher education. Although Frye's explanation of the geographical roots of the public junior college is not very convincing, he has identified an important issue for further study. Meanwhile, an authoritative and comprehensive history of this critical institution still remains to be written.

DAVID F. LABAREE
Michigan State University

JOHN ENSOR HARR and PETER J. JOHNSON. *The Rockefeller Conscience: An American Family in Public and Private*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1991. Pp. xvi, 624. \$35.00.

Scholars have generally overlooked the importance of philanthropy in the development of American policy

making and intercultural relations. Although this is slowly beginning to change, most of the current research on foundations and individual philanthropists has concentrated on the period before 1950. John Ensor Harr and Peter J. Johnson's work on the third generation of Rockefeller millionaires (commonly known as the "brothers") makes a major contribution to the small but growing literature in this field, both because they cover new chronological territory and because of the significance of their subject. More than any other family, the Rockefeller dynasty has been synonymous with the development of twentieth-century American philanthropy.

This book is a sequel to their earlier work, *The Rockefeller Century* (1988), which detailed the careers of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and his son, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. This volume takes up where the last left off, limning the careers of JDR Jr.'s sons, with a special emphasis on John D. Rockefeller 3rd. Although the other siblings—Nelson, Winthrop, David, Abby, and Laurance—spearheaded important philanthropic projects as well, JDR 3rd made philanthropy a full-time career.

It is a fascinating tale, leading the reader through the genesis of several major institutions initiated through Rockefeller's largess. His efforts encompassed a variety of seemingly disparate local, national, and international ventures. For example, Rockefeller expressed his lifelong enthusiasm for Asian culture through the creation of the Asia Society, a New York-based institution designed to promote intercultural understanding. When the United Nations and the United States turned a deaf ear to pleas for help in devising family planning programs and suitable contraceptive technologies for developing nations, Rockefeller created the Population Council to help through private means.

In New York, JDR 3rd headed the fundraising drive to create Lincoln Center, the largest public/private collaborative venture for the arts in American history up to that time. He also sat on the boards of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, remaining a tireless and unfailingly articulate champion of the importance of philanthropy until his death in 1978.

The authors provide a richly detailed history of these and other activities, based primarily on family correspondence and reports, most of which have not previously been used. The volume of these sources is the book's strength as well as its weakness. Because of the vast amount of biographical and institutional territory that is covered, the authors document only a limited amount of secondary work. As a result, their account occasionally lacks contextual depth; it is a history seen primarily through the eyes of one of the country's richest, most philanthropic clans and the friends and associates who helped them in their campaigns. Nonetheless, this work provides a splendid introduction to the complex interrelationships

between mid-twentieth-century politics, power, and personal largess.

KATHLEEN D. MCCARTHY
Graduate School and University Center,
City University of New York

RUDY ABRAMSON. *Spanning the Century: The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891–1986*. New York: William Morrow. 1992. Pp. 779. \$25.00.

He lived through a series of revolutionary changes for the United States, from the Progressive reform years, through the New Deal, and into the post-World War II era of prosperity, civil rights, and urban riots. Yet unless author Rudy Abramson, a long-time Washington correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, missed a cache of evidence (which seems unlikely), the life of W. Averell Harriman had little to do with those momentous events. Except for a brief and inept fling at politics—one disastrous term as governor of New York and a mild case of Potomac fever—his eyes were firmly focused on two things, financial investment and being part of the international scene. Perhaps that came from two experiences that shaped him as a boy, having a great deal of money and traveling abroad. His life was a long and relentless pursuit of one or the other, punctuated by occasional detours to pursue athletic excellence in crew, as a polo player, and in "world-class" croquet (Clementine Churchill being his only "worthy" opponent).

Being the son of railroad magnate E. H. Harriman may have been a psychological burden, but that was more than offset by the advantages that wealth brought. It gave him access to the best schools (Groton and Yale), to the most powerful businessmen, and to the most powerful politicians. And it provided a buffer for a personality that others described as vain, humorless, and characterized by impatience.

That made little difference for the young heir to the Harriman fortune so long as he brought profits into the coffers of his partners and stockholders. And that he did, although he lacked the skills of his father as an entrepreneur. He seemed to get the most pleasure out of forcing others to do his bidding, as in the case of taking over the Hamburg-American steamship line after World War I, while influencing the U.S. government to provide supportive regulations. Yet the venture was a financial disappointment. Likewise, his mining investments during the 1920s in the Soviet Union, an exciting adventure that brought a meaningless meeting with Leon Trotsky but no profits. (The venture found Harriman opposed to his government's policy of economic coercion against the Soviets, a position he would reverse twenty years later.) But such dramatic failures were accompanied by a steady series of less flamboyant but more successful investments. Like most businessmen who supported the New Deal, he made money during the

Great Depression, largely through the discovery of oil on land that his father had purchased at bargain prices near Long Beach, California.

His speculative efforts only demonstrated the fundamental nature of the man. Desperately eager to be active, Harriman sought power and influence. Given his personality, politics from the bottom up was both impossible and distasteful. But how to start at, or near, the top? That perhaps explains his decision to support Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. After all, writes Abramson, "disorganized though it was, the New Deal . . . attracted men who, like Harriman, found joy in the exercise of power" (p. 243). Status and influence, not principle, motivated Harriman.

At first it seemed as if being one of the New Deal's "tame" businessmen would be Harriman's role. But his restlessness and the fortuitous support of FDR's "national security advisor" (sans title), Harry Hopkins, changed all that. Beginning with Harriman's appointment in 1941 as Roosevelt's "defense expeditor" in London (where he met his future wife, Pamela Churchill), he appeared and reappeared for the next thirty years as a special assistant to and negotiator for the president. His insistent partisanship is explained not by commitment to the principles of the Democrats but by his complete dependence on Democratic presidents to give him what he wanted: important appointments that took him round the world.

At this point, World War II and the Cold War overpower the biography. In part it is because those events were so crucial and dramatic. In part it is because the Harriman papers (deposited at the Library of Congress) fail to provide the kind of insights into either policy or the Harriman personality that would animate either history or biography. There is little on World War II that is not already in Harriman's own carefully structured memoir. Nor is the material on Vietnam much better. Granted, government "weeders" took out classified documents, but Abramson did not find that a problem.

Whatever the limits of weaving a biography into complex events, the picture of Harriman that emerges from these pages (and the documents) is that of a man whose obsessive goal was to be a big "macher." That explains, in part, Harriman's migration from a believer in Roosevelt's policy of cooperation with the Soviet Union to an advocate of a get-tough policy of economic coercion. He massaged each president in order to obtain important jobs, his sycophantic behavior contributing to the Disneyesque surrealism of the Johnson White House. But while he avoided disagreeing with presidents, he had no such compunctions with lesser mortals. Not surprisingly, presidents found him a trustworthy and effective negotiator who sometimes, as with Lyndon Johnson and the Paris peace talks or the test-ban treaty, made them uneasy with his success.

Abramson's chronicle offers little evidence of introspection or thoughtfulness on Harriman's part. He was a doer, not a thinker; a major, though not key,

player in events. Harriman's failure to confront himself encouraged illusions of being presidential timber. Given his personality, that was absurd. Moreover, one wonders to whom he would have turned for direction. Would he have been his own man, or another in the list of post-World War II presidents who have been, as one British diplomat called Harriman, a "weathercock" (p. 379)?

The story is familiar, and a bit long and episodic. But it suggests an unsettling degree of shallowness and relentless ambition in a man who played so important a role in American foreign policy. The ends never justified the means; the means were all that mattered.

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KENDRICK A. CLEMENTS. *The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1992. Pp. xvi, 303. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

Imagine yourself faced with the invitation of composing an interpretive synthesis encompassing several generations of historical scholarship on Woodrow Wilson's presidency, the Progressive Era, and World War I. The wise series editors, though acknowledging respect for your own past work on the twenty-eighth president, expect balance and nuance, breadth and specificity, reflecting mastery of the voluminous secondary literature and primary sources, with special attention to the ongoing sixty-two-volume distinguished documentary collection of Wilson's papers. Of course, your manuscript, which is aimed at both scholars and general readers, must comply with a spatial limitation of approximately 225 pages, excluding chapter notes, bibliographic essay, and index.

Readers should be relieved and appreciative that Kendrick A. Clements had the courage and temerity to accept this challenge. The result of his labor is a richly textured, insightful narrative that pays due deference to the personal and political. All the colorful and familiar players are here: Theodore Roosevelt denouncing "Toryism and reaction" during the 1912 campaign; William Jennings Bryan, once the "Boy Orator" and "Great Commoner," in the unlikely but principled role as secretary of state, proposing bilateral "cooling-off" treaties to avoid confrontation and war; Colonel Edward M. House, the ultimate insider, voyaging across the Atlantic to transmit and, occasionally, interpret the president's inchoate thoughts; Edith Bolling Wilson, the president's second wife, whose "stewardship" shielded her infirm husband from advice or unfavorable opinion during the crucial battles over the Treaty of Versailles and League of Nations; and, hovering omnisciently above, superintending these administrative, legislative, and diplomatic maneuverings, is the brilliant but

flawed leader whose vision and ambition helped set the domestic and diplomatic agenda for generations to come.

The real strength of this work is not the repackaging of familiar material but rather the theoretical scaffolding Clements constructs around Wilson and his administration. Much more than biography and much less than hagiography, this book has much to say about Progressive Era public policy formation, corporate liberalism, industrial democracy, economic nationalism, and political isolationism. There is also an intriguing look at cabinet-level activity (and bureaucratic infighting) in the Agriculture and Labor Departments, where economic, political, and foreign policy considerations combined to test the administration's pursuit of regulatory reforms in the always amorphous "public interest." Not surprisingly, such non-Wilsonian priorities as race relations and segregation and the women's movement and suffrage receive passing attention, primarily in the form of administration responses to external initiatives.

There is an elegant, disarmingly understated quality in the author's prose that accentuates some of Clements's most arresting judgments. We are reminded of the contradiction our Progressive Era counterparts chose to ignore; namely that individual liberty might not be enhanced by strengthening the powers of the federal government, and that the implications of a more active foreign policy might mean less rather than more popular participation in the political process. Similarly, although Wilson's contemporaries shared their president's confidence and conviction in democratic institutions, most Americans could not envision the less benign underside of national self-interest. This is a book worth reading and teaching.

EUGENE M. TOBIN
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CATHERINE McNICOL STOCK. *Main Street in Crisis: The Great Depression and the Old Middle Class on the Northern Plains*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 305. \$37.50.

The images that most Americans have of the Great Plains under the combined impact of the Great Depression and the Dust Bowl are those John Steinbeck gave us of the southern Plains in *The Grapes of Wrath*. Early in this superb book, Catherine McNicol Stock makes a stark statement: "In the Dakotas, though, conditions were even worse" (p. 18).

Few areas of the United States have received less attention than the northern Plains, which Stock says historians have assumed to be occupied by "people who are best known for their uninteresting and potentially undemocratic lives" (p. 42). In fact, she makes clear, "These were the owners of small and relatively unimportant property. They were not small or unimportant people" (p. 11).

Still, if all this book did was fill in some blank geographic spots in our picture of the United States in the 1930s, it would be of keen interest to few historians. But its actual subject is much broader, and Stock's provocative analysis deserves the widest readership.

The implications of the issues raised in this book carry us far beyond the Dakotas—and far beyond the era of the Great Depression. We see here the fundamental contradiction that lies at the heart of America and the modern world: that which exists between the modern American (and, increasingly, world) economic system, based as it is on competition, individualism, consumption, self-indulgence, and present-mindedness, and the traditional values of cooperation, community, productivity, deferred gratification, and prudence.

Stock argues that "the Great Depression was a time of intense cultural crisis for the people of America's heartland" (p. 86). But that cultural crisis was in no sense caused by the Depression. Nor was it unique to the nation's heartland. Rather, the Dakotas in the 1930s saw the unfolding under particular social, geographic, and economic conditions of the conflict between traditional values and those of the modern marketplace economy that has been taking place at different paces in various parts of the nation and the world during the past few centuries. One of the great paradoxes of this time has been the rise of an ideology of independence in tandem with a society of ever-increasing interdependence.

For decades prior to the Great Depression, the small producers on the farms and in the towns of the Dakotas had tried to balance "fundamentally contradictory, but equally heartfelt, impulses: loyalties to individuality and community, to profit and cooperation, to progress and tradition" (p. 10). Despite all their talk about "independence," these people understood the human need for "a place of belonging" (p. 62). They attempted to temper the disintegrative forces of the marketplace with what they termed "neighborliness." Yet, as Stock notes, before the onset of the Depression, the balance between the conflicting sets of ideals that Dakotans attempted "was already almost impossible to sustain" (p. 76). The Depression brought matters to a head by forcing Dakotans to confront "the essential contradictions of their culture" (p. 87).

Dakotans' ambivalence toward the New Deal reflected the preexisting contradictions within their culture. Stock argues persuasively that Franklin D. Roosevelt's programs offered these people "a Faustian choice": to accept the government's help was also "to accept the ideas and the power of the outsiders who controlled it" (p. 126).

After four chapters in which she examines the cultural crisis of the upper Plains, Stock looks at three groups—the Farmers' Holiday Association, women, and the Freemasons—as case studies of the impact of the dual forces of modernism and the Great Depres-

sion on the mixed values of the old middle class. The Masons serve her purposes less well than the others, but this is a small drawback in an outstanding book.

A final chapter uses the construction of a modernistic new state capitol in Bismarck as a symbol of the cultural clash the book addresses. As Stock neatly concludes, "the skyscraper capitol was hardly a little house on the prairie" (p. 205).

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CORNELIS A. VAN MINNEN and JOHN F. SEARS, editors. *FDR and His Contemporaries: Foreign Perceptions of an American President*. (The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute Series on Diplomatic and Economic History.) New York: St. Martin's, in association with the Roosevelt Study Center, Middleburg, the Netherlands. 1992. Pp. viii, 248. \$45.00.

There is not much that is new to Roosevelt scholars in this study, nonetheless it is worth reading. In fact, the introductory essay by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and the concluding one by Leon Gordenker are superb condensations of FDR's aims and approaches to the international morass of his time and his view of the future world based on his understanding of its geopolitical structure. Schlesinger clearly outlines Roosevelt's efforts to combat the inertia (isolationist orientation may be the more accurate term) of the State Department, and the degree to which he intended to promote security by encouraging those who saw threats to the peace in the same framework as he did. Gordenker lays out for the reader the president's map of the future and convincingly argues that, while there were detours and errors in his cartography, FDR's overview was remarkably prescient.

The other essays in this book focus on perceptions, as various authors from the nations comprising American allies and foes in World War II assess how leaders in these countries viewed the one person whom they considered as either their best hope for victory or the person whom they planned to neutralize or oppose as they pursued their schemes to expand their boundaries or spheres of influence. It is not possible to comment on all fifteen essays, although all contribute something useful to the overview of Roosevelt the diplomatist and succeed in laying forth national perspectives on Roosevelt's significance whether from a positive, negative, or neutral point of view.

Most of the authors have succeeded in evaluating Roosevelt objectively, yet some national biases still exist. David K. Adams in his assessment of the Roosevelt-Churchill relationship gives a new twist by insisting that neither man was much enamored of the other until mutual need to achieve national objectives dictated rapprochement, and even then theirs was still a marriage of convenience. Claude Fohlen valiantly strives for objectivity but nonetheless places the

major blame on FDR for the strained relationship between the president and Charles de Gaulle. He sees FDR as incapable of understanding the political character of French resistance and the need for a heroic figure such as de Gaulle.

Valentin Berezhkov's contribution is one of the more interesting ones in part because he has changed his approach significantly from the one that he offered at the First Colloquium on American-Soviet relations at Moscow in 1986, where he presented a paper that was characteristic of the old view of Roosevelt as engaged in a capitalist conspiracy. Berezhkov's contribution in this book illustrates as much about why he has survived the twists and turns of Soviet policy all of these years as it does about the Stalin-Roosevelt relationship. Berezhkov does verify Maxim Litvinov's contention that Stalin never understood the American system and the limits it set on freedom of action for the president, and he illustrates also that he still does not quite understand those limitations himself.

One of the most successful evaluations comes from Lubomir Zyblikiewicz, who is in apparent agreement with the judgment by the Czech leader Eduard Beneš that the Polish leadership's refusal to deal with the Soviet Union was romantic and unrealistic. Henry Raymont's contribution on Latin America and FDR gives a reevaluation of the effect of the Good Neighbor policy that provides a corrective to the New Left interpretations of its purpose and effect, but which is perhaps a bit too roseate. Hsi-sheng Ch'i emphasizes FDR's foresight in considering China as undeniably a future player as a great power in the postwar world. Detlef Junker may be accurate in viewing Adolf Hitler's immediate aims as excluding any ambition to confront the United States, but he misses the important other end of the relationship wherein the president viewed Hitler as inevitably an enemy of the United States and a threat to U.S. security due to his avowed enmity to democracy.

EDWARD M. BENNETT
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ARTHUR B. DARLING. *The Central Intelligence Agency: An Instrument of Government, to 1950*. Foreword by BRUCE D. BERKOWITZ and ALLAN E. GOODMAN. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1990. Pp. xxiv, 509. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$17.50.

A specialist in U.S. diplomatic history, Arthur B. Darling was appointed the Central Intelligence Agency's (CIA) first chief historian in 1952, retaining that position until 1954. Authorized to write an in-house history of the origins and early history of the CIA, including a brief survey of its predecessors, the Office of Coordinator of Information (OCI) and the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), Darling researched relevant documents of these agencies and of the National Security Council (NSC). He supplemented this pri-

mary source research by conducting a series of interviews and correspondence with key agency personnel in 1952–53. Completed in September 1953, Darling's history remained classified until 1989, and the declassified version with minor deletions (in number of lines, the withheld information pertaining to sensitive sources, programs, and procedures) has now been published with editorial commentary by Bruce D. Berkowitz (who served in the intelligence community and on the staff of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence) and Allan E. Goodman (an associate dean at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service and a former CIA employee).

Darling does not survey, however, the specific intelligence reports and covert operational activities of the OCI, OSS, and CIA conducted between 1941 and 1950, and the relationship between these activities and the foreign policy goals of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations and their implementation during World War II and the early Cold War years. Darling's focus is narrower, to consider the CIA as "an instrument of government" and to use this focused historical survey to assess the policy and administrative question of whether the CIA "should continue as a cooperative interdepartmental activity or should become an independent agency." The result is not disinterested analysis but a historical survey endorsing the necessity for an independent, centralized agency. In it, Darling recounts in detail and with considerable sophistication a history of bureaucratic conflict wherein competing departments (state and defense) and agencies (Military Intelligence Division [MID], Office of Naval Intelligence [ONI], Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI]) sought to limit the mission of the agency by defining its collection role and by resisting any administrative change centralizing control and direction from the White House. His history of this "new kid on the block" traces the seemingly inevitable evolution of an independent agency directly accountable to the NSC by 1950 as necessitated by the intelligence needs of U.S. policy makers. Far more detailed and comprehensive than the reports published in 1976 by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, Darling's history is a major contribution to the literature on the origins and evolution of the CIA. It is not, however, the definitive history, and its value to specialists is limited by its research base and partisanship.

The volume is a history of bureaucratic conflict and administrative change written from the CIA's perspective. Lacking access to the records of the CIA's bureaucratic rivals (state and defense departments, ONI, MID, FBI), Darling's does not fully capture the rationale and policy assumptions underpinning resistance to an independent presidential agency. Furthermore, because it is not based on research in relevant presidential records (those of the president and key White House aides), Darling's history fails to explore whether the resulting administrative changes were determined by President Harry Truman's spe-

cific policy objectives and political interests. The vagueness of the language of the National Security Act of 1947 and the earlier history of successful bureaucratic resistance to a centralized independent agency suggest the centrality of Truman's role in the CIA's evolution to become "an instrument of government." Despite these limitations, Darling's history is a welcome building block for a more comprehensive survey of U.S. intelligence and national security policy and the politics and priorities shaping the Truman administration's administrative innovations.

ATHAN THEOHARIS
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JEFF BROADWATER. *Eisenhower and the Anti-Communist Crusade*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 291. \$34.95.

In fixating on President Dwight D. Eisenhower's duel with Senator Joe McCarthy while slighting other fronts of the communist controversy, historians have neglected important parts of the politics of anticommunism and the phenomenon of post-McCarthy McCarthyism. In this encompassing study of the Eisenhower administration's endeavors in the realm of internal security, Jeff Broadwater repairs that gap in the literature.

Broadwater assesses Ike's stewardship critically but temperately. He gives limited credence to that Eisenhower revisionism which ascribes to Ike's active but covert leadership the downfall of McCarthy and anticommunism's worst excesses. He concedes Ike's role, but finds his hand, "hidden" or not, usually disengaged and his actions seldom guided by concern for civil liberties. Administration concessions to the extreme demands of congressional conservatives owed less to tactical cuteness than to the administration's full accord with the era's anticommunist consensus. Displays of muscular anticommunism even after McCarthy's decline help prove the point.

The book treats numerous facets of Ike's anticommunism: his shift, partly forced by right-wing pressure in the 1952 campaign, from earlier, more moderate views; his administration's effort to preempt the issue with the 1953 security program; the stern measures of John Foster Dulles's State Department; security causes célèbres like the J. Robert Oppenheimer case; tussles with the United Nations over employee loyalty; battles with McCarthy; and the anticommunist exertions that postdated the senator's censure.

Several interesting findings and conclusions emerge. After its initial rush, Ike's vaunted security program was inert in his second term. Although he detested the Warren Court's "communist decisions," Eisenhower was passive about reconfiguring its jurisdiction. The administration also lagged in acting on the 1957 recommendations of the Commission on Government Security. Broadwater intriguingly suggests that some conditions analogous to the "shocks"

of the late 1940s also haunted the late 1950s: now Cuba was "lost" to communism and, despite Ike's rigor, there had been breaches of security. Yet the political dynamic was wrong. Whatever the grounds for criticizing him, Eisenhower merits some responsibility for that happy juncture.

The author has carefully mined the Eisenhower Library's holdings and papers of Sherman Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and Richard M. Nixon. There is fresh detail on many topics, although coverage of matters involving McCarthy tends to have a day-old quality because the subject is so shopworn. I would have liked more compressed analyses of familiar topics, expanded treatment of the more obscure, and a closer look at Democratic responses to the security issue in the aftermath of censure. Such preferences notwithstanding, this is a fine book.

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TINSLEY E. YARBROUGH. *John Marshall Harlan: Great Dissenter of the Warren Court*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 395. \$29.95.

Despite the fact that he served during a remarkable period of profound institutional and philosophical changes for the Supreme Court, a shadow has always loomed over Justice John Marshall Harlan. First, he was the namesake grandson of the justice whose dissent in *Plessy v. Ferguson* was a call that the Court eventually answered. Second, he was a frequent ally of Justice Felix Frankfurter and has been overwhelmed by the mystique attached to Frankfurter. On a Court dominated by the personalities and philosophies of Frankfurter and Hugo Black, Harlan was less visible. Finally, as a frequent dissenting vote to the revolution wrought by the Warren Court, his influence has been underestimated.

In his book Tinsley E. Yarbrough provides a detailed picture of the background, values and attitudes, and judicial role orientation of Justice Harlan and assesses his impact on the dynamics of the Court. He analyzes individual cases and thus illuminates Court processes and small-group interaction. Most interesting are the cases in which Harlan's threatened dissents or concurring opinions convinced the author of the majority opinion to change the wording of the final version. Yarbrough discusses cases in which Harlan's vote changed, a process that contradicts deterministic models of judicial decision making.

Yarbrough focuses on Harlan's position and influence on the First Amendment, equal protection jurisprudence, the incorporation of the Bill of Rights, and the nationalization of civil rights. While often described as a conservative and a proponent of judicial restraint, Harlan defies simple characterization. Harlan dissented from many of the decisions that constituted the core of the Warren Court's expansion of

liberties. He favored a narrow view of the Fourteenth Amendment that seemed at odds with the views of his grandfather. Harlan opposed notions of fundamental rights and micromanagement of the criminal procedure system (p. 292). Yet Harlan supported the right to privacy (on different grounds), his position on free speech was not entirely predictable (see *Cohen v. California*), and his record was mixed on civil rights.

The analysis focuses on the battles between competing judicial philosophies during a pivotal period in Constitutional law. According to Yarbrough, "Among the most fundamental elements of Harlan's jurisprudence was the belief that the political processes and the principles of federalism and separation of powers ultimately were more significant safeguards of individual liberty than specific constitutional guarantees, as well as his corollary assertion that judicial interpretations of the latter must give due regard to the importance of the former in a free society" (p. 149).

Some of the most interesting issues are discussed in the preface and the epilogue. The preface reveals the differences between the Harlans (pp. vii-x) and the author's contention that the younger Harlan would be closer, jurisprudentially, to the Rehnquist Court than he was to the Warren Court (p. xiv). The epilogue synthesizes the vast array of material and seeks the roots of Harlan's jurisprudence.

Some of Yarbrough's discussion of Harlan's background is unconnected to his work on the Court or is not overtly discussed. This is troubling given that analysts have identified background as an important determinant of decision making. In addition, the book leaves some broader questions unanswered or addresses them in implicit, rather than explicit, ways. Given the wealth of data and detail, these larger issues are occasionally overwhelmed.

Generally, this is an impressive study of a justice who has been ignored for too long. Like previous great dissenters, Harlan's judgment has been vindicated in some areas. Given his philosophy, which stressed reliance on the elected branches and deference to federalism, Harlan might support two recent trends: legislatures extending some liberties and rights beyond safeguards offered by the Court and the use of state courts and independent state grounds for the protection of individual liberties.

RICHARD L. PACELLE, JR.
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ELIZABETH W. ETHERIDGE. *Sentinel for Health: A History of the Centers for Disease Control*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 414.

The Atlanta-based Centers for Disease Control (CDC) is the largest federal agency outside the Washington, D.C., area, and, because it is responsible for monitoring the nation's health, and organizing cam-

paigns to promote public health, and dealing with epidemics and ecological disasters, the CDC has a significant impact on the quality of life in the United States and the rest of the world. The CDC began as a World War II agency established to fight malaria, and its evolution into the nation's primary monitor of public health and educator for wellness is a complex and fascinating story that includes many solid research accomplishments, successful efforts to translate advances in knowledge into new programs, and controversial programs such as the aborted effort in 1976 to prevent a possible epidemic of swine flu through a hastily developed mass inoculation campaign.

The CDC's administrators believed that their accomplishments were not well understood outside of the agency, and they recruited Elizabeth W. Etheridge, author of *The Butterfly Caste: A Social History of Pellagra in the South* (1972), to tell their story. This book provides an insider's history of the CDC. Etheridge skillfully exploited agency archives and the good will of former directors and staff, who provided perspectives often lacking in formal institutional records and in histories uninformed by the personal testimony of subjects. This monograph will be an important reference for both historians and policy makers because it provides an accurate narrative of the rise of an institution that played a primary role in interpreting politically sensitive and important issues ranging from the effectiveness of vaccines, to the degree of risk associated with DDT, Agent Orange, and such environmental disasters as Love Canal and Three Mile Island, to the discovery and characterization of diseases such as AIDS. One of the themes of the book is how CDC's leadership evolved as the can-do certainties of the engineers who waged war on mosquitoes as part of military mobilization in World War II were replaced by awareness of the complexities of translating epidemiological expertise into public policies that work. By the end of this history, wise bureaucrats understood that it was not enough to know more than politicians, interest groups, or the general public. Institutional and personal success depended on communication and cultivation of support among scientific peers, political leaders, and the general public.

Many of the strengths of this history depend on the collaboration between Etheridge and the CDC. One unfortunate result is a lack of analytical enthusiasm at key points in the narrative. This history is the world viewed from one bureaucracy. Etheridge usually provides enough information so that readers can evaluate agency performance for themselves, but sometimes explanations offered for important decisions are no better than paraphrased rationalizations from interested informants. Perhaps the most regrettable example of this occurs in Etheridge's account of the Tuskegee syphilis experiment. The Tuskegee study was tangential to the larger history of the CDC, but agency mendacity made the controversy over the

study more damaging than it might have been. Etheridge uncritically presents a CDC background paper that was at best deceptive on the issue of informed consent among the subjects of the Tuskegee study in a way that implies that a judicious summary of the issues had been provided (p. 238). At other points in this history, I wished that the author had been able to combine her insider's perspective with greater critical verve. Despite the excessive deference to CDC sources, this work is a major contribution to the social history of disease in the United States, and the CDC was fortunate in its first historian.

JAMES W. REED
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OTIS L. GRAHAM, JR. *Losing Time: The Industrial Policy Debate*. (A Twentieth Century Fund Book.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 370. \$29.95.

At a time when many academic historians appear to have forsworn communication with the outside world, Otis L. Graham, Jr., has written a book avowedly directed more to policy makers than to historians. His topic is the debate over industrial policy that has continued in the United States since the ebbing of American economic preeminence in the 1970s. At issue in that debate is whether the federal government should mount an energetic, coordinated effort to influence the development of specific economic sectors—either to allow the orderly retreat of declining industries or to foster the advance of emergent high-technology ones, or both.

Graham's account of the twists and turns of the industrial policy debate is a model of scholarly explanation. The call for such a policy emerged in the 1970s when U.S. producers found themselves squeezed between increased international competition and the stagnation of their own productivity. In 1980 both *Business Week* magazine and the Carter administration embraced industrial policy, but the political triumph of Ronald Reagan's supply-side macroeconomics eclipsed the microeconomic, sectoral approach. The debate continued, however, because the problems that had inspired it would not go away; over the course of the 1980s, the debate became both more sophisticated and more politicized. In the end—Graham takes his account to the first years of the Bush presidency—the debate's political charge precluded compromise and industrial policy stood rebuffed, a set of ideas much discussed but never officially adopted or systematically implemented.

The irony in this outcome, as Graham argues compellingly, is that it left intact and largely unexamined the nation's de facto industrial policy, an incoherent assortment of sectoral interventions driven by

lobbying muscle, protectionist fears, and the needs of the Cold War rather than by any guiding vision of national economic well-being. This existent industrial policy regime had deep historical and institutional roots, and it persisted—indeed, grew—throughout the 1980s. In this regard, the industrial policy debate was profoundly misleading. The real question was not whether the United States should or should not have an industrial policy, but rather how the unfocused industrial policy initiatives already in place might be managed and perhaps strengthened for greater coherence and effectiveness. The failure even to frame the issue properly made the industrial policy debate “a protracted public policy blunder of a special kind” (p. 234).

Graham focuses on the problematic contribution of historical thinking to the debate. Policy makers made too little use of historians as experts and themselves engaged in too much careless historical analogizing, often for political or ideological advantage. Graham suggests that a wiser use of historians and historical thought might have allowed the participants to see more clearly what their real choices were. Retracing the analytical path not taken, Graham concludes with an advocate’s call for “an explicit but minimalist” (p. 295) industrial policy that would better coordinate the nation’s de facto sectoral interventions in the short run and provide a base for more daring initiatives in the future.

Graham succeeds on several levels. Policy makers will find his discussion of the uses of history in the policy process engrossing. Public historians who seek to work at the intersection of history, analysis, and advocacy will take the book as a model of their approach. Historians of a traditional bent will find puzzling the scant attention given to the position and influence of business, whether considered as a monolithic class or as a congeries of disparate interest groups, a striking omission in a study of a debate on the fundamental structure of the economy. On the whole, however, they too will be impressed by this significant addition to our understanding of America’s post-Keynesian political economy.

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JANET STAIGER. *Interpreting Films: Studies in the Historical Reception of American Cinema*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 274. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

In the rich and arcane world of film theory, the examination of audience responses has now become “reception studies.” In the first half of this theoretically textured work, Janet Staiger presents these studies as interaction between “actual spectators and films,” or, in the jargon, “real readers and texts” (p. 8). She asks how readers have actually comprehended

these texts over time, with the interaction between text and reader as her focus.

For film history, the author asks three basic and important questions: What types of interpretive and emotional “strategies” are mobilized by readers? How are these strategies formed? And how might other strategies (hopefully “progressive”) replace them? She also typifies three basic types of readers, called “ideal,” “coherent,” and “competent.” For the historian, the last two types seem to be within the historical structure, and thus useful critical constructs.

Staiger readily admits her subjectivity, which is indeed intense and discursive throughout the book. The geology of the land of theory is formed by layer on layer of definition, and the author is very much at home in this spadework. Staiger presents an amazing amount of theoretical construction, only some of it suggestive to historians. At times she seems to be moving through a sterile intellectual universe where the audience matters far less than the model of the moment. Staiger provides, however, an extremely sophisticated and nuanced overview of much of film theory today.

The approach here is oblique and from the Left. Actual readers, Staiger believes, form groups of individuals “seeking the opportunity to escape the oppression and repression of the dominant class” (p. 10). “Signs,” to the semiotician, are “sites of power” that “bear the ideological marks of their origins” (p. 68). Dominant classes can divert attention away from “real issues to ones of lesser import” (p. 210).

Staiger is a crusader. “I am not yet ready to give up the production of knowledge in the face of a nihilism that may serve the interests of the dominant class,” she avows (p. 79). While some of this comes close to rant, her sincerity is never in question; she devoutly hopes that reception studies can have “use-value for progressive political change” (p. 212).

This book thus carries a heavy double load of highly problematic theory and crude neo-Marxism. Amazingly, the structure stays afloat, largely buoyed by the useful insights provided on various films. Historical materialism might seem a somewhat hackneyed way to get at American film, but Staiger provides a fresh and meaningful look at Hitchcock’s *Rear Window* (1954) using this approach. Historical determinism is even shakier ground, yet she argues convincingly that narrative continuity and clarity have been dominant organizing principles since the beginning of American filmmaking, using *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1903) for support. Unfortunately, she claims that these, and most of the other insights of her work, identify a “bourgeois ideology for the masses” (p. 120). And poor *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* has to bear this weight as well.

Beyond the theory and ideology, though, this study gives off sparks of originality and suggestion. The Franco-Polish production *Danton* (1983) indicates the multiplicity of ideological signs; D. W. Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation* (1915), easily the most overstudied film

ever, is used to examine conditions of reception over time; and the fascination of some homosexuals with Judy Garland provides a backdrop for analyzing alternative reading processes for *A Star Is Born* (1954). The auteur theory also gets a needed going-over, centered on an analysis of postwar "art films."

As the author herself certainly realizes, it is not "clear yet what constitutes a hegemonic or normative reading" (p. 156). Her evidence is mostly a review of film reviewers and commentators. While she notes that a structural interpretation recognizes redundancies as "systems of repetition of textual data that increase the possibility of agreement among interpreters" (p. 38), her approach centers on films that are, for the most part, highly idiosyncratic, culminating with an examination of Woody Allen's *Zelig* (1983)—a film about a human chameleon that produced a riotous carnival of cinematic analysis. For the historian, applying the same techniques to "systems of repetition of textual data," that is, genres like westerns, horror films, and the like, might prove more fruitful.

Staiger's work, while fascinating, suggestive, and willfully tendentious, also inadvertently suggests that a mass culture audience may be, by definition, opaque. And this, for historians and particularly for cinema theorists, might be most difficult to admit.

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ROBERT J. DONOVAN and RAY SCHERER. *Unslient Revolution: Television News and American Public Life, 1948–1991*. (Woodrow Wilson Center Series.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 357. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

Robert J. Donovan, a former newspaper bureau chief and popular biographer, and Ray Scherer, a longtime NBC reporter, take on a difficult but important task: to write a history of television news and its impact on American public life. The result is a good, if incomplete, one-volume history.

The work is divided into two parts. The first twelve chapters deal with individual stories or movements that TV covered, including McCarthyism, the civil rights movement, the space program, and the Vietnam War. The second half attempts to describe TV's influence on such institutions as the presidency, the State Department, and newspapers.

Much of this study is valuable. Donovan and Scherer draw on the memoirs of TV newsmen to recount the complications to reporting such breaking stories as the Little Rock desegregation crisis and the murder and funeral of John F. Kennedy. The chapters on the Vietnam War carefully incorporate the most prominent scholarship on TV's handling of the conflict, and in the process break with the popular view that the news media were hostile toward intervention. Perhaps the most intriguing section involves

Ronald Reagan. A regular viewer of TV news, Reagan more than once changed administration policy after seeing a network feature describing the ill effects of proposed cuts in federal programs. A president who supposedly used TV to move a nation could be touched by television as well.

The book has weaknesses. The authors rarely deal directly with the question of who and how many Americans viewed TV news programs. The televised Senate hearings involving Joe McCarthy and the U.S. Army in 1954 were, the authors' assertions notwithstanding, a ratings disaster. Yet those within the profession either producing or viewing such fare assumed, in a common journalistic conceit, that everyone else was. Correspondents at Little Rock are quoted as believing that their coverage moved a nation. Such assertions can and should be qualified. Studies repeatedly showed that a relatively small percentage of Americans regularly watched the evening newscasts, and such viewers often proved to be inattentive. Moreover, the opinion leadership was not always obsessed with the home screen. Research by David J. Garrow suggested that newspaper accounts, not TV footage, of violence committed against civil rights demonstrators were more likely to affect members of Congress weighing the Voting Rights Bill of 1965.

There is also the problem of omission. Local television newscasts have been consistently more popular than national news shows, yet this study awards nearly all of its space to the networks. Nor do the authors pay sufficient heed to the birth and growth of the Cable News Network, even though they partially acknowledge its great influence—both on the networks and newsmakers—in recent years. Cable itself has slowly eaten away at the networks' audiences. Reagan's TV addresses reached fewer and fewer Americans over time, largely because more viewers had cable and could escape a presidential pitch. And, while ignoring these aspects of TV news history, Donovan and Scherer devote pages to television advertising and presidential debates, which only marginally relate to the producers of TV news. Missing is a sustained and critical analysis of TV's handling of elections.

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NANCIE CARAWAY. *Segregated Sisterhood: Racism and the Politics of American Feminism*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 282. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$18.95.

Alabama-born Nancie Caraway feels a personal, as well as political, responsibility to engage the racism that has characterized too much feminist theory and politics. This book embodies her intensely personal attempt to further "the emancipatory gift of multi-

cultural feminist politics." Divided into six chapters, which are organized into four parts, the book primarily emphasizes a postmodern politics of identity, a sensibility that is accurately captured in the title of the introduction, "Voice, Representation, and Authority: Fragments on Speaking Difference." Parts 1 and 2 respectively explore "Feminist Theory in the Flesh" and "Symbolic and Historical Flashpoints of Otherness." Part 3, the conclusion, points toward Caraway's vision of an emancipatory future: "Crossover Dreams: Toward a Multicultural Feminist Politics of Solidarity."

Throughout, the book features a bizarre combination of personal earnestness, political radicalism, and an increasingly predictable collection of postmodern buzz words: difference, otherness, sameness, diversity, empowerment, knowledge enterprise, knowledge production, theory-producing site, oppression, subjectivity, and, of course, identity. Caraway's earnestness should not be underestimated, although it is often disguised by the parroted phrases in which she clothes it. Time and again, she introduces arguments with a prefatory "I want . . ." or "What interests me . . ." In retrospect, she painfully recognizes the injustices inherent in her relations with her aunt's black housekeeper, although at the time their encounters had given her great pleasure.

The "silence" or "erasure" that has excluded African-American women from the subjective center of feminist theory and politics especially troubles Caraway. In her search for a truly egalitarian feminism, she embraces the position of those black feminist writers who insist that the language of white rationality cannot encompass their experience. Thus, she approvingly quotes Alice Walker's assertion that since she does not believe "most of what has been written about me in history books," she could do a better job "if I just remembered myself" (p. 44). Tellingly, Caraway especially deplores the humiliation and degradation that African-American women have suffered. And although her grasp of these women's history seems shaky at best, she expresses deep concern and empathy for their exclusion from prevailing standards of female beauty.

From time to time Caraway evokes her experiences in teaching feminist theory in the classroom, telling us, for example, how her students feel about sartorial norms for black and white women: Does a black woman have the right to wear blue contact lenses? Does a white woman have the right to wear African dress? Such evocations convey the impression that her study derives primarily from the discussions among students and faculty that characterize current campus politics. The issues of personal identity also matter in the politics beyond the academy, but arguably they matter less than jobs, daycare, health care, benefits for part-time workers, or the dangerous streets of our postmodern cities—none of which she discusses. In the end, an appeal to egalitarianism that includes no attention to political economy and the

nature of citizenship collapses into utopianism or mere rhetoric. Caraway is right that American feminism has a sorry record of racism and exclusion, but her politics of identity, even tempered by her emphasis on solidarity and coalitions, does not offer either a responsible account of its history or a promising way to overcome it.

ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE
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EDWARD DE GRAZIA. *Girls Lean Back Everywhere: The Law of Obscenity and the Assault on Genius*. New York: Random House. 1992. Pp. xvi, 814. \$30.00.

Edward de Grazia's book takes its title from the explanation proffered by Jane Heap for publishing episodes from James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) at a time when the Anglo-American law of obscenity was being employed to suppress important literary works. Referring to Leopold Bloom's sexual arousal in the novel at the view Gertie McDowell presented when she leaned back joyfully and exposed her legs, Heap asserted that "girls lean back everywhere," men get excited, "and no one is corrupted" (p. 10). The book is dedicated, moreover, to Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., who led the Supreme Court in the 1960s and 1970s toward a broad reading of constitutional guarantees regarding freedom of expression. The title and the dedication serve as fitting emblems for the stance the author takes in this rambling profile of American obscenity law. Opening his work with Joyce, a literary artist of Olympian proportions, and identifying his cause with Brennan, a revered defender of First Amendment rights, he uses these two figures to support free speech in the name of artistic expression and the marketplace of ideas.

The author, who participated in the legal defense of such works as Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934), is no stranger to the constitutional technicalities of obscenity. He draws on his professional experience to trace the shifts in twentieth-century obscenity law from the *Hicklin* doctrine, a test of English origins that hinged on the material's potential to corrupt morals, through "the Brennan rule," an attempt to draw distinctions between hard-core pornography and artistic expression, to a spacious freedom resulting from Brennan's subsequent decision that obscenity was neither identifiable nor definable. Because de Grazia is especially concerned here, as his subtitle suggests, with "the assault on genius," he notes throughout that many works now in the literary canon were once the objects of majoritarian repression. With an eye toward engaging the government in the support of new forms of expression, he concludes with an impassioned defense of federal funding for innovative performance artists like Holly Hughes and controversial exhibits like those of the work of Robert Mapplethorpe.

This book is not so much a history, legal or other-

wise, as an ardent and extended brief on behalf of freedom of expression that recounts the myriad difficulties experienced by writers and publishers in the face of institutionalized prudery. In order to make his case, de Grazia assembles a complicated pastiche of secondary works, newspaper citations, personal interviews, and samples of contested materials, all of which he aligns neatly on a battlefield where the liberating forces of artistic modernism are pitted against the repressive prudery of religious fundamentalism. This static and outdated framework goes a long way toward accounting for his inability to differentiate the world of Theodore Dreiser from that of Bob Guccione, and it helps to explain his refusal to distinguish between the sensuous prose in *An American Tragedy* (1925) and the glossy nude photography in *Penthouse*. Changes in moral values, the reemergence of feminism, the technological transformation of communications—all these are subsumed for de Grazia in this great and enduring battle.

The most glaring problem in de Grazia's approach to obscenity, however, is his failure to discuss fully or fairly how his subject intersects the concerns of women. His dichotomous framework affords no room for examining the deep and painful rift emerging among contemporary feminists over antipornography statutes, and it prevents him from explaining why feminist proponents of free speech apprehend the inherent exploitation of women in many forms of pornography. For de Grazia there can be no victims, whatever the content of the material. Indeed, when he uses the word *victim* in paraphrasing antipornography arguments, he persistently sets it in quotation marks, thereby emptying it of its intended meaning, and when he takes up Andrea Dworkin and Catherine Mackinnon, the preeminent leaders of the radical feminist antipornography campaign, he labels them "reactionary antiporn feminists" who rely on "rhetoric instead of reason" (p. 581). In the end, his fervent defense of free speech is undermined by his self-righteous denunciations, it is flawed by his unwillingness to apply his commitment to the marketplace of ideas to his own topic, and it is significantly diminished by his personal failure to understand that girls do *not* lean back everywhere.

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WINI BREINES. *Young, White, and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties*. Boston: Beacon. 1992. Pp. xvii, 261. \$25.00.

The 1950s awakens varying degrees of nostalgia in those who lived through that era, which makes it particularly difficult to assess objectively the historical impact of those years or to understand what really happened and how people really lived and thought about their lives. Wini Breines's cultural history of

that decade goes over some old ground already tilled by scholars like Paul A. Carter, *Another Part of the Fifties* (1983), Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men* (1983), and Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (1988). But Breines approaches it from the fresh perspective of young girls of white, middle-class families. Her primary objective in writing the book was "to understand how young women who had grown up in the narrowly defined gender environment of the 1950s became feminists" (p. ix). Her conclusion is that these young women only ambivalently internalized the values of domesticity, and in some cases they outright rejected them.

Although her focus is on white, middle-class girls, Breines is sensitive to the issue of race, which she sees as essential to an understanding of white girls' adolescence in the 1950s. To understand what it is to be "white," it is necessary to understand the experience of being black. Furthermore, according to Breines, those who felt confined by the cultural restrictions of the 1950s found in African-American culture an exciting and attractive alternative: "racial difference was of interest to white teen-agers because excluded cultures and behaviors encompassed so much that was off-limits" (p. 17).

Much of Breines's study is familiar to those who know the 1950s either personally or intellectually. She describes the "expert's fifties"—the work of social scientists who analyzed and interpreted these years for the reading public, and notes the contradictions in their work, "the dramatically mixed messages of the time" (p. 26). She argues that young girls faced similar contradictions in their family life and in popular culture, with its confusing messages about morality and sexuality. Breines also describes the emerging counterculture as exemplified in the popularity of such "rebels" as James Dean, Marlon Brando, and Elvis Presley, and in the more limited appeal of Jack Kerouac and the "beat" culture of the Greenwich Village scene. This form of rebellion against the cultural restrictions of the 1950s was particularly attractive to the young women who felt themselves confined by those same restrictions. In addition, and for similar reasons, they were attracted to black culture, and eventually to the civil rights movement. In other words, Breines sees these women as the forerunners to the women's liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Perhaps the most original part of the study is the chapter on Anne Parsons, the daughter of sociologist Talcott Parsons, who committed suicide in 1964 at the age of thirty-three. Breines uses Anne Parsons's life story to illustrate the impact of the limited options of the 1950s on intelligent and ambitious women who did not fulfill the mandate of domesticity that characterized the era. Parsons's story has a certain attraction as an example of the limits placed on women by society, but it undermines Breines's thesis in that it does not really explain the 1950s. Parsons was a

woman who may well have struggled with her destiny in any historical era. Her story both precedes and goes beyond the 1950s without really defining that period. We would need to know more about the woman to understand to what extent she is a product of her times rather than simply a personal tragedy.

Breines draws heavily from her own personal experience when she links growing up in the 1950s with the rebellious 1960s, and although that gives her interpretation a certain validity, it will probably set off a debate among participants as to what really happened—and was it really all that miserable? The danger of writing recent history is that it is hard to imagine the patterns that contradict one's own. But never fear, one's contemporaries tend to have long and varied memories.

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GREGORY NEVALA CALVERT. *Democracy from the Heart: Spiritual Values, Decentralism, and Democratic Idealism in the Movement of the 1960s*. Eugene, Oreg.: Communitas. 1991. Pp. xviii, 301. Cloth \$29.95, paper \$14.95.

Gregory Nevala Calvert, a one-time national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), has written an often moving and frequently revealing personal testament of the "Movement" of the 1960s. He analyzes how early New Left activists were influenced by a greater openness toward spirituality, a belief in "radical, decentralist, grassroots democracy" (p. xiii), and faith in what he calls "democratic idealism" (p. xiv). In an eloquent introductory chapter, he discusses the "broken dreams" (p. 1) of the 1960s generation. He links the New Left with the late-nineteenth-century Populist campaign and the anarcho-syndicalism of the Wobblies of the early twentieth century, and with the Green movement of the post-1960s period.

Calvert provides a historical, cultural, and, at times, autobiographical look at the decade that reawakened America. He finds the roots of the New Left in the beats, the radical pacifists, and the civil rights activists of the 1950s, with their emphases on spiritually based consciousness, human scale decentralism, and nonviolent mass resistance, respectively. He discusses the model carved out by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, with its early interracial makeup, quest for the beloved community, and direct action tactics. He traces the emergence of SDS with its largely young, white, university-based cadre, who produced the *Port Huron Statement*, which spoke of the need for participatory democracy.

But almost from the outset, Calvert correctly notes, SDS was beset by the very kinds of divisions and ideological transformations that would eventually tear it apart. Should the organization target impoverished communities or college campuses in its bid to help transform America? Was the university a proper

sanctuary and base, and were the students stationed there members of a new working class? Was liberal electoral democracy a fraud entirely or could peaceful reform make a difference? Would the strains of social democracy or of "authentic democratic radicalism" (p. 158), present in SDS from the outset, come to dominate? Did power truly come out of the barrel of a gun or could militant nonviolence bring about the demise of corporate liberalism? Was even resistance insufficient and thus revolution both inevitable and necessary? What lessons did black power-guided cultural nationalists, Third World guerrillas, and Old Left-styled Marxism-Leninism hold for the young SDS rebels?

It was the belief in revolutionary fantasies, along with the reversion to orthodox Marxism chartered by certain New Leftists by 1967, in particular, that proved fatal for the movement. What was lost in the process, Calvert believes, was the fundamentally radical insistence on "the need to live morally, spiritually, and politically integrated lives" (p. 258).

Calvert's tale only touches on the ensuing period when the antiwar and student campaigns appeared to grow in strength until the sectarianism and adventurism he feared, along with mounting disillusionment, a cultural and political backlash, an economic downturn, and an apparent winding down of the Vietnam War, all combined to weaken and then seemingly inter the movement. But for the ground it covers, this book adds to our knowledge of the period, as do the stories recently told by other New Left veterans such as Wini Breines, Tom Hayden, James Miller, and Todd Gitlin.

ROBERT COTTRELL
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ROBERT D. SCHULZINGER. *Henry Kissinger: Doctor of Diplomacy*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 291. \$32.50.

The great danger in writing about such an enormous figure as Henry Kissinger is obvious: being swept away. Robert D. Schulzinger holds his ground in this book, despite the swirling pages of Kissinger's memoirs and the strong counterblasts from his critics. Wisely, Schulzinger makes no claim here to having the last word, only a fresh perspective to offer. Based on impressive research in archival materials, particularly the memos of Nixon aide H. R. Haldeman, as well as mastery of the secondary works and newspaper accounts, this concise account of Kissinger's career as national security adviser and secretary of state sets forth the thesis that Kissinger's primary concern was not with specific arrangements or precise wordings but rather process.

Put another way, Kissinger's "realism" was informed by the European experience of living side-by-side with an enemy, as opposed to the American

experience of total conquest. It fell to him to try and convey some of that understanding both to those impatient with the Vietnam War and to those who agreed with Senator Henry Jackson that the United States had to maintain absolute "superiority" over the Soviet Union in numbers of missiles. At least those were the terms Kissinger preferred as a definition of his mission to bring about a transformation of American attitudes about the outside world.

His achievements as Richard Nixon's national security adviser were capped by the opening of China, which took the world by surprise, and the 1972 Moscow summit conference. Like his favorite statesman, Count Klemens von Metternich, Kissinger sought to restore the world to a prerevolutionary situation. To accomplish this he first needed to bring in new players, in this case China, in order to establish the primacy of geopolitics over ideology. Having done that, he could then raise the Soviets' "learning curve" so as to persuade them to play the game as it was played among the great powers of another era.

All of the players had to understand that they would be secure in their immediate spheres of influence, and that competition in the gray areas would be carried on in order not to disturb the basic balance of power. The inducements offered to Russia and China to participate were access to American trade and technology. So instead of economic boycotts and pressures against rivals, the standard tactic of the Cold War, Kissinger's scheme offered inclusion.

But was this really such a surprising turnabout? When Dean Acheson formulated America's "total diplomacy" for the Cold War, the confrontations were direct in Europe and then in Korea. The big power rivalry in the Middle East, as Kissinger himself well understood, was far more complex. Yet when the Soviets put "detente" to the test during the 1973 Yom Kippur war, Kissinger made it clear that he wanted nothing to do with a dual hegemony. The terms for great power competition had never been defined under Kissinger's notion of detente. Nor could he provide the Soviets with access to American trade and technology as had been promised, in part because of congressional opposition, and in part because of Watergate. Ironically, the Israelis felt a shudder as well, for it now appeared that Kissinger's success in thwarting a Russian bid for new influence brought new American influence (and therefore interest) in Arab fortunes.

Here was only one case out of many where the world refused to behave as Kissinger hoped it would. Add to this Kissinger's arrogance in dealing with all who dared to disagree (war protestors, Congress, liberal and conservative critics) and the reasons for the failures of his final years become clear. Yet, as Schulzinger notes, what was perhaps more important was that at a critical juncture in American foreign policy, Kissinger and Nixon had the imagination to seize the moment. By 1976 Kissinger was under assault from conservatives, led by Defense Secretary

James Schlesinger, and liberals, led by Jimmy Carter, both of whom charged that detente had become little more than a vehicle for Kissinger's self-promotion. This is a thought-provoking study that will continue to find a place on the short lists of important books about Henry Kissinger and his troubled times.

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CARLO MARIA SANTORO. *Diffidence and Ambition: The Intellectual Sources of U.S. Foreign Policy*. Translated by ANDREW ELLIS and LESLIE GUNN. (New Approaches to Peace and Security.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1992. Pp. xv, 316. \$57.50.

This densely written work first appeared in Italian in 1987 and is based on research conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In 190 pages of text and sixty pages of notes, Carlo Maria Santoro recites the activities of the Council on Foreign Relations' War and Peace Studies Project from 1939 to 1941, approximately three of its six years of existence. That is an extraordinary amount of detail for a significant but decidedly minor episode in the development of internationalist thought in the United States. Santoro begins with the standard interpretation of the work of the Council on Foreign Relations: it represented the central tenets of American internationalism in the generation after 1919. He makes a worthwhile contribution by elucidating the proposition that American internationalists during World War II developed a complex set of foreign policy recommendations that blended themes of interdependence and national security. The hundreds of memoranda of the War and Peace Studies Project defined these distinct conceptions.

Yet this book needed to do more. Santoro cites the many scholars who argue that internationalism was a broad movement, of which the Council on Foreign Relations was only a part. He never justifies the excessive attention paid to a slice of the Council's activities for only a portion of the War and Peace Studies' existence. He only asserts that the War and Peace Studies Project "must surely have had an incisive influence" on high government officials (p. 109). Scholars have been looking for that incisive influence for years and have not found it. Santoro does not present it here. This is a nearly fatal drawback. The War and Peace Studies memoranda hold little interest in and of themselves. Their significance rests on the degree to which they affected some real policies or the outlook of responsible officials. Saying the memoranda "must have" had an impact explains little, especially since their content has appeared several times before in other works. Moreover, Santoro stops the story too soon, both for the history of the Council on Foreign Relations and for the development of post-World War II U.S. foreign policy. Where the

War and Peace Studies Project had its greatest practical impact was in the formation of U.S. positions toward international organization at the end of World War II. Santoro breaks off his story well before the Council's participation in the conferences at Bretton Woods, Dumbarton Oaks, and San Francisco.

The development of elite U.S. attitudes toward the country's role in the world at the beginning of the Cold War remains a worthy topic. Yet despite its obvious erudition, Santoro's book barely scratches the surface.

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WESLEY M. BAGBY. *The Eagle-Dragon Alliance: America's Relations with China in World War II*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1991. Pp. 306. \$45.00.

Wesley M. Bagby has read widely and learned a great deal about China. In this volume he succeeds in escaping the ethnocentric approach to Chinese-American relations during World War II that marred the earlier classics on the subject, Herbert Feis's *The China Tangle* (1953) and Barbara Tuchman's *Stilwell and the American Experience in China* (1971). He is sensitive to Jiang Jieshi's (Chiang Kai-shek) problems, the restraints on Jiang's ability to respond to American desires, without becoming an apologist for the Guomindang leader. His treatment of foreign service officers, Jack Service and John Paton Davies among them, who were subsequently victimized for their reporting on Jiang's weakness and Chinese Communist strengths, is fair and sensible, arguably closer to the mark than E. J. Kahn's *The China Hands* (1975).

When, however, Bagby attempts to explain some of the complicated maneuvering between the Guomindang and the Communists, involving the Soviets and the Americans, he is out of his depth. Unfortunately, Odd Arne Westad's brilliant *Cold War and Revolution: Soviet-American Rivalry and the Origins of the Chinese Civil War, 1944-1946* (1993) was not available to him when he wrote. Westad's extensive use of Chinese sources enabled him to show how both Chinese parties manipulated the Soviets and Americans. Bagby's analysis is simplistic by comparison. Less understandable is Bagby's failure to use John Garver's superb *Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1937-1945* (1988), based on Chinese and Soviet sources, which would have greatly enhanced his understanding of some of Jiang's and Mao Zedong's behavior. Bagby has used some Chinese, Japanese, and Russian sources, but the selection is idiosyncratic, and it is not clear whether he has in fact mastered these languages. Chinese scholars are producing excellent monographs on the 1940s, and Westad and Michael Hunt, in their "The Chinese Communist Party and International Affairs," *China Quarterly* 122 (Summer 1990), have pointed the

way to important Chinese archival materials now accessible.

Bagby is also guilty of some dubious suggestions about Franklin Roosevelt and the coming of the war in the Pacific, and of the value of an Asia-first rather than a Europe-first strategy for the United States in World War II, the kind of arguments once heard from anti-Roosevelt Anglophobes. His recurrent theme that if the United States had been more responsive to Jiang it might have kept the Communists from seizing China grossly exaggerates the importance of the American role, in contrast with his perceptive observations about the difficulty the United States had imposing its will on a weak ally.

Finally, the book is marred by poor copy-editing and an appalling number of typographical errors, several of which will confuse readers who are unfamiliar with Chinese names or unaware that the "Acheson" being cited is not Dean Acheson but George Atcheson, a previously unidentified diplomat. Surely the press and an author of Bagby's stature owe each other—and their readers—more.

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EDWARD J. DREA. *MacArthur's ULTRA Codebreaking and the War against Japan, 1942-1945*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1992. Pp. xv, 296. \$29.95.

In 1974, Capt. Frederick Winterbotham revealed in *The ULTRA Secret* the fact that Allied codebreakers had duplicated the German ENIGMA machine and were consequently able to read German military radio traffic, giving Allied commanders an immense advantage over their German counterparts. Since this revelation, historians have been striving diligently to evaluate the extent of ULTRA's contribution to Allied victory. Edward J. Drea's volume on Douglas MacArthur's use of ULTRA is the latest work of this sort.

In its original meaning ULTRA referred only to the intelligence gained by reading the German military radio traffic—an activity conducted at Bletchley Park in England with its products disseminated by special intelligence officers like Winterbotham. Drea uses the word in a broader context including "all information obtained through monitoring, intercepting, and decoding enemy radio communications" (p. xi) and thus includes intercepts of Japanese as well as German communications.

Drea sets for himself the task of doing for ULTRA in the Pacific what Ralph Bennett did for it in Europe (*ULTRA in the West* [1979]), that is, to analyze its significance for military operations. Focusing specifically on MacArthur's Southwest Pacific command (SWPA), he adds the ULTRA dimension to the

general's campaigns in New Guinea and the Philippines. With this somewhat narrow focus, he treats the breaking of the Japanese diplomatic code (MAGIC) and the triumphs of U.S. Navy cryptanalysis only where they relate to MacArthur's operations. His story centers around the activities of Central Bureau, the SWPA command's cryptanalysis organization, a unit that was born and matured during the Pacific War. It consisted of a small cadre of cryptanalysts brought out of the Philippines in early 1942 and consisting of Australians, New Zealanders, and a handful of experts from Washington. From modest beginnings, Central Bureau eventually developed the capability to read Japanese military radio traffic at all echelons.

Central Bureau became MacArthur's personal cryptologic organization, and he insisted on keeping it an integral part of SWPA headquarters, resisting all efforts to centralize ULTRA operations in the war against Japan as they were centralized in the war against Germany. Relations with the navy's Pacific code breakers and those at Arlington Hall involved mutual exchanges of information but no central control.

In several detailed chapters, Drea chronicles the development of the organization and its successes, or sometimes lack of them, in reading Japanese codes, and shows how the SWPA commander used ULTRA information in each successive operation from Buna to the planning for the invasion of Japan. He presents his conclusions concisely and effectively in a summary chapter. From April 1942 until January 1944, ULTRA information from Central Bureau was spotty at best, and major reliance had to be placed on navy code intercepts. After January 1944, Central Bureau was able to provide more reliable information in much greater volume, although the author still calls it "a fragile intelligence source" (p. 229). But ULTRA did yield the information that provided the signposts that guided MacArthur through the Japanese defenses in the Bismarck Barrier. Its most spectacular success was in providing information that enabled MacArthur to make the leap to Hollandia with confidence. Other marked successes were in detecting Japanese convoy movements and in pinpointing targets for Gen. George Kenney's air attacks.

As to the way in which MacArthur used ULTRA, Drea concludes, "I did not find an intelligence template to place over MacArthur's campaigns that would outline a pattern of ULTRA cause and operational effect and serve to measure his generalship. Instead I found a situational use of ULTRA, one dependent upon MacArthur's assessment of the strategic conditions of the moment." When ULTRA fit into the general's plans, it was employed. When it did not, it was relegated to a minor role. ULTRA was "only one of the ingredients in MacArthur's complex approach to decision making" (p. 234).

This diagnosis of "situational use" of ULTRA is not markedly different from the verdict of historians

studying the use of ULTRA in Europe. Drea takes to task historians who have exaggerated ULTRA's influence on the Pacific War, saying they have "highlighted ULTRA's spectacular successes at the expense of operational context and rigorous analysis" (p. 235).

In his overall evaluation of MacArthur as commander, Drea joins the ranks of his orthodox admirers, not those of the iconoclasts like Ronald Spector who in *The Eagle against the Sun* (1985) found him unsuited by temperament, character, and judgment for the positions of high command he held. Drea finds to the contrary that "although certain of his personality traits may have been distasteful, Douglas MacArthur was an aggressive, brilliant leader, and certainly one of the two or three top commanders of World War II" (p. 234).

In any case, one must conclude that this is a good piece of scholarship that will find an important place in the growing body of literature on ULTRA's role in World War II.

ROBERT W. COAKLEY
Alexandria, Virginia

WALTER A. LUSZKI. *A Rape of Justice: MacArthur and the New Guinea Hangings*. Lanham, Md.: Madison Books. 1991. Pp. xii, 183. \$24.95.

A charge of rape involving African-American males and white females has always generated a great deal of passion. Wartime racial tensions almost guarantee that accusations of this crime often result in swift punishment and little justice. One such incident, which occurred in New Guinea in 1944 and resulted in the executions of six African-American soldiers, is the subject of Walter A. Luszki's poorly organized and shallow book.

The events that led to the hangings began on an evening in March 1944 when two white males (one a lieutenant, the other a sergeant) went on a date with two white nurses. During the course of the evening, one of the females was gang raped by four or five African-American soldiers. Several days later the women identified a number of African Americans as the perpetrators. Under interrogation the soldiers admitted that they were present at the incident. Some of them asserted, however, that they did not have sex with the nurses while others claimed that the nurses consented to the intercourse. The following month the soldiers were tried before a general court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. The executions were carried out in October 1944.

Although Luszki has uncovered a likely miscarriage of justice, he has presented the evidence in a manner that will only perplex readers. The book is a confusing mixture of a number of elements: parts of the court-martial transcript, the author's recollections of the time period, accusations of sexual improprieties on the part of Gen. Richard Sutherland, letters written by the prisoners before their hangings, and

suggestions of how the defense should have been conducted. It is left to the reader to make sense of this material since the author does not attempt any analysis.

Luszkowski makes a number of assertions in the midst of his collection of materials that raise some interesting questions. He suggests that many more African-American than white soldiers were hanged for crimes, including rape, although the number of African Americans in the southwest Pacific theater was quite small. No attempt is made to explain this statistic or to indicate whether this imbalance was unique to that theater. It is also unclear whether the author believes that the convicted soldiers were guilty of the crime, although he does indicate that the nurse accused only four or five men of raping her and six men were hanged. Finally, Luszkowski suggests one lesson that can be drawn from this experience is that women should avoid situations "that might invite rape" (p. xi), in effect accusing the victim of causing the crime.

In his confused way Luszkowski has pointed out a probable miscarriage of justice involving six African-American soldiers. Unfortunately, due to the unorganized way he presented the evidence and his failure to provide any analysis, readers will have difficulty gaining any understanding of the meaning of this racial incident. Luszkowski has raised the questions but someone else must now provide the answers.

MARVIN FLETCHER
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MELVYN P. LEFFLER. *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*. (Stanford Nuclear Age Series.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xvii, 689. \$29.95.

If his long-awaited new book is any guide, Melvyn P. Leffler has largely ignored the criticisms leveled at American diplomatic historians during the past decade. And a good thing, too. Leffler's study is at once a model of the traditional approach to explaining what American foreign policy was and how it came to be that way and a compelling argument for more works in the same vein.

In examining the formulation of policy during the Truman administration, Leffler concentrates on the small group of (now unfashionably elite, white, and male) individuals who exercised decision-making responsibility in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The president, the secretaries of state and defense, the joint chiefs of staff, and a few well-placed advisers dominate the discussion here. They speak in policy papers and memoranda, occasionally in personal correspondence and diary entries. They talk about budgets, force postures, and the intentions of adversaries—which is to say that they are important people debating vital subjects in a serious manner and for the

record. The defining theme of Leffler's book is power; he zeroes in on those who wielded it.

Leffler's argument is that American policy makers sought preponderant global power in the aftermath of World War II. "To seek less than preponderant power," Leffler quotes Paul Nitze, one of the stars of his story, "would be to opt for defeat" (p. 446). The power to which Nitze referred, and the pursuit of which Leffler traces in exhaustive detail, involved a combination of economic and military strength that would allow the United States to overawe any rivals. Leffler explains, "U.S. officials defined their nation's security in terms of power relationships. In their view, power was determined by a country's industrial infrastructure, technological prowess, natural resources, and skilled labor. If necessary, these material and human resources could be converted to military purposes" (p. 496). Interestingly—especially in light of debates that have surfaced since the end of the Cold War—the American officials Leffler portrays made little effort to develop America's industrial infrastructure, its technological prowess (except in a narrow military sense), or its skilled labor. The infrastructure and human resources of Western Europe and Japan were seen as legitimate objects of American concern; the infrastructure and human resources of the United States were taken more or less for granted. Although a strong economic element pervaded American thinking on national security, Leffler demonstrates that American leaders were hardly flacks for big business. Where certain revisionist writers in the 1960s and 1970s perceived American military and political power as being placed in the service of American capitalism, Leffler correctly reverses the relationship: from the standpoint of government policy, it was American capitalism that was being placed in the service of American power.

Yet the revisionists were not entirely wrong; nor are the critics of traditional American diplomatic history wholly misguided. Leffler's book is like a movie shot in tight focus throughout. We get to know Leffler's main characters—Harry Truman, Dean Acheson, Nitze, James Forrestal, John McCloy, and half a dozen others—very well. We learn how they saw the world and what they aimed to accomplish. But we encounter difficulty connecting these characters to the surroundings beyond the frame of the picture. Any student of American policy wants to know three things: what the policy was, why it was that way, and whether it was wise or foolish. Leffler succeeds better than anyone else to date in answering the first two questions. Not for a long while will other historians have to sift through the primary documents trying to determine what American policy makers were up to or why they did what they did.

On the third question—whether U.S. policy was wise or foolish—Leffler provides less insight. This is not any special criticism of him, for no single work can cover all the ground on such a large and complicated subject. But readers looking for an analysis of

such matters as how American Cold War policies came to serve purposes not initially decisive—the profit-making purposes of weapons producers, the election-winning purposes of professional anticommunists, the obstructionist purposes of opponents of change on race relations and other social issues—will be disappointed. Although these kinds of ulterior motives were not crucial in the thinking of Leffler's top officials, they did exist in the political public, and they did shape the arena in which those officials worked.

More to the point in terms of whether the policy American officials fabricated was wise or foolish, Leffler's concentration on the American side of the picture makes it impossible for him to say. In a brief conclusion he does offer a judgment regarding the Truman administration's handling of the Cold War: he accounts it prudent but not especially enlightened. Yet without further explication of what the rest of the world was about—without showing whether American officials' perceptions of threats and opportunities accurately reflected reality—his judgment lacks the authority of the major part of his book. Again, this is not Leffler's fault: to cover the international side of American policy would require writing a history of the world, which is not his objective. For convincing evaluations, however, just such an approach is required.

Various authors have tried an international approach in the past, and more will do so in the future. The latter group will enjoy the enormous advantage of being able to consult Leffler's book, which is by far the best on its subject.

H. W. BRANDS
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BRUCE J. EVENSEN. *Truman, Palestine, and the Press: Shaping Conventional Wisdom at the Beginning of the Cold War*. (Contributions in American History, number 144.) New York: Greenwood. 1992. Pp. 243. \$45.00.

Even cursory accounts of American politics in the past quarter-century acknowledge how competing forces place a high priority on efforts to control press treatment and coverage that affects them. Teams of "spin doctors" ply their trade today by trying to influence how the press interprets stories and by using press accounts to mobilize public support for their positions. Bruce J. Evensen points out in this engaging volume that although such campaigns were less visible, a highly charged battle over press coverage dramatically shaped President Harry Truman's Palestine-Israel policy in 1947–48.

In the sixteen months prior to the establishment of Israel in May 1948, Truman found his policy options narrowed because senior officials within his administration were being routed in their effort to influence media coverage. American Zionists had so decisively discredited the administration's policies by influenc-

ing press treatment that Truman had to quickly readjust to the realities of a newly formed public opinion consensus. The new conventional wisdom on the Palestinian crisis, created at least in part by the Zionists' skill in mobilizing favorable press coverage, directly led to Truman's immediate recognition of the Jewish state just ten minutes after its creation.

Evensen notes that the crucial moment of truth came just a few weeks prior to British withdrawal from Palestine in May 1948. The United Nations, with U.S. support, had voted the previous November to "partition" Palestine into two states—Palestinian Arab and Jewish—when Britain left. As the May deadline approached it became obvious to the State Department that "partition" could not be peacefully carried out and that a major military commitment by the United Nations, which would include American troops, was unacceptable. Truman endorsed a State Department plan for a U.N. trusteeship in Palestine that would postpone "partition."

It quickly became clear that Truman and the State Department could not politically sustain this reversal on Palestine. Public opinion had recently been altered on the issue of Palestine and the United Nations. Until the United Nations became a major player in the unfolding Middle Eastern drama Americans were unconvinced that a Jewish state was important. By April 1948 public and press sentiment believed that the prestige of an organization thought to be the best hope for peace in the world was on the line in Palestine. Reversal was construed as moral cowardice. If Truman had supported a U.N. role in implementing "partition" the previous fall, why not in the spring?

Failure to persuade the press and public opinion that the reversal was appropriate was critical to the administration. Zionists had completely outmaneuvered the administration by assisting in the creation of a new conventional wisdom about what was at stake in the Middle East. Over 80 percent of Americans believed to varying degrees that the United Nations should play a role in the management of international crises. Zionist campaigners understood this and completely discredited Truman's reversal. Even the administration abandoned its plan in the wake of so much criticism.

Evensen shows how the media, essentially newspapers and radio, sought to play a more aggressive role in policy making following World War II. This tendency played into the hands of the Zionist propagandists and proponents because they were far more able than their opponents to shape and manipulate the press on those issues that engaged press attention. Conversely, Truman's brusqueness and talking-down to the press might explain in part why he failed to rally support for his policy reversal. Not only did the administration have a president who was confrontational but also senior officials in the State Department often resisted having to concern themselves with public support for policies.

The author joins other scholars of U.S.-Middle Eastern relations who suggest that at least in this area Truman hardly matches the image of a president who was tough-minded and followed the adage that "the buck stops here." As Michael J. Cohen also concluded in *Truman and Israel* (1990), Evensen portrays a president who vacillated, was anxious to blame problems on others rather than to take the blame himself, and who distanced himself from tough decisions.

There is a need for studies that examine how the conduct of foreign policy is constrained by issues of domestic politics and public opinion. This volume is a wonderful example of this interplay and helps to fill the void.

JOHN SNETSINGER
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JEFFREY A. LEFEBVRE. *Arms for the Horn: U.S. Security Policy in Ethiopia and Somalia, 1953-1991*. (Pitt Series in Policy and Institutional Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 351. \$49.95.

For a political scientist, Jeffrey A. Lefebvre has written a good, old-fashioned diplomatic history with a minimum of intrusive theory. The story opens in 1942, when Haile Selassie decided to undermine British hegemony over Ethiopia by taking the country into the American orbit. The State Department answered the emperor's cries for relief, and early in the 1940s the American/Ethiopian connection was forged. Although the State Department was sympathetic, the Pentagon never appreciated the role Ethiopia might play as an ally, first against the Axis and then against the Soviet empire.

From 1942 to 1977, arms deliveries were always late, and the amount and quality of the material shipped related to U.S. geopolitical perceptions. Ethiopia's involvement in Korea opened the pipeline a bit; the Nasserite revolution in Egypt brought more and better weapons; the Congo crisis gave Ethiopia a 40,000-man army, more jets, and the promise, not a premise, that Washington was concerned with Ethiopia's security and its national integrity.

In fact, America sought to safeguard Kagnew Station, its communications base in Asmara, for which weapons paid the rent. The Pentagon nonetheless refused to speed up and augment arms deliveries after 1963, when the Soviet Union negotiated a massive arms program for Somalia. Even though the military balance in the Horn was upset, American generals were blind to the strategic danger posed to Ethiopia. Finally, as the Vietnam War ended, and as satellites replaced Kagnew, the United States decided to leave Ethiopia, a decision made easier by the radical coup of September 1974. By then, Nasser was gone from the eastern Mediterranean: "Ethiopia not only became expendable from a strategic vantage

point, but also because the United States had acquired increased political flexibility in the region" (p. 164).

In 1976-77, Moscow abandoned Mogadishu, when President Siad Barre ordered an invasion of Ethiopia's Ogaden to integrate that Somali-inhabited region into its sphere. Soviet policy makers realized that there was more geopolitical and ideological capital to be gained in Ethiopia and massively supplied Addis Ababa's forces. After Somalia was forced to retreat from Ethiopia in 1977, Mogadishu turned to the United States for military aid, which was not forthcoming until Ayatollah Khomeini's Iran posed a threat to Arabia and the West's oil supply. Washington thereupon acknowledged that Somalia's Red Sea ports could provide important stand-by facilities for American forces. On August 22, 1980, the United States and Somali governments signed a ten-year base rights access-security agreement, providing minimal military aid to Mogadishu. The Somali government, however, was not required to drop its claim to the Ogaden or stop aiding insurgents there, a reminder to Addis Ababa that America remained a regional player that could open the tap of ethnic violence at any time.

From 1953 to 1991, when both Siad Barre and Mengistu Haile Mariam were forced from power, the United States and the Soviet Union provided \$12 billion in weapons to the region. The consequent destabilization lies mostly with Moscow's \$11 billion contribution, since the United States refused to provide its clients strategic offensive capability, and most of the major wars and insurgencies were fought with Soviet arms. Had Lefebvre based some of his analysis on the works of Paul Henze, he more effectively would have assessed the damage done by the flood of Soviet weapons to the Horn's economic development. Nonetheless, Lefebvre's book is definitive, well organized, and nicely written, but I dislike having to turn to the back of the book for footnotes and must decry the absence of a bibliography. With inexpensive, computer-driven technology freely available, there is no excuse for university presses to abandon scholarly conventions.

HAROLD MARCUS
Michigan State University

JAMES R. ARNOLD. *The First Domino: Eisenhower, the Military, and America's Intervention in Vietnam*. New York: William Morrow. 1991. Pp. 444. \$23.00.

By adapting the domino theory to historical interpretation, James R. Arnold explains the deepening U.S. involvement in Vietnam during the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower. Once President Harry S. Truman decided to back French efforts to regain control of Indochina, Arnold argues, "each subsequent decision to expand the American effort inexorably fell into place" (p. 389). Driven by fears of

monolithic communism, falling dominoes, and endangered credibility, Eisenhower continued his predecessor's strategy. He supported the creation of a sovereign South Vietnam in defiance of the Geneva Accords, fastened U.S. prestige to the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, and committed aid and advisors to the defeat of the Vietcong. His actions "inextricably bound the United States to South Vietnam's fate" (p. 240) and so contributed significantly to the eventual introduction of U.S. combat troops.

Arnold challenges the views of those historians who have praised Eisenhower for reluctance to resort to armed force and adroit management of foreign policy. The author asserts that Eisenhower refrained from authorizing military action to rescue the French garrison at Dienbienphu only because he was unable to persuade the British to join in united action, as congressional leaders had demanded. Far more significant than Eisenhower's temporary avoidance of war was the president's eagerness to assume the role of South Vietnam's protector during the "watershed year" (p. 289) following the Geneva Conference. Yet once Diem consolidated power in 1955, Eisenhower paid little attention to Vietnam, since the prime minister appeared to be making considerable progress in establishing political stability and internal security. Some U.S. officials in Saigon knew better, but their reports about the inefficiencies of the South Vietnamese army or the difficulties of using aid to secure political or economic reforms rarely reached the White House. Inattention and unwarranted optimism thus blinded Eisenhower to the dangers of deepening dependence on Diem.

Such arguments place Arnold in the company of Eisenhower postrevisionists, a designation that might surprise the author, since he seems unaware of much of the recent scholarship on Eisenhower's foreign policy leadership. If his bibliography is any guide, he is also unfamiliar with many recent books and articles on U.S.-Vietnamese relations in the 1950s, including those by David L. Anderson, Melanie Billings-Yun, Lloyd C. Gardner, George C. Herring, Richard H. Immerman, Andrew J. Rotter, and D. Michael Shafer. Specialists in U.S. foreign relations will be disappointed by Arnold's failure to learn from or comment on so much influential scholarship. They will find few "surprising" or "shocking" conclusions, despite the claim on the dust jacket, but much discussion of familiar events and policies without the use of new conceptual frameworks or methodologies. To his credit, Arnold did use manuscript sources in the Truman and Eisenhower libraries. But this research yielded little new information, especially for Eisenhower's second administration, because of excessive security restrictions, which the author properly deplores in his conclusion.

This book, then, is a useful study because it analyzes Eisenhower's handling of Vietnam policy throughout his presidency, not just during the Dienbienphu crisis or the Geneva Conference. Yet the

book would have been more valuable had it been thoroughly grounded in the secondary literature on Eisenhower's foreign policy.

CHESTER J. PACH, JR.
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BRIAN VANDEMARK. *Into the Quagmire: Lyndon Johnson and the Escalation of the Vietnam War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 268.

LARRY CABLE. *Unholy Grail: The U.S. and the Wars in Vietnam, 1965-68*. New York: Routledge. 1991. Pp. ix, 292.

Lyndon Johnson wanted to be known as a domestic reformer, not as a war president, but assessments of his leadership are inextricably linked to the Vietnam War. Larry Cable is sharply critical of how the nation's military leaders ill-served the president. Brian VanDeMark portrays the president as an anguished commander in chief. Both authors cover ground that has been surveyed by others, but the details they present from heretofore top-secret sources and the arguments they advance contribute significantly to understanding how Johnson failed in Vietnam.

VanDeMark parallels Johnson's escalation decisions with the president's shepherding of his domestic Great Society program through Congress. A sympathetic portrait emerges of a president so committed to protecting his cherished reform program that he approved military moves in Southeast Asia that he sensed (more than understood) were unwise. Adding to similar accounts by Doris Kearns and Larry Berman, VanDeMark contends that Johnson feared giving congressional conservatives any opportunity to divert the national agenda from domestic to foreign issues. Believing that Congress might choose to fight Asian communists instead of domestic poverty, Johnson tried to hide his escalation decisions from Capitol Hill and the public. His deceptions facilitated enactment of the Great Society but produced a politically fatal loss of credibility when the magnitude of his military commitment became evident.

VanDeMark's thesis is well developed, although he does not fully confront some of Johnson's less-flattering qualities. VanDeMark indicates, for example, that Johnson listened to his closest aides and worried over their various recommendations. There is little indication in this book of Johnson's intimidating, kiss-my-posterior attitude that his critics often note.

Whereas VanDeMark describes the Johnson administration as pursuing good intentions that tragically led to brutal destruction, Cable condemns the intellectual and moral failure of the president's top military strategists. As he argued previously in *Conflict of Myths* (1986), Cable declares that the military's basic mistake was to conceive of the war in South Vietnam as partisan, that is, with the National Liberation Front (NLF) and Viet Cong (VC) operating as agents of the

Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). He maintains that the NLF/VC were insurgent southerners who opposed the Saigon government for their own reasons and in their own fashion. Hence, U.S. bombing to interdict supply routes and coerce North Vietnam was irrelevant to the war in the South and only steeled Hanoi's political will. The American ground war was equally "wrongheaded" (p. 238). Designed to aid the air war by increasing the VC's need for resupply, it reversed the standard use of air power to support ground operations. This aberration occurred because bombing was something the United States could do, Cable explains, rather than something it should do. Furthermore, the attrition strategy on the ground disrupted southern society and made pacification impossible. The U.S. takeover of ground combat also ended U.S. leverage to reform the South. Southern officials presumed that the United States would not allow South Vietnam to lose no matter what Saigon did.

The United States was "outthought rather than outfought" (p. 66), Cable contends, because the nation's military brass refused to confront the failure of their doctrines and redirect their effort with a new theory of victory. He concludes that Johnson's initial instincts to temporize on recommendations for air and ground escalation were correct. Because Johnson shared his strategists' belief in containment and distaste for appeasement, he allowed himself to be seduced by exorbitant claims for the effectiveness of bombing and attrition. Although not blameless, Johnson was deceived, in Cable's view, by his military commanders.

Overall, Cable's argument is sound. He cites ample evidence that the top policy makers had information, especially from the CIA, that should have led them to correct their bloodstained errors. He moves from this firm ground of historical interpretation, however, into a circumstantial case that these same leaders failed to perceive Hanoi's Machiavellian strategy of "enervation" (p. 240). The longer the war lasted the more VC died (eliminating the DRV's southern rivals), the U.S. public and Congress grew increasingly weary of the war, and the Saigon government lost all credibility. Using U.S. sources, Cable concludes that U.S. strategists were, in effect, stupid, and Hanoi's strategists were brilliant. More information on the DRV and the NLF/VC and their relationship is needed to make this charge. Although recognizing factional and regional differences within the Vietnamese communist structure, studies by William Duiker, Douglas Pike, and others describe a much more complex relationship among the Vietnamese communists than Cable allows. Indeed, his book could have benefited from more acknowledgment of the large body of work on the war, including his own. His analysis of the air war, for example, echoes the findings of James Thompson and Mark Clodfelter.

VanDeMark does an excellent job of correlating Johnson's preoccupation with his Great Society with

his escalation decisions. Cable makes a strong case for the intellectual void in U.S. strategy. These two books complement each other and help explain how a president and an administration that wanted to do so much for America led it into such a disaster.

DAVID L. ANDERSON
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YUEN FOONG KHONG. *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 286. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$16.95.

By the time this review appears, the war in Yugoslavia may be over. If this ethnic conflict is ended by outside military intervention, part of the rationale used by European and American leaders will be that it was necessary to do so to prevent "another Munich." One element of the case against such intervention is the need to avoid "another Vietnam." But if the Serbian dictator is not stopped and his army not deterred from further "ethnic cleansing," scholars and many others will agonize over the occurrence of "another holocaust" and why politicians seem incapable of learning from the lessons of history.

So however much Yuen Foong Khong intended to write a book about the imperfect impact on decision makers of "lessons" derived from events and wars long since over, he has also written something of great value for our time. The end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union apparently have created not a new world order but considerable disorder. This study of how analogies mislead U.S. policy makers into taking decisions that suck the country into other people's wars cannot help but remind the reader that Americans in particular have some deeply rooted ideas about how to respond to such challenges and how to calculate the stakes involved.

The idea for such an undertaking came from the encouragement Khong got from his mentors, especially Stanley Hoffman, to ask "big questions." Through the use of archival material, solid secondary works, and interviews with retired U.S. officials, the author succeeds in raising a number of queries about how the lessons learned from what was done by European leaders to appease Adolf Hitler in the 1930s, from the entry of the United States into the Korean War, and from the French decision to stake the future of the commitment to colonies in Indochina on the outcome of the battle for Dien Bien Phu could have been used to justify the decisions in 1965 by President Lyndon Johnson and his inner circle of policy advisors to deepen the American involvement in and widen the war for Vietnam.

Not surprisingly, Khong finds that analogies—regardless of whether they are correctly drawn or not—matter greatly. This book should be thoroughly read to understand why and especially how even

drawing the wrong lessons helps decision makers comprehend the problems with which they are confronted. In this respect, the chapters that present the author's analytical framework for understanding the power and process of analogical reasoning in foreign policy decision making are as important to read as those that deal with the specifics of each case.

Unfortunately, the decision makers today who should read such a book as this will probably never have the chance or inclination to do so. And it would probably be wrong for Princeton University Press to send each decision maker a complimentary copy. Top-level policy makers generally do not learn what to do from our books. But their aides do, and this is where such a study can make a difference. Khong shows us all how to debunk history when it is used badly and the central importance of doing so given what is ahead.

ALLAN E. GOODMAN
Georgetown University

H. BRUCE FRANKLIN. *M.I.A. or Mythmaking in America*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Lawrence Hill Books. 1992. Pp. xiii, 225. \$17.95.

Nearly twenty years after the cease-fire agreement of 1973 ending U.S. combat intervention in Vietnam, many Americans believe that U.S. prisoners of war (POWs) were left behind and many of those servicemen listed as missing in action (MIAs) are still alive but imprisoned. H. Bruce Franklin explains why these beliefs are unfounded and describes how they evolved into a principal myth of our time.

Of the 2,273 Americans identified as "unaccounted for" by the U.S. government at the end of the war, 1,101 were known to have been killed in action but their bodies had not been recovered. During Richard Nixon's presidency, the Department of Defense publicly listed the remaining 1,172 under an unprecedented combined category of "POW/MIA," even while it maintained an internal list for which the two distinct classifications were properly kept separate. The North Vietnamese released 566 POWs after the cease-fire agreement of 1973, and in subsequent years careful analysis by the Defense Department and select congressional committees led to presumptive findings of death for the remaining 606 POW/MIAs. Even if one clings to the figure of 2,273 Americans unaccounted for, this number is 3.9 percent of the 58,152 Americans killed in Indochina, compared with 19.4 percent for World War II and 15 percent for the Korean War.

Franklin argues that Nixon launched a public campaign of distortion about POWs and MIAs in order to divert attention from antiwar criticism, build public support for his conduct of the war, and conceal his hard-line policy goals. Assisting the process of distortion during and after the Nixon years were influential private citizens like H. Ross Perot, right-wing talk

show hosts like Robert Dornan, conservative magazines like the *National Review*, and prowar groups like the Victory in Vietnam Association, as well as the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia and assorted politicians, journalists, authors, mercenaries, and hucksters. The POW/MIA issue achieved the status of a national myth as early as the mid-1970s and, assuming a life of its own, became a Frankenstein monster, haunting even presidents. In 1976 President Gerald Ford, for example, became vulnerable to candidate Jimmy Carter's political charges that he had not provided a full accounting. Successive administrations nevertheless continued the charade of attempting "to perpetuate the belief that live POWs *might* exist while avoiding the position that they *do* exist" (p. 124) because it served to justify their postwar policy of punishing and isolating Vietnam while geopolitically cooperating with China. Fortified by President Reagan's endorsement, a ceaseless stream of rumors about live POWs in Laos and Cambodia, and several Hollywood movies—including *The Deer Hunter*, *Uncommon Valor*, and especially *Rambo: First Blood Part II*—the myth transmogrified into a national religion by the mid-1980s.

This is the first book-length scholarly account of the POW/MIA issue. Franklin creatively places the story in the context of history, politics, and culture, makes thorough use of available primary sources and secondary works, and writes with economy and controlled emotion. Missing, however, is a fuller analysis of the connections with U.S. foreign policy and a consideration of deeper reinforcing myths; for example, the stab-in-the-back legend. Even though he completed his study before declassifications in 1992, Franklin apparently did not consult previously available supporting manuscripts at the Nixon archives and other depositories. Still, this is the best book on the subject.

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NAOMI E. S. GRIFFITHS. *The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686–1784*. (The Winthrop Pickard Bell Lectures in Maritime Studies, 1988.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press, for the Centre for Canadian Studies, Mount Allison University. 1992. Pp. xxi, 137. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.

This book began its life as a lecture series. Consequently it is not so much a survey of Acadian history as a collection of reflections on the Acadians in the eighteenth century. Naomi E. S. Griffiths is the recognized authority on the subject among historians writing in English and her observations will be of great interest to anyone in the field of colonial North America. There is little room in this brief work for a

full examination of French Acadia in the seventeenth century and the author confines herself to some very general—in places vague—remarks on that period. Her real interest is in the deportation of 1755, its background, and its consequences; accordingly, the book really gets underway only when she turns, in the second chapter, to the emergence of a distinctive Acadian culture and political stance in the decades following the colony's cession to Great Britain.

Sentimentality is the great pitfall awaiting anyone attempting to describe the sad fate of Evangeline and her compatriots. The deportation was a sudden blow, brutal and devastating in its effects on a small but well established colonial society; it is hard to treat the farming people of the Bay of Fundy as anything but one-dimensional figures of victimized innocence. Yet in spite of a warm sympathy for Acadians past and present and a willingness to depict without flinching the tremendous suffering that accompanied the "ethnic cleansing" of wartime Nova Scotia, Griffiths shows a determination to avoid stereotypes and simple-minded moralizing. She gives due consideration to the strategic challenges facing the British in this exposed frontier province and points out that the "neutral French" were often actively involved in the imperial struggle.

Griffiths is at her best and most original when she turns to the post-deportation decades, following the exiles to the dispersed ports of British North America and in many cases from there to England, France, and on to the French West Indies and Louisiana or back to Nova Scotia. The author's own research has been particularly important in charting this extended odyssey/diaspora; she is one of the few scholars to examine it from a global perspective and not just from the point of view of the Cajuns of Louisiana or the *Acadiens* of modern New Brunswick. It is a fascinating story of displacement, migration, and colonization extending over thousands of miles and taking twenty or thirty years to complete.

The book does have flaws, notably at the level of organization and editing. There is considerable backtracking and repetition (including a substantial quotation which appears on pp. 91–92 and again on p. 119). French names and text are frequently mangled (François Perrot, for example, changes sex and becomes "Françoise" throughout). Poorly served by her editors, Griffiths has nevertheless contributed a valuable addition to the literature on early Acadia.

ALLAN GREER
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BRUCE CURTIS. *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West*. (The State and Economic Life, number 17.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 250. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

As a complementary study to his *Building the Educational State: Canada West 1836–1871* (1988), Bruce Curtis analyzes in this volume the concept and the processes of state formation, "the centralization and concentration of relations of economic and political power and authority in society" (p. 5). At the same time that Curtis unpacks these processes, he painstakingly reconstructs how the regulatory machinery of inspection "became a constitutive element of the state system in the domains of social policy, health and safety" (pp. 9, 195). Thus, educational inspection is taken as one aspect of a system of social policing simultaneously developing in medical establishments, railways, and penitentiaries.

Curtis's major objective is to identify and examine the initiatives of regionally active state servants in the formative period of public education in the colony of Canada West through their perceptions, interests, experiences, and identities (p. 8). Curtis places these concerns in the context of a broader moral and political process, the "creation, stabilization and normalization of relations of power, authority, domination and exploitation" (p. 37). One of his more interesting arguments is that inspection was not only essential to emerging bureaucratization but also educational for the corps of inspectors themselves in three respects: as a practice of liberalism and political participation in local government; as the internalization of the "technology of rule" (p. 197); and as the generalization of a panoptic social organization.

Framing the argument with the debates surrounding the Educational Acts of 1843 and 1846, Curtis uses the largest and most important inspectorate sampling of three representative districts: Bathurst, Brock, and Dalhousie. This inspectorate grew enormously after 1850 from twenty district superintendents to an Education Office that supervised the activities of more than 320 township superintendents by 1862 (p. 193). Curtis's prosopography of thirty-seven inspectors proves to be his most informative avenue of inquiry. Because Curtis has compiled a rich collective biography, Egerton Ryerson, who has been depicted in former histories as a single-handed educational reformer, assumes more realistic proportions when placed among a cohort of "choice men without early educational prejudices" (pp. 10, 194). This cohort attempted to reconcile the tensions between localist and centralist advocacy. It is this prosopography that humanizes the overall study.

Several areas of concern emerge in this otherwise scrupulous work. First, I did not find Curtis's resort to what seemed a hodgepodge of social theorists compelling. Indeed, the views of Gramsci, Weber, Durkheim, Marx, and Foucault seemed a rather strained imposition on the materials rather than emerging out of them. The book lacks the necessary sophisticated framework to connect these relationships. Second, Curtis's disclaimer that his is not another "social control" history (although he admits to focusing on a "view from above" [p. 9]) is not persua-

sive in light of his later assertion that "class culture lay at the basis of bureaucratic administration" and middle-class ideas of expertise dominated the educational domain (p. 195). Indeed, according to Curtis, the technology of rule justified "through ideological and material means the unjustifiable" (p. 10). The study does not escape the insinuation of social control because the use of "panopticism" is another version of it, despite the author's insistence that the structuring of "historical sociology" separates it from social-control history (p. 9). Curtis fails to demonstrate this despite his attempts to illustrate that struggle and conflict imply limits to the wills of social classes and groups. Not even his stress on the "double dynamic" of struggle between democratic trends and the interests of entrenched elites substantiates the claims he makes about the history he writes (pp. 172, 192).

The third problem is less crucial. In light of his emphasis on transatlantic influences (including an excellent discussion of the Irish model), I was bemused at what amounted to a dismissal of American influences. Given the liveliness and seriousness of the educational debates on public schooling in the republic, this was surprising.

This might seem a dense book if one is not a specialist in preconfederation politics and/or educational history. It is nevertheless an invaluable one, adding to an area of Canadian educational history that has been neglected. Curtis is a thorough historian who has reconstructed the collective personae of a group of men who might otherwise remain confined to the obscurity of Canada's past.

PATRICIA T. ROOKE
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LATIN AMERICA

NANCY LEYS STEPAN. *"The Hour of Eugenics": Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1991. Pp. viii, 210. \$31.50.

Nancy Leys Stepan's social constructivist approach lends itself nicely to an examination of how societies vary in their acceptance and application of a scientific idea. In this instance, the idea is eugenics, the notion that humankind could vastly improve the intellectual and moral capabilities of its members through the practice of a science of human heredity. Although such a notion is probably at least as old as domesticated plants and animals, its elevation to a "science" was only accomplished in the wake of the new evolutionism of the 1860s, which seemed to many to suggest the desirability of promoting the reproduction of the "fit" while preventing it among the "unfit." Landmarks in the growth of the eugenics movement include Francis Galton's *Hereditary Genius* (1869), his coining of the term "eugenics" in 1883, August Weismann's theory (advanced in the 1890s) of "hard heritability" as opposed to the "soft heritability" of Lamarck, and the rediscovery in 1900 of Gregor

Mendel's laws of heredity, which gave birth to the field of genetics. The extraordinarily sinister possibilities of the rigorous application of eugenics were only fully grasped in the wake of the Nazi attempts to exterminate races.

Yet such a description of the eugenics movement is essentially that of the movement in much of northern Europe and the United States, where there existed considerable concern over the prospect of social degeneration created by industrialization and its concomitants, immigration, migration, urbanization, and working women. This was also where eugenics was politically conservative and pessimistic, with the focus on "hard" immutable heritability, and negative in orientation, as evidenced by the sterilization of some 70,000 individuals in the United States and fully 1 percent of the population in Germany.

But as Stepan demonstrates, for a variety of reasons eugenics was generally held in a different context and had a different meaning in Latin America, at least as represented by Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. Indeed, in European eyes, "Brazilian eugenics may have seemed an example of misunderstanding or sloppy scientific thinking" (p. 84). It is not that negative eugenics did not have its adherents in Latin America. It did, but the laws that proposed to regulate marriage and reproduction were rarely implemented, the brief experiment with forced sterilization in Vera Cruz being a notable exception.

An important reason was the influence of French science, which kept alive Lamarckian ideas of the inheritance of acquired characteristics in the face of Darwinism and infused Latin American eugenics with a neo-Lamarckism that was much more flexible than Mendelism. Thus, instead of the negative eugenics inspired by the latter, much of the focus in Latin America was on preventive eugenics aimed at eliminating "racial poisons" such as alcohol, drugs, tobacco, and venereal diseases that could contaminate future generations and the quality of the race. Preventive eugenics was also at work in the linkage of pronatalism and medicine into puericulture, which focused on the health of the mother and on the scientific cultivation of the child from the womb until adulthood. And, of course, in Latin America there was also the opposition of the Catholic church to trifling with "God's will."

One final factor was that neo-Lamarckian theories of heredity were sufficiently flexible to permit a good bit of latitude in diagnosing the duality of the human condition, which served the interests of the medical profession by arranging its profitable place in the eugenics movement. But finally, in Brazil, the high death rates of the poor and the low fertility rates managed by the working classes did not seem to call for a policy of intervention to reduce population, and, in Mexico, the great loss of life during the revolution meant a policy of propopulation. In view of the differing receptions given to the eugenics movement in Latin America in contrast to the North

Atlantic world, Stepan's warning regarding the politics of scientific interpretation in the future seems most appropriate.

This work was researched in the libraries and archives of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico as well as in many in the United States. It is an important book, meticulously done, and will be of significant value to Latin Americanists (especially Brazilianists), to historians of science and medicine, and to those concerned with the history of ideas as well as those interested in the rise (and fall?) of eugenics.

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FRANCESCA MILLER. *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1991. Pp. xv, 324. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$16.95.

Latin American feminism has often been questioned by Anglo feminists who wondered whether female self-determination was extant in a reputedly macho society. The centrality of motherhood and emphasis on health, literacy, human rights, and peace consistently present in Latin American feminist movements seemed to miss the fact of male domination and exploitation so central to the U.S. perception of women's rights. Yet Latin American women have been front and center of movements for political, economic, cultural, and gender reform. For them gender issues cannot be separated from systems of repression that begin with, but are not limited to, male domination. Latin American women fight battles on many fronts, and their campaigns must be understood within regional contexts. Francesca Miller offers an elegant panorama of Latin American women's movements from the late nineteenth century to the present with all these complexities in mind.

Until now the history of Latin American women's movements have focused on national campaigns for women's rights characteristic of the 1910s through the 1950s, and political scientists and sociologists have written about more current revolutionary and now reformist democratic demands for change. A critical mass of information has emerged so that a synthesis of Latin American feminism and women's movements can be written. Miller's book draws on secondary works and an enormous amount of original research to place women's search for social justice in its proper perspective.

This book contributes in many ways to Latin American women's history. Miller establishes a periodization for the Latin American women's movements. She shows how each phase, each event, was interactive with national, hemispheric, and global events while also originating from local circumstances. In a hemisphere of twenty-one nations, women's movements had to be distinct. Miller differentiates between na-

tional movements, urban and rural issues, conceptualizations of women's education, reproductive rights, and political participation. In a word, she deconstructs women's movements for an enormously complex area. Women's strategies to tie their campaigns to transnational organizations and ideals explains their need to escape their repressive conditions and exert leverage through an international arena. Pan-Americanism and the United Nations International Women's Year have given not only credibility to the Latin American movements, but also global discourse has allowed the Latin Americans to evolve unique and inclusive components to their ideals. There is a more global feminism than the North American version. The discussion of major feminist journals and forums exposes how feminist ideology has emerged, and it serves as a fine resource guide for future scholarship.

In addition to these analytical breakthroughs, there is magic here. Miller is able to capture the passion, drive, beliefs, and commitments of upper-class reformers, revolutionaries, and global democrats alike. One hears the reverberation of their voices, and finally one understands that these are real militants, not flirts who cajole limited reforms from truculent men. They also are not derivatives of North American activists.

The niggling flaws, such as incorrect dates, are offset by up-to-date lists of women's organizations and their agenda. The conclusions drawn from this comprehensive study are both accurate and insightful. This book can and should be used in history courses about Latin American women, women in general, U.S.-Latin American diplomatic relations, and the national period surveys. Researchers interested in Latin American women should consult this book for information on current affairs. Miller has made a significant contribution to Latin American history.

K. LYNN STONER

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DANIEL T. REFF. *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518-1764*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 330. \$30.00.

To the ongoing debate about the size of Native American populations at the time of European contact, and to the related issue of the role Old World disease played in fueling Indian demise, Daniel T. Reff has added a timely and substantive contribution. Working with an impressive array of archival and published sources, the former consulted in repositories in Mexico and the United States, but not in Spain, Reff examines the demographic and cultural impact of sixteen disease outbreaks which, between 1530 and 1653, lashed the "Greater Southwest," a vast region embracing Sonora, Sinaloa, Durango, and Chihua-

hua in Mexico and parts of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas in what is now the United States.

The watershed year in Reff's chronology is 1591, when Jesuit fathers first wandered into this daunting territory. The coming of the "Black Robes," charged by their superiors to keep records and write annual reports, means that post-Jesuit epidemics can be pieced together with greater attention to detail than pre-Jesuit ones. Reff considers that "native exchange networks" (p. 102) were not sufficiently advanced to facilitate diffusion into northwestern New Spain of the smallpox epidemic that, between 1518 and 1525, caused so much destruction farther south. He does, however, contend that at least four outbreaks of sickness (1530–31, 1530–34, 1545–48, and 1576–81) occurred before Father Gonzalo de Tapia and Father Martín Pérez arrived to establish Villa San Felipe in 1591. Reff's contention leads him to conclude that "the Jesuits found only vestiges of once populous and developed cultures." Reff attributes the glaring discrepancies between accounts written by early explorers and those penned decades later by Jesuit missionaries to "significant disease-induced changes" (p. 15) between the time of penetration by the first contingent and arrival on the scene by the second.

Here, as elsewhere, quantification is tricky, but Reff ventures that "most native populations were reduced by 30 percent to over 50 percent prior to sustained contact with the Jesuits." In the wake of missionization, which sought to gather formerly scattered, mobile groups in a single, fixed location, "native populations were reduced by upwards of 90 percent." Depopulation on such a massive scale, which parallels that calculated by Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook for central Mexico and that estimated by Noble (not "Nobel," as Reff seems to think) David Cook for Peru, is viewed as the result of "a complex mix of demographic factors, but particularly an exceedingly high infant mortality rate" (p. 16). Reff highlights death by disease throughout, but this focus does not blind him to the tragic part assumed by decidedly nonepidemiological factors. Certain goals and policies favored by Spain in the pursuit of empire helped accelerate the process of decline, as the geographers Carl O. Sauer and Donald Brand observed for the region in question in the first volume of *Ibero-Americana* published sixty years ago. Reff, for example, argues that mining activity in Durango and Chihuahua forged "routes of contagion" (p. 119) south to north from about 1546 on. Similarly, by nucleating Indians and thereby increasing the likelihood of greater mortality when disease broke out, missionization in fact killed the very Indians whose souls the Christian assembly was designed to save. The latter scenario, not surprisingly, resulted in widespread mission abandonment and the terrifying correlation of sickness with foreign presence. When the backlash came, it was inevitably violent. Father Gonzalo de Tapia died a martyr's death (his head was severed, and an arm was cut off) when Indians who believed it

was he who had infected their communities took revenge during a pastoral visit to Tovoropa on July 11, 1594. After setting fire to the church, they stuck Father Gonzalo's head on a pole and paraded it on a circuit of neighboring settlements.

Anyone tackling seriously such a controversial subject deserves to be applauded, more so given the enormous extent of the area under investigation. Reff's work is also a creative example of the insights to be gained by diligent and persistent application, especially not accepting what other scholars say about a source but instead consulting that source first-hand in order to judge, interpret, accept, or reject information for oneself. We all cut corners, relying on someone else's analysis for whatever reasons we feel compelled to justify, but the fact remains that there is no substitute for engaging with a text directly. Reff's scrutiny of the history written in the mid-seventeenth century by the Jesuit father Andrés Pérez de Ribas bears this out, for it "abounds with references to disease" (p. 281) that previous researchers apparently overlooked. If Reff is able to glean so effectively a standard, published source, there is no telling what might come to light should he ever get to Seville and try his hand in the Archivo General de Indias.

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PILAR GONZALBO AIZPURU. *Historia de la educación en la época colonial: La educación de los criollos y la vida urbana*. (Centro de Estudios Históricos, Serie historia de la educación.) Mexico City: Colegio de México. 1990. Pp. 395.

PILAR GONZALBO AIZPURU. *Historia de la educación en la época colonial: El mundo indígena*. (Centro de Estudios Históricos, Serie historia de la educación.) Mexico City: Colegio de México. 1990. Pp. 274.

Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru has successfully assumed the task of writing about the education of the indigenous and the elite populations in New Spain throughout three centuries of colonial history. A fundamental difference between the settlement and colonization of North America by northern Europeans and the colonies established by Spain was the attitude adopted by the latter toward the indigenous populations. The assumption that they were to form an integral part of society as tribute-paying subjects and the basis of the work force depended for its success on their Christianization and their education in the ways of Europe. Education was an essential tool in the proposed process of assimilation.

The jolting history of Spanish efforts to define and execute an educational policy to uproot the indigenous way of life and replace it with its own is the subject of the first volume. Gonzalbo Aizpuru approaches the topic of education assuming that formal education, Christianization, the teaching of a master

language, the adoption of new agricultural techniques, and concepts of trade and land ownership were part of the educational undertaking. Given the availability of data on educational institutions and the process of religious conversion, the strength of this work lies in the thorough coverage of these aspects of education. Her deep knowledge of the subject allows Gonzalbo Aizpuru to conclude that there never was a coherent and sustained policy of education for the Indians. She underlines the contradictions of a rationalized sixteenth-century Christian educational apparatus guided by the most enlightened humanism and the reality of anachronistic legislation throughout most of the colonial period, the prevalence of interests contrary to the acceptance of a fully educated Indian citizen, the faltering will of the crown to fight them, and the conservative position of the episcopal church after the Council of Trent. Only in the missionary territories under the control of friars who lived in a reality alien to the urban canons of the colonial cities was it possible to develop a full process of Westernization through education. The initial illusion of educated communities was slowly replaced by the need to control a diversified population that defied the utopian hopes of the early educators. The collapse of the Indian population after the mid-sixteenth century was a considerable blow to the plans laid out for them.

Through her revisionist interpretation, Gonzalbo Aizpuru has planted significant doubts in our perception of indigenous education without denying the positive elements of an educational plan that never fulfilled its promises after an auspicious beginning. This pessimistic conclusion may surprise some historians brought up in the traditional acceptance of the good intentions of educational schemes for the Indians. But Gonzalbo Aizpuru is entitled to her conclusion. She knows her sources well and has read the literature critically.

There is little surprise in the information on elite education. Beginning with the ephemeral Erasmian influence, the edifice of colonial education rested on firm Thomistic foundations that found their best media in the ecclesiastically controlled centers of higher education. Colleges and universities abounded in the cities, but the bulk of evidence and information rests with the royal pontifical University of Mexico, the Jesuit colleges, and the seminaries for the formation of the clergy. Gonzalbo Aizpuru underlines the traditionality of these centers, which persisted throughout most of the colonial period. They were molded on Spanish patterns in an effort to make the overseas possessions a real part of the motherland, and few attempts were made for renewing these institutions until the end of the eighteenth century. The colonial elite was generous in the foundation and maintenance of higher education. Endowments never failed to materialize to sustain an education that became the gate to the bureaucratic and ecclesiastical posts coveted by the local upper crust. The coverage

of the Jesuit colleges is a strong point in this work. Gonzalbo Aizpuru has specialized in the Jesuit's educational policies, and much of that material has been published elsewhere. Here she follows the more conventional historical tradition and adheres to the story of the rise and eventual fall of their institutions. The contrast between the successful Jesuit enterprise and the foundering course of the indigenous education could not be greater, and the gap between the two was the result of the church's own decision not to open the ranks of the clergy to the indigenous people. Depriving their schools and mentors of one of the two main objectives for higher education cut the stem of intellectual growth for them.

This is an institutional history based on printed as well as archival sources, with a narrative and linear development of topics. A brief chapter on colonial readings and the spread of popular forms of culture points to a topic that should be better and more thoroughly explored in the future to add texture to our knowledge of colonial mentality. Unquestionably, this balanced objective synthesis of the history of formal education in an accessible paperback format will be much used in the future by those searching for reliable information in a trustworthy work.

ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN
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GUADALUPE JIMÉNEZ CODINACH. *La Gran Bretaña y la Independencia de México 1808–1821*. Translated from English by MERCEDES PIZARRO SUÁREZ and ISMAEL PIZARRO SUÁREZ. (Sección de Obras de Historia.) Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1991. Pp. 392.

Although there are a number of earlier workers concerning Britain's role in the independence of Latin America, this book by Guadalupe Jiménez Codinach is significant on many counts. It is the first study of Britain's role in the independence process specifically of Mexico, and the first one by a Mexican author. As such, it has quite a different focus than the existing standard works and is concerned primarily to uncover secret networks of influence and contact, both public and private, between Great Britain and Mexico before 1821. Appropriately for a subject that is genuinely multinational, Jiménez has employed a truly astonishing array of archives in England, Spain, Mexico, Cuba, the United States, France, and Scotland, as well as a wide variety of published works. The product of many years labor, influenced by her time at the University of London, the book contains a great deal of new material and delves into many issues not previously known. Although this Spanish translation is its first edition, the manuscript was originally written in English.

Jiménez argues that the role Britain played in Mexican independence was always indirect. But British interest in Mexico was very real because of the

government's desperate need for Mexican silver in the period of the Napoleonic wars. After 1814 the driving force was the desire of British merchants to regularize trade and commerce in the large Mexican market. British policy was always undeclared, driven by the influence of various special interest groups. During the entire period, Britain and Spain were linked in a shaky but critical alliance that prevented the British government from openly siding with the independence cause in America. But while the Tory government remained tight-lipped, the Whig opposition, and many other elements in British society, were profoundly supportive of the Mexican insurgency.

The entire story is based on networks of personal contacts and countless knowing oversights on the part of the British government, which by definition require historical detective work of the first order to unearth. Jiménez concludes that Britain's objective was always to extend its control over new markets and materials. There is no absent-minded imperialism here. Her treatment of unofficial involvement by private citizens makes up most of the book and culminates in impressive new material on the financial supporters of the ill-fated attempt of Spanish freedom fighter Xavier Mina to liberate Mexico in 1817. She shows that the Mina expedition was not a lunatic undertaking but a genuine potential threat to Spanish control, partly because it had among its major supporters the leader of the British Whigs Lord Holland, the visiting United States Army general Winfield Scott, and, in a quite startling new argument that she is not able to prove entirely, the visiting dean of the Mexican creole aristocracy the *marqués del Apartado* and his family, the *Fagoagas*.

Slightly marred by occasional excessive detail, the book nonetheless weaves a multitude of bits and pieces into a cohesive image that, from the point of view of Mexican historiography, should have considerable impact. Although Jiménez allows herself a number of iconoclastic comments along the way, essentially aimed at the ethnocentrism of the existing Anglo-Saxon historiography, she does not overstate and she does not ignore the obvious fact that Britain had decisive power. Some readers may be startled at the sharp undercurrent of Mexican attitudes about big power politics and neocolonialism that appears in many of Jiménez's asides, but she quite correctly refuses to assume the superiority of British or U.S. conduct. The whole book has a fine polycentric sense to it and provides a well-balanced critical treatment of the motives of the Mexican insurgents, their friends in Britain and the United States (who were surprisingly many and highly placed), and even the Spanish imperial government. While Jiménez points out puzzles that require further research, she also solves a truly impressive number of them herself.

TIMOTHY E. ANNA
University of Manitoba

JOSIAH MCC. HEYMAN. *Life and Labor on the Border: Working People of Northeastern Sonora, Mexico, 1886–1986*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1991. Pp. xiii, 247. \$40.00.

Whereas the working class has usually been studied at the workplace, anthropologist Josiah McC. Heyman uses the family as the unit of analysis of working-class evolution. He studies the life histories of three generations of working-class families in Sonora on the U.S. border and describes complex successive personal and family decisions made within a changing political, economic, and border-control reality that led to the transformation of a mostly Indian peasantry into an urban binational working class.

An international, cross-border working class came into being before the Mexican Revolution. The labor force in the American-owned and managed copper mines in northern Sonora was composed of men from rural areas who originally integrated patron/client webs. The open American border and its demand for labor had permitted young men to flee from these personalized relations, and the mines were only able to recruit them back into Mexico by offering competitive wages that supported a family and by allowing strong unionization. The copper workers were the fathers or grandfathers of the present-day *maquiladora* workers.

Heyman uses the oral histories of both men and women in each generation to paint a picture of the evolution of the entire working class, not only of wage earners but also of unpaid family workers and the self-employed. He demonstrates the impact of new technology on women's work, mainly sewing machines, cast-iron stoves, and hand mills to grind corn in the nineteenth century, and washing machines in the early twentieth century. These objects of material culture became necessary items of consumption together with automobiles and light trucks for the male members of the family, who started up repair shops or small trucking businesses. The family histories illustrate how the growth of consumption needs reinforced the growth of wage labor or self-employment to provide the income necessary to buy such commodities.

By looking at the family, Heyman touches on issues that are connected to but fall outside of the workplace. Dangerous labor conditions and silicosis can result in early death, and Heyman picks up on the importance of premature widowhood to the life history of a family. Instead of moving back to the rural areas, widows tended to move to urban centers where there was a cash economy and customers for the goods and services they could produce with the technology they had purchased during their husband's lifetime. Thus, widowhood also contributed to the long-term transformation from the peasantry to an urban working class.

The Depression of the 1930s led many families to return to their rural relatives, for the mines closed

down and the United States started a vigorous program of repatriation of Mexican workers. Once the U.S. entered World War II, the U.S. demand for labor was institutionalized by way of the *bracero* and commuter programs, while legal immigration was made difficult, leading to the creation of a "border balance family" in which a man would take a job in the United States at low standing to maintain a life of better standing across the border (p. 125). Because of the instability of this kind of wage work, wives came to use the coping strategies previously described for widows, and because of their husbands' long absences, they took on management roles such as buying lots, having houses built, coordinating children's education, and so on.

The unitary structure of the working class in the old mine company towns contrasts with the complex relationships families developed during this period with two nations, creditors on both sides of the border, employers, and municipality or *ejido* on the Mexican side, and the U.S. Immigration Service on the other. Heyman describes the heterogeneity of working careers and of the working classes themselves and discovers male and female life patterns. Since working people who have accumulated a few resources, such as a truck or a workshop, cannot easily transmit them to all their children, young sons must enter the U.S. labor market in order to acquire their own. Most young men therefore started out their working life in the United States, even after the end of the *bracero* program and the tightening of immigration requirements made it illegal and dangerous.

The *maquiladora* period after 1967 reflected a reality of low real wages in Mexico and the border exposure to American consumer products, combined in the 1980s with successive devaluations of the peso, making it imperative to have several workers in the family. The working class had changed from an adult-male mine-worker family economy to a multiple-worker border family economy to a working-child family economy.

This excellent book is of interest to historians of the borderlands and also to those who do labor or family history. It is especially successful in its depiction of the role of consumerism in the transformation of the peasantry to a life of waged labor. Heyman describes an intricate picture of individuals and families of the working class who adjust and alter their ways in order to cope with new opportunities or restrictions brought about by capital investment policies or by the public policies of Mexico or the United States.

MURIEL NAZZARI
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CHARLES STANISH. *Ancient Andean Political Economy*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 195. \$35.00.

Andean history is understood in Ecuadorean, Peruvian, Chilean, and Bolivian scholarship to include both pre-Columbian data, retrieved mostly through archaeology, and also colonial events after 1532, the date of Inca defeat. The earlier separation of the two time periods is perceived in those countries today as artificial and Eurocentric. While the authority of Cuzco as the seat of royal Inca power did collapse at Cajamarca in 1532, fundamental Andean institutions, which had long preceded the rise of that overlordship, continued for decades if not centuries after Francisco Pizarro's military success.

The sources documenting such continuities are both written and archaeological. At its best, Andean history moves competently between the two tactics. This does involve mastering an intellectual equilibrium that is plainly a chore for many since the two require not only different scholarly training but also distinct temperamental dispositions.

Charles Stanish's work reports on his excavations, most of them in coastal southern Peru, near the Chilean border. It also inquires into the relevance of this provincial Moquegua data for the wider, south Andean experience. Many desert settlements have long been connected to polities flourishing on the shores of Lake Titicaca. This inland sea, located at some 13,000 feet up in the Andes, happens to be the nucleus of the most densely populated landscape in the whole Andean world. On foot, accompanying the slow moving llama caravans, highlanders routinely connected lakeside with the Pacific ocean. The trip may have taken ten days or more across the desert; the caravans were liable to pirate attacks; they may easily have turned to pirating themselves.

The contrast between these two extremes is so dramatic that it takes an effort for the newcomer to discern that for centuries the high Andean plateau and the irrigated seaboard formed a single agricultural and power continuum.

Here I should declare an interest: the version of Andean achievement that Ramiro Condarco Morales and I had independently thought we had discerned some decades ago is declared fantasy in Stanish's work. Worse yet, those "discoveries" were not only unscientific but had been cribbed from Karl Polanyi. Archaeological techniques, used to the latest excavation refinements, are asserted to deny our pretensions that direct ethnic control by highland polities of their own or anyone else's outliers was ahistorical. According to Stanish such denial would encompass not only the desert coast but also the tropical timber and coca leaf colonies.

The excavations by Stanish and his associates seem unobjectionable, but his site selection apparently took place without use of the documentary evidence. I thought such records could be of interest to readers of the *AHR*.

I have space here for only two relevant testimonies. The first comes from a memorandum addressed to the crown by a former governor of the silver mines at

Potosí, Juan Polo de Ondegardo, who chose to settle in the highlands instead of returning to Europe. Repeatedly during the early colonial period, he was appointed governor of Cuzco, the Inca capital. Familiar with the Andean order, he located and burned the hidden mummies of earlier Inca kings. As part of his job at Cuzco, he wrote to the current viceroy: "thus they [the colonial authorities] took away from the Indians the lands which they had at the seacoast which were then granted to particular [European] settlers . . . since the governors did not understand the order prevailing among the Indians.

"And thus during the reign of the marquis of Cañete we took up the matter; since the information I provided turned out to be accurate . . . The province of Chucuito [at the lakeside, 13,000 feet high] was given back to the Indians and the coastal lands which they had owned since Inka times . . . while Juan de San Juan who had been their master, was given some other Indians who had become vacant near Arequipa" (Juan Polo de Ondegardo "Relación del notable daño que resulta de no guardar a los indios sus fueros," in *Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú*, first series, no. 3 n.d.).

A final testimony is from the bishop of the Lake Titicaca region of what today is Bolivia, the Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomas. Author of the first grammar and dictionary of an Andean language (1560), he informed Philip II in 1566 about the dispersed settlement pattern of the ethnic groups "belonging" to his see, according to pre-European patterns. He requested the right to appoint his missionaries wherever "his" parishioners had been settled as far as "thirty and forty and fifty leagues away" (José María Vargas, *Fray Domingo de Santo Tomas. Defensor y apostol de los indios del Perú* [1937], 118).

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MICHAEL F. BROWN and EDUARDO FERNÁNDEZ. *War of Shadows: The Struggle for Utopia in the Peruvian Amazon*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 280. \$29.95.

This sensitive and humanistic book reconstructs the colonial and postcolonial history of the Asháninka (often known as Campa) people's utopian and millennial traditions in what is today Peru's central jungle. Such traditions, Michael F. Brown and Eduardo Fernández suggest, could well have had precolonial roots. Over subsequent centuries, however, they were articulated to, and constantly transformed in dialogue with, the visions and projects of missionaries, messianic or charismatic leaders, and even utopian Marxist guerrillas.

The bulk of the book focuses on the effort by Guillermo Lobatón and other militants from the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement

of the Revolutionary Left, or MIR) to establish a guerrilla *foco* in the central region in 1965. Although the guerrillas established their initial camps farther up in the highlands, around the Comas-Andamarca area, pressure from the Peruvian military soon made Asháninka territory in the jungle a more attractive location. The movement lasted only six months. But the authors demonstrate that the MIR did have significant—if temporary—support among sectors of the Asháninka; that a mere 100 guerrillas forced the Peruvian military to spend approximately ten million dollars and field around 3,000 military and police; and that the actions and ensuing brutal repression left deep wounds among the Asháninka themselves. The narrative about the guerrilla movement is exemplary in its deep empathy for both *miristas* and Asháninkas, and in its honesty about the limitations of sources.

There is bittersweet irony in the attempt to recover the history of the Asháninka collaboration with the guerrillas at the moment when a new and militarily much more successful insurgency is enveloping Peru. The authors recount attempts to find informants or survivors from 1965, only to discover that they have disappeared in the present conflict. They point out that the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA), competitor of the Shining Path and heir to the *mirista* movement of the 1960s, has assassinated Asháninka leaders allegedly in reprisal for treacheries committed earlier. Throughout the book, the need for confidentiality or protection of informants makes the narrative just a bit vague: villages are not entirely identified, and individual leaders or informants are referred to hazily. The final effect is to weave, around the narrative itself, a similar veil of myth to what Asháninka oral history has woven around Guillermo Lobatón and the MIR.

The cost of this deliberate vagueness, and of the need to use pseudonyms, comes in historical specificity. Shamanic prophecies of millennial rebirth meld into one another: Juan Santos Atahualpa and his black lieutenant connect to Guillermo Lobatón, himself an African Peruvian from the coast; the belief in Itomi Pavá, the returning messianic god-spirit, is reproduced in Juan Santos, in Lobatón, even in the elusive figure of rebellious fundamentalist David Pent, a North American adventurer and confidence man who was reputed to have gained the trust of some Asháninka and who kept company with the MIR. Yet in the end, little emerges from the narrative that would help us differentiate historically among these different moments in the reconstructed, mythical "ethnographic present."

There are some clues. We are told, for example, that Asháninka shamans are visionaries who make sense of signs, and then convince their people they are right. Conflict of interpretation seems almost built into the process of prophecy; yet the doubters tend to disappear from the analysis. We are also told that some Asháninka headmen made deals with particular

white and mestizo landlords to deliver laborers in exchange for trade goods. What did these headmen think of the MIR, which promised trade goods writ large—the revolutionary transformation of property rights? Did they hasten to attempt control of these transactions as well, to offset competition, or were they among the Asháninka who opposed the guerrillas, or even informed on them? That painful, violent, deep divisions existed among the Asháninka regarding the MIR becomes clear toward the end of the book, when Fernández recounts asking a leader famous for his connections outside the community, as well as for his willingness to kill, what his role had been in 1965. Fernández and his escort barely made it out alive.

In the end, the book has the flavor of a journey along jungle trails, where myth and mist cohabit the dense underbrush and make it hard to see down to the roots. The inevitable secrecy, fear, and danger of the present guerrilla war—both to authors and informants—only add to the excitement, and to the impossibility of ever knowing for sure. Perhaps, for political as well as intellectual reasons, the authors are unable or unwilling to read their Asháninka sources as much “against the grain” as they read Peruvian military reports and U.S. government documents. Such a reading, however, might have helped us out of the jungle mist, at least partially into the sun.

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RONALD C. NEWTON. *The “Nazi Menace” in Argentina, 1931–1947*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 520. \$49.50.

Ronald C. Newton, a fascinating raconteur, establishes the barely tenable thesis that the Nazi threat in Argentina was dealt with too heavy-handedly. But he pays scant attention to more thoroughgoing considerations of potentially ominous disruptions, including the indirect repercussions in Argentina and elsewhere, that unhindered Nazi or pro-Nazi activities could have entailed. His observations, in effect, are of a conscientious and scholarly quality at their best, yet bewilderingly chatty at their worst. The author’s main plot line begins to unfold with an incipient Nazi movement among German elements in Argentina and ends abruptly with its somewhat illusory demise in an ironic “defeat” by an increasingly phemeral Pan-American movement.

Newton pursues three aims. The first, which he achieves impressively, is to present sociopolitical microstudies of Argentina’s German population under Nazi pressures. His second goal, a definitive discussion of the Nazi Reich’s intentions and capabilities in respect to Argentina, suffers from his overly narrow and biased focus, as he deals here, by necessity, with complex involvements of the United States and Great

Britain. In his third basic aim, Newton becomes so engrossed with real and seeming inadequacies in U.S. policy making as to be carried away with denunciations.

In his microstudies, however, Newton offers vividly convincing group and individual portrayals. Included are descriptions of the plodding and plotting German ambassador and of Jewish refugees, who were doomed frequently to a heart-rending fate. The sketch of a somewhat fictitiously interned crew of a German battleship constitutes an insightful lesson in processes of assimilation. For instance, during their adventures and misadventures, the sailors contributed impressively to an increase in both Argentina’s marriage and birth rates.

Newton involves himself intermittently in his other two, weaker, key enterprises. Standing out episodically are accounts concerning influential Americans who are supposedly imbued with hysteria, ignorance, confusion, petty conspiracy, and naiveté. The Americans also appear to be strikingly vulnerable to the manipulations of British and other vested interests. But qualifying facts and analyses are repeatedly omitted or difficult to extract. Newton could have pointed out traditional as well as more recent germane foreign policy intricacies and dilemmas that chronically and inescapably catalyze controversial stances among American leaders. Notably, these apply to matters of not only national concern but also collective security, human rights, political and economic freedom, curbs on atomic weaponry, and defenses against various tendencies toward totalitarianism, including those of Juan Perón’s Argentina. Instead, Newton marshals his often persuasive findings toward his rather rigid championship of policies of global or hemispheric nonintervention. While these ideals have great merit, they are not infallible, unfortunately.

Some historical analogies are ill-chosen. Policies of U.S. “national self-righteousness” (p. xix) date back at least to the age of Henry Clay and the Era of Good Feelings, not to the epoch of the Mexican War. Comparisons between American policies vis-à-vis Argentina during the 1940s and those toward Saddam Hussain’s Iraq, Manuel Noriega’s Panama, and the Sandinistas’ Nicaragua are of dubious merit. Source materials of impressive quality abound, including memoirs, interrogations, and depositions, and the bibliographical essay is quite informative.

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AMADO LUIZ CERVO and CLODOALDO BUENO. *História da política exterior do Brasil*. (Série Fundamentos, number 81.) São Paulo: Editora Ática. 1992. Pp. 432.

As Brazil moves in the direction of becoming the first industrial power of the southern hemisphere, a comprehensive history of its international relations is certainly needed. Amado Luiz Cervo and Clodoaldo

Bueno have gone a long way toward filling this vacuum. Owing to their efforts, a competent survey of Brazilian foreign policy is now accessible to readers of Portuguese. Although their volume sheds relatively little light on developments since the mid-1980s, it does provide a quite helpful background for comprehending present-day Brazilian diplomacy.

The authors set out to relate circumstances, policy objectives, and the state decision-making process. At the heart of their coherent interpretation of Brazil's international affairs is "the supplemental character of the external sector in a country such as Brazil, in light of objective conditions and political will, in promoting or retarding the process of economic and social development resulting from insertion in the expansion and changes of the capitalist system" (p. 11). To this end, Cervo devotes some 120 pages to examining the period from independence in 1822 to the monarchy's end some sixty-seven years later. Beginning with English hegemony over Portugal, he portrays the British pursuit of the perceived objectives of the country's dominant elites. After 1844, Brazil achieved somewhat greater autonomy owing to the expiration of highly unequal trade treaties, but eventually it accommodated to "a convenient dependency, neither necessary nor inevitable" (p. 133).

Bueno picks up the story from the establishment of the republic in 1889 to the installation of military rule in 1964. He clarifies Brazil's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1926, it having become in Brazil's view "The League of Nearly Exclusively European Great Powers" (p. 205), and he demonstrates the importance of the post-1938 reorientation of trade away from Germany to Brazil's decision to align with the United States in World War II. Adaptation of Brazil's foreign policy to the changing postwar international situation, as well as the country's economic development, serves as the backdrop for a sound analysis of the dramatically more independent stance adopted in the early 1960s. Escape from an ideological strait jacket and Brazil's more global orientation are themes especially well treated. Unfortunately, this "involved a rhetoric that pleased the left, a fact that principally alarmed conservative groups in a world situation of reemergent bipolarism" (p. 314).

This orientation underwent significant change with the military takeover in 1964. Cervo examines Brazilian diplomacy since that time and sees a reasonably successful and pragmatic pursuit of national interests between 1967 and 1979, followed by a floundering in the 1980s. He is particularly critical of the economic technocrats who conducted "foreign debt negotiations by themselves in accord with the creditors' impositions in a permanent, bookkeeping, empirical, and depoliticized form, without articulation with congress or the foreign ministry" (p. 386).

In addition to a bibliography of some 335 items, all books or chapters of books, the authors have made good use of archives, document collections, and specialized journals. Citations to U.S. sources are gener-

ally both accurate and appropriate, with the exception of misidentifying the distinguished historian Stanley J. Stein and leaving out his coauthor, Barbara H. Stein. Like most Brazilian books, this work lacks an index, complicating the task of readers interested in pursuing a particular theme without having to at least skim the entire volume.

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JOHN D. FRENCH. *The Brazilian Workers' ABC: Class Conflict and Alliances in Modern São Paulo*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 378. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$18.95.

The world's eyes turned to Brazil in 1989 when the labor leader and head of the Worker's Party, Lula, polled thirty-one million votes yet was narrowly defeated in his campaign for the presidency. How had a socialist attracted so much support in this poor country that had only recently escaped a twenty-one year military dictatorship? The outcome was particularly surprising given the conventional wisdom that the Brazilian labor movement, which was robust and militant the first decades of this century, was coopted after 1930 by Getúlio Vargas and "pelego" (sell-out) labor leaders. Most students of trade unions contend that around 1979 trade unions were born anew from the ashes of authoritarianism. They have prospered because of their lateness, their pragmatism, and their independence from international movements on the Left, that is, because of their rejection of their past.

John D. French's study forces us to question the received notion of the cooptation and quiescence of labor during Vargas's era of corporatist populism from 1930 until 1950. The title leads one to expect a local study of the ABC, the industrial suburbs of São Paulo. In fact, this is a sophisticated and well-articulated study of the interaction of politics on the local, state, and national level and the struggles between workers and bosses.

The era of populism has been discredited for supposedly crippling labor by incorporating it into a hierarchical, authoritarian state system only concerned with neutralizing workers. French focuses on the revealing conjunctures of 1935, 1945, and 1946-47 to demonstrate that the relationship of the state and labor waxed and waned, but never were laborers fully coopted nor did the state really attend to their interests. There was continuity after 1930 and many communist organizers continued strong under Vargas, especially until 1935. But most workers had syndicalist bread-and-butter goals, not political ones. As one put it, "the social question among us is purely a question of the stomach" (p. 270). As the number of factory workers and the size of factories in the ABC grew, and as Vargas passed labor legislation and created more political space, workers turned from

direct action in the plant to indirect action through the state and the ballot. Consequently, French argues, Vargas increased rather than decreased the space for unions to maneuver. Courts sometimes enforced labor laws, and when proletarians, essentially prevented from gaining office in the ABC after 1948, were replaced by middle-class candidates, their electoral clout remained so strong that any local candidate had to at least partially represent their interests in order to win office.

French's achievement is that he has shown the tensions and struggles in populist labor politics and demonstrated the power of the workers, although they seem to mostly react to the opportunities or to the repression created by the state. Lula's rise in the ABC becomes much more understandable and historically rooted. This is an important contribution to the study of populism, a topic that has fallen into disfavor but that nevertheless is of compelling relevance in these days of redemocratization.

Unfortunately, French's reach sometimes exceeds his grasp. He claims that it is necessary "to examine the workers' material conditions and explore the contours of working-class consciousness" (p. 132). But this is really a political study. We do not feel, see, or hear the actual workers of the ABC. The oral interviews he conducted are not in evidence and the study relies overly on one communist newspaper. Little is said of the importance of workers' gender, age, origins, or race in dividing or uniting the working class. And, except for political gains, there are no other measures of workers' progress such as real wages, work security, work hours, or housing. French has pointed to the critical importance of this period and made important conceptual advances that I hope will spur ever further work in this crucial area.

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MARGARET E. KECK. *The Workers' Party and Democratization in Brazil*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 315. \$35.00.

This scholarly study of the formative years of the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) from the late 1970s into the early 1980s is based on research for a dissertation undertaken in 1982 and 1983. Margaret E. Keck characterizes her study as "historical-institutional." She argues that most scholarship on democracy in Brazil has emphasized process and dynamics rather than structures and institutions; a focus on institutions helps in understanding the democratic transition. Her study examines an "anomaly" in which the PT and its labor organization Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT) were "the most coherent and institutionalized new political actors to emerge during the Brazilian transition" (p. 3) and its

leader, Luís Inácio "Lula" da Silva, became renowned for nearly winning the presidency in 1989.

The study is organized into a theoretical introduction that offers comparative perspectives, a second chapter that gives an overview of the transition in its institutional and historical context, a third chapter that looks at oppositional organization during the 1970s, and a fourth that turns to the founding of the PT. The fifth chapter reviews the evolving institutional form that was associated with the party's attempt to be democratic and participatory; the sixth chapter examines its electoral involvement, and the seventh explores party influence in labor and the social movements. The eighth chapter looks at the relationship between the party organization and elected representatives, and the ninth provides a summary and conclusion.

This narrative of the PT reflects a number of findings: the emergence of a new party, based largely on a working-class and white-collar constituency unified by exclusion from the political agenda, to challenge dominant conceptions of politics; the constraints on party formation and the need to maintain internal democracy while expanding a grass-roots constituency outside the party in order to confront both the authoritarian legacy as well as historical traditions in the search for political space; the formation of "the new unionism" based on an alliance of labor leaders with the opposition elites; a mass base with experience in strikes and social struggles, and an organized Left, including a faction of the opposition party in congress; regional disparities, especially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo; the need to concentrate on institutionalization while contending with those who envisaged the party as a vanguard for the working class; electoral campaigns that emphasized the themes of empowerment and working-class involvement in political life; the informal and complicated relationship of the party to the labor movement despite an overlapping leadership; the increasing tendency of candidates to be liberal professionals and the characterization of party members as wage-earning middle class, especially intellectuals; the observation that white-collar unionism may be changing the conception of the labor movement within the PT; the success of its municipal administration, especially São Paulo; and the lessons learned from earlier mixed and failed experiences.

Among Keck's conclusions are that an anomalous party position was turned into an advantage, internal rules mitigated tensions among the organized Left "parties within the party," the willingness to function democratically gave the party later visibility in the country's transition to democracy, and party identification with the most militant sectors of the labor movement was maintained despite labor's shift to a multiclass appeal. She explains how the PT has always defined itself as a socialist party yet resisted sectarianism and narrow doctrines. The party, she believes,

has not lost its character as a movement, and its institutionalization has been embedded in survival as a goal in what she describes as the highly conservative transition to democracy in Brazil.

This monograph is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Brazilian labor and party politics. It also captures, from its particular angle, the history of the democratic transition from dictatorship. Keck

suggests the need for further study of the party's relationship to the Catholic church and related social movements and left-wing organizations, as well as the influence of the party outside São Paulo and in the rural unions in the countryside.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

JAN BREMMER and HERMAN ROODENBURG, editors. *A Cultural History of Gesture*. Foreword by SIR KEITH THOMAS. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 268. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$15.95.

KEITH THOMAS, Introduction. JAN BREMMER, Walking, Standing, and Sitting in Ancient Greek Culture. FRITZ GRAF, Gestures and Conventions: The Gestures of Roman Actors and Orators. JEAN-CLAUDE SCHMITT, The Rationale of Gestures in the West: Third to Thirteenth Centuries. PETER BURKE, The Language of Gesture in Early Modern Italy. JOANEATH SPICER, The Renaissance Elbow. ROBERT MUCHEMBLED, The Order of Gestures: A Social History of Sensibilities under the Ancien Régime in France. HERMAN ROODENBURG, The "Hand of Friendship": Shaking Hands and Other Gestures in the Dutch Republic. MARIA BOGUCKA, Gesture, Ritual, and Social Order in Sixteenth- to Eighteenth-Century Poland. WILLEM FRIJHOFF, The Kiss Sacred and Profane: Reflections on a Cross-Cultural Confrontation. HENK DRIESSEN, Gestured Masculinity: Body and Sociability in Rural Andalusia. JAN BREMMER and HERMAN ROODENBURG, Gestures in History: A Select Bibliography.

HARTMUT BOOCKMANN and KURT JÜRGENSEN, editors. *Nachdenken über Geschichte: Beiträge aus der Ökumene der Historiker; In Memoriam Karl Dietrich Erdmann*. Neumünster, F.R.G.: Karl Wachholtz. 1991. Pp. 683. DM 80.

EBERHARD JÄCKEL, Karl Dietrich Erdmann 1910–1990. ERNST ENGELBERG, Begegnungen mit Karl Dietrich Erdmann. THEO BARKER, A British Historian's Appreciation. JEAN-BAPTISTE DUROSELLE, Rückblick auf ein grosses Gelehrtenleben. HÉLÈNE AHRWEILER, Historien du Comité International des Sciences Historiques (C.I.S.H.). GIANCARLO SUSINI, Riscontri di uno storico italiano all'opera di Karl Dietrich Erdmann. HENRYK OLSZEWSKI and JERZY TOPOLSKI, Erinnerung in Polen an Karl Dietrich Erdmann. DAN BERINDEI, En pensant à Karl Dietrich Erdmann. MASAKI MIYAKE, Erinnerungen eines japanischen Historikers. WEI HSIUNG, Eine krisenfesteste Freundschaft. ARNOLD ESCH, Die deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft und das mittelalterliche Rom: Von

Ferdinand Gregorovius zu Paul Kehr. BRUNELLO VIGEZZI, Volpe, Croce, Chabod: L'histoire de la politique extérieure de l'Italie libérale et la discussion sur l'historicisme. DU MEI, Das Verdienst und das Versehen von Benedetto Croce. BIANCA VALOTA CAVALLOTTI, Un grand débat historiographique des années Vingt-Trente: Le problème de l'unité de l'histoire de l'Italie. FULVIO TESSITORE, Omodeo tra Storicismo e Storicismo. ERNST SCHULIN, Kulturgeschichte und die Lehre von den Potenzen: Bemerkungen zu zwei Konzepten Burckhardts und ihrer Weiterentwicklung im 20. Jahrhundert. WINFRIED SCHULZE, Die Historiker und die historische Wirklichkeit: Die Modernisierung der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert. HARTMUT LEHMANN, Kooperation und Distanz: Beobachtungen zu den Beziehungen zwischen der deutschen und der amerikanischen Geschichtswissenschaft im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. WOLFGANG J. MOMMSEN, Die englische Deutschlandforschung und die Geschichtswissenschaft der Bundesrepublik. HENRYK OLSZEWSKI, Die polnische Geschichtswissenschaft in den Jahren der politischen und methodologischen Wende 1948–1956. ALEKSANDER GIEYSZTOR, Über die Vorbedingungen der Ökumene. LEWIS HERTZMAN, History beyond Frontiers: Popularization, Integration, Communication. DAN BERINDEI, L'historiographie roumaine et la communauté oecuménique des historiens jusqu'à la première guerre mondiale. BRIGITTE SCHROEDER-GUDEHUS, Internationale Kongresse und die Organisation der Wissenschaft: Ein Blick auf die Jahrhundertwende. CINZIO VIOLANTE, The Middle Ages and the 5th International Congress of Historical Sciences, Brussels 1923. PETER STADLER, Internationaler Historikerkongress im Schatten der Kriegsgefahr: Zürich 1938. JOACHIM HERRMANN, Eine international verfasste "Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen und kulturellen Entwicklung der Menschheit": Ergebnis der "Ökumene der Historiker" und Beitrag zu deren Ausgestaltung? KARL FERDINAND WERNER, Vergangene Staaten- und Völkerwelt: Eine Herausforderung für die internationale Organisation der Historiker. GIANCARLO SUSINI, Spurenforschung und Aufbewahrung der Geschichte: Aufgabe der Politik. HERMANN KULKE, Die indische Debatte über Asiatische Produktionsweise und Indischen Feudalismus. MASAKI MIYAKE, The Concept of Time as a Problem of the Theory of Historical Knowledge. WERNER BERTHOLD, Grundformen der Geschichtsauffassungen unter dem Aspekt der Zeit: Kreislauf, Rückschritt und Fortschritt. HARTMUT BOOCKMANN, Tausend Jahre Verlegenheit zwischen Antike und Neuzeit: Vorstellungen vom Mittelalter—Umriss des Mittelalters. MICHAEL SALEWSKI, Die Periodisierung des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts. KEITH ROBBINS, History, Historians and Twentieth-Century British Public Life. MIQUEL BATLLORI, Europa vers la fi del segle XX. GER VAN ROON, Geschich-

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

Jiří Kořalka's historiographic article on Czechoslovakia (*AHR*, 97 [October 1992]: 1026–40) gives the mistaken impression that serious Slovak historians did not appear until the twentieth century, that there were very few of them, and that they did all right during forty-three years of Communism. In fact, Slovak historiography can trace its roots to the Renaissance, it has had many practitioners over the last several centuries, and it was divided into several groups during Communist rule in the now-defunct Czechoslovakia.

The earliest history of the Slovaks was written by the Czech immigrant to Upper Hungary (Slovakia) Jakub Jakobaeus in 1642. Entitled *Viva gentis Slavonicae delineatio*, it already spoke of a Slovak nation and its trials and tribulations in the multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary.

Jakobaeus's work was followed by numerous histories of Hungary written by Slovaks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among them was Peter Révai's *De monarchia et sacra corona regni Hungariae centuriae septem* (1659), Matej Bel's *Notitia Hungariae novae geografico-historica* (1735–42), and Samuel Timon's *Imago antiquae Hungariae . . .* (1733) and *Imago novae Hungariae . . .* (1734). All these historians stressed the equality of the Slovaks with the Magyars in the Kingdom of Hungary and deplored the attempts of certain Magyar chauvinists to portray the Slovaks as a conquered nation that was doomed to remain in serfdom in perpetuity. Indeed, in 1780, Juraj Papánek, in *Historia gentis Slavae, De regno regibusque Slavorum*, not only rejected such charges but went on to glorify the Slovak past in typical Romantic-era fashion.

The nineteenth century, on the other hand, witnessed a sharp decline in Slovak historiography, largely due to the oppression of Slovak intellectuals by the increasingly Magyarizing Hungarian government. Only three Slovak historians stand out in this period—Pavol Jozef Šafárik, František V. Sasínek, and Július Botto. The greatest of them was the well-educated Šafárik, who published his famous *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur* (1826) and *Slovanské starožitnosti* (1837) before the Magyar oppression really got under way. Sasínek and Botto, by contrast, lived in the second half of the nineteenth century, were largely self-educated, and had to struggle to publish their numerous studies in local journals. Only Botto produced a solid monograph on *Slováci, vývin ich národného povedomia* (1906, 1910).

After the creation of Czecho-Slovakia in 1918 (it became Czechoslovakia in 1920), Slovak historiography began to flourish again. Professional historians such as Daniel Rapant, Branislav Varsík, František Hrušovský, and František Bokes appeared and began seriously to study the Slovak role in the 1848 Revolution, the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom, and contemporary times. Hrušovský and Bokes then published the first general histories of Slovakia in 160 years: *Slovenske dejiny* (1939) and *Dejiny Slovákov a Slovenska od najstarších čias až po prítomnosť* (1946).

The Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948 stifled historical creativity and imposed upon it the strait jacket of Marxism. Dogmatic historians such as Ľudovít Holotík assumed control over the newly created Historical Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (1953) and its journal *Historický časopis*. Less dogmatic historians, such as Ján Tibenský and Július Mésároš, on the other hand, collaborated in the production of a two-volume *Dejiny Slovenska* (1961, 1968), which carried the trappings of Marxism but stressed Slovak identity and nationhood and strongly rejected the twentieth-century ideology of "Czechoslovakism."

After the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, many Slovak historians, like their Czech counterparts, were purged during the process of "normalization." Those who had opposed the reforms of Alexander Dubček, such as Ľudovít Holotík, Miroslav Kropilák, Samuel Cambel, or who had remained

outside of politics, such as Ján Tibenský, retained or regained their positions at the Historical Institute and *Historický časopis*. Those who had actively sided with Dubček, such as Július Mésároš, Ľubomír Lipták, Ľudovít Haraksim, and Jozef Jablonický, were expelled from the Historical Institute and forbidden to publish.

Ironically enough, when the Historical Institute undertook to publish a massive six-volume *Dejiny Slovenska* (1986–92) in the 1980s, it found that it could not do without the services of some of its former members. Thus Július Mésároš, among others, was allowed to contribute several chapters in his nineteenth-century specialty. Jozef Jablonický, however, because he remained in active opposition to the neo-Stalinist regime, could only publish in “samizdat.”

After the “velvet revolution” of 1989, the tables were turned again. Marxist dogmatists such as Miroslav Kropilák and Samuel Cambel were forced into early retirement, while Ľudovít Holotík, perhaps in anticipation of the coming revolution, committed suicide in 1986. The Historical Institute and its journal are now led by a combination of ex-Marxists such as Ľubomír Lipták, Ľudovít Haraksim, Jozef Jablonický, Július Mésároš, and Ján Tibenský, and younger members such as Dušan Kováč and Pavol Petruť. They face the formidable task of revising the forty-three years of Marxist history of their nation and have begun this arduous process with a series of conferences on major problems in Slovak history. Eventually, they hope to produce a new, non-Marxist synthesis.

Of course, there are also many historians of the Slovaks living and practicing their craft in the West. However, because of limitations of space, I cannot list them and their publications. Suffice it to say that historians in Slovakia and those in the West are now, finally, in direct contact, are exchanging ideas and information, and are publishing in each other's scholarly journals. Some of these Western historians have been invited to help their colleagues in Slovakia rewrite the history of the Slovaks, and they are doing so with eager anticipation.

M. MARK STOLARIK
University of Ottawa

TO THE EDITOR:

I am sure you must have received a number of inquiries on both professional and political grounds with regard to the article by Jiří Kořalka, “Historiography of the Countries of Eastern Europe: Czechoslovakia” [*AHR*, 97 (October 1992): 1026–40]. Professionally, the article does not stand up to the parallel analyses on Hungary and Poland published in the same issue. It is inconceivable to anyone even superficially interested in Czech history since the National Revival how the name of F. Palacký could be missing. The author is mostly concerned with the process of

the creation of the modern Czech nation in the nineteenth century and has developed his argument on pages 1038–39. One would expect him to mention what problems the twentieth century poses for Czech historians, but since it is not his field, he cannot be bothered. As far as living historians are concerned, the author has left several distinguished names out, for instance, that of the amazingly erudite Josef Polišenský, who was not allowed to remain on the faculty of Charles University after 1970, and of Alice Teichova, a distinguished economic historian who went into exile. On the other hand, the author does not seem to miss a single opportunity to present every minute contribution and foreign trip made by himself—with the exception of the politically painful ones.

For it is the political implications of Kořalka's participation in the purges following the restoration of the Communist dictatorship after the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968 that make him particularly unsuitable for the role in which he has cast himself: that of a dissident historian. It should be remembered that Kořalka helped to purge the History Institute in Prague and is thus responsible for the dismissal of a number of historians from that institute in 1970. Participants in the World History Congress in Moscow that same year may still recall the despicable role Kořalka played there as the spokesman of the Prague regime when challenged by a German colleague, Eberhard Jäkel from Stuttgart, who spoke on behalf of dissident historians in Czechoslovakia. Kořalka was one of the few historians allowed to travel abroad, and he continued to collaborate with the secret police by reporting on Czech and Slovak historians met during his trips. The fact that the secret police subsequently found Kořalka expendable and had him transferred from the History Institute in Prague to the regional museum in the city of Tabor does not make him a junior partner of the hard core of dissident historians who signed Charter 77.

I am not suggesting that Kořalka's role during the years of “normalization” should be rated as negatively as that of Václav Král, Josef Purš, and others. If, for instance, the *AHR* had deemed it necessary to publish Kořalka's work on Czech-German relations in the nineteenth century, or had reviewed his recent book, I should have had no qualms with that. I would even have swallowed his weak professional approach in his overview of Czechoslovak historiography. But I cannot keep silent when Comrade Kořalka is parading under the heading of the *AHR* as a spokesman for Czechoslovak dissidents. This is turning the world upside down. It is a serious letdown to my dissident colleagues and turns the process of rehabilitation of intellectual life in the Czech and Slovak Republics into a farce. It does not make sense of my twenty-two years of political exile.

MILAN L. HAUNER
*Charles University, Prague, and
Georgetown University*

JIŘÍ KOŘALKA REPLIES:

My article in the *AHR* was not intended to analyze the entire history of modern Czech and Slovak historiography or to deal primarily with the political implications of their recent development. The original title of my article as sent to the editor was "The National Conception of History and Its Adversaries in Modern Czech Historiography." It was mostly in this connection that I mentioned the contributions of historians of various political fortune and orientation. This is also why I had to neglect very important fields of Czech historical writing concerning, for example, the Middle Ages, early modern times, and contemporary history. I am aware of the fact that Slovak historiography has been treated in my article only as an annex to Czech development, and inadequately to its significance.

I do not want to deny my political miscalculations and faults, particularly those in and after 1970. However, I supposed that they had largely been compensated for by my scholarly achievements in the 1960s and 1980s. My editorship of the journal *Husitský Tábor*, though not mentioned in the publisher's imprint, my endeavors to develop a well-balanced concept of Czech social history of the nineteenth century, with regard to modern methods of Western historical research, and my attempts to reach common points of view with contemporary Austrian and German historians have been widely recognized by many Czech colleagues of the middle and young generations as well as by foreign scholars.

I must say, however, that I have not pretended to speak in the name of the former dissident historians, and not only because I did not belong to them. It was my intention to give an appreciation of the decisive role of the Czech unofficial historiography in widening the road for serious research in the so-called "gray zone." In any case, I would have preferred a scholarly discussion on the possibilities of national and supra-national developments in East Central Europe, which were at the heart of my article.

JIŘÍ KOŘALKA
Prague

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review article "The Vietnam War" [*AHR*, 97 (October 1992): 1118–37], Ben Kiernan says that "the irresistible force of foreign military power met the immovable object of indigenous Vietnamese nationalism and communism" (p. 1137). This is one of several statements in the article that implies that most Vietnamese supported the NLF and opposed their own government (the GVN) and the U.S. forces that came to its aid. For several years, I have taught English to South Vietnamese who have found asylum in this country. Nearly all report that most of their people reject Communism and never accepted the NLF as an expression of their nationalist aspirations.

One of my students, a man in his sixties, states that of the groups that have held power in Vietnam during his lifetime—the French, the Japanese, the Americans, the GVN, the Communists—the Communists are by far the worst. Recalling his comments about Japanese brutality, I expressed surprise, but he said that the Japanese did not force large numbers of urban dwellers to move into impoverished rural areas where many died for lack of basic necessities as the Communists have done.

One can question whether the views of these refugees reflect those of ordinary Vietnamese. Probably, no accurate assessment of their loyalties is possible at this time. It may be that the minority who strongly supported the Communists was larger than the minority who backed the GVN, and that the majority of Vietnamese only wished to bring an interminable, destructive conflict to an end even if it resulted in a Communist victory. Perhaps for a time, some did believe that Communism served the cause of Vietnamese nationalism. That the majority actually desired Communist rule is unlikely, if only because a capitalist economy was already entrenched in Vietnam and because of the Catholic religious affiliation of many Vietnamese.

There is, however, a valid argument against U.S. policy that does not depend on claims that most Vietnamese were pro-Communist and anti-American. It is that the South Vietnamese were a deeply divided people who lacked the political experience and will to build and defend an independent democratic society even with American help. In these tragic circumstances, the continued presence of American troops was futile and destructive. This does not mean that our involvement in the war was "immoral" or that Congress was justified in cutting off all aid to the GVN after our troops withdrew, while the Soviet Bloc continued to assist North Vietnam. On the question of whether Vietnamese support for the Communists was given out of fear or conviction, Kiernan himself concedes that the Communists "may have been" more ruthless than the Americans, and he quotes Eric Bergerud's comment that the NLF was "unquestionably" more ruthless than the GVN (pp. 1132, 1121).

The most convincing answer to the claim that most Vietnamese supported or now desire Communism is the exodus of 1.5 million people since 1975, many of whom risked and often lost their lives to escape Communist rule. The flight of this huge number is a damning reflection on attempts by some historians to portray the Communists as agrarian reformers whose victory would improve the lot of ordinary Vietnamese. It may be an indication of Kiernan's own bias that while he condemns the United States for evading democratic elections in Vietnam, he attributes no blame to the Communists for their failure in this respect. But their refusal to consider such elections is understandable. The universal detestation expressed by the people of other countries who have freed themselves from Communist rule suggests that the

Vietnamese will react in the same way when the opportunity arises. From the accounts they give, we will gain a clearer picture of why the Communists won the war and the attitudes of the Vietnamese people at that time. What explains the persistent efforts of some Western historians to see virtue in a system that has brought misery to millions of people and has been rejected whenever it has been subjected to a free election? It is also characteristic of such historians when writing about the Vietnam War to condemn completely the motives and actions of American leaders while saying little in criticism of the Communists, an attitude clearly reflected in Kiernan's article.

AMOS C. MILLER
University of Houston

BEN KIERNAN REPLIES:

Since my review article does not make "the claim that most Vietnamese supported or now desire communism," or other assertions Amos Miller attributes to me, I am reluctant to prop up any of the straw horses he threatens with his lance. Some of the issues Miller raises are important. But his real joust is with the facts. Though making an ahistorical attempt to read anecdotal evidence back into the past, Miller does not deny the historical documentation presented in detail in my article. It includes the overwhelming evidence that the United States and its client, the Saigon regime, blocked the free elections stipulated for Vietnam in the 1954 Geneva Agreement, fearing that the communist-led Viet Minh nationalists would have "easily" won. On what possible basis can Miller describe the beneficiary, the Saigon regime, as the Vietnamese people's "own government"? As I noted, the Pentagon Papers analyst saw it as "essentially the creation of the United States." The dubious notion that "the South Vietnamese were a deeply divided people who lacked the political experience and will to build and defend an independent democratic society" was one of the building blocks of American intervention and Vietnamese tragedy.

Some of the mass of evidence that I cite and Miller ignores on the question of popular support for the National Liberation Front is from Eric Bergerud's book. Now Bergerud also says that the communists were "unquestionably more ruthless" than their opponents, and I quoted this, too. What Miller does not acknowledge are Bergerud's assertions that "Americans both expected and hoped that defoliation would force villagers to leave Front areas," and that, if enough of the enemy were killed, "Americans hoped that fear would deter others from taking their place." As I noted, the targets of this defoliation and fear were local civilians—whom the United States anticipated would be potential communist recruits. This, and much else besides, amounted to a U.S. terror campaign against Vietnamese peasants—while denying them the right to vote for their leaders. Miller finds this "futile and destructive" but not immoral. In

a 1990 poll, 72 percent of Americans who were questioned considered the Vietnam War "more than a mistake; fundamentally wrong and immoral." Miller's attempt to attribute America's failure to purported faults of the South Vietnamese people is extraordinary.

As for my alleged "persistent efforts" to "see virtue" in communism and "saying little in criticism of the communists": numerous books, monographs, and articles of mine over fifteen years detail the crimes, including genocide, committed by Pol Pot and other leaders of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. On the Vietnam War, I stand by what I wrote: "[B]oth sides used terror against civilians and occasionally committed major war crimes. The Communists may have been more ruthless, but the U.S. and the GVN side were opposed by far more civilians and were far more heavily armed. That combination caused massive civilian death tolls."

Was this neither foreseeable nor foreseen in Washington?

BEN KIERNAN
Yale University

FILM REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

In her review of *Black Robe* (*AHR*, 97 [October 1992]: 1168–70), Olive Patricia Dickason's definition of the film as representing the "cultural gulf" between Amerindians and Europeans misses the point. The story is more about the clash of religious beliefs than about the broader differences between cultures. The author of the screenplay, Brian Moore, explained what he set out to do in the preface to his book on which the film was based: "From the works of anthropologists and historians who have established many facts about Indian behaviour not known to the early Jesuits, I was made doubly aware of the strange and gripping tragedy that occurred when the Indian belief in a world of night and in the power of dreams clashed with the Jesuits' preachments of Christianity and a paradise after death. [The] novel is an attempt to show that each of these beliefs inspired in the other fear, hostility, and despair, which later would result in the destruction and abandonment of the Jesuit missions, and the conquest of the Huron people by the Iroquois, their deadly enemy" (*Black Robe* [Toronto, 1985], 8–9). It is the proselytizing of the Jesuit priest Laforgue that most often brings him into conflict with his Algonquin companions. Similar difficulties arose in nineteenth-century Hawaii when Anglo-American missionary women dedicated themselves to Americanizing native women "no matter what the cost in suffering" (Patricia Nelson Limerick, "The Multicultural Islands," *AHR*, 97 [February 1992]: 134).

Unfortunately, the film version slightly mutes the religious basis of the story, perhaps in an attempt by

the director, Bruce Beresford, to make a more general (and a more fashionable) statement on native-colonial relations. Dickason notices that the film does not deal much with the "humbler origins" of Laforgue's lay assistant, Daniel, whose "desertion to the Indians" seems to derive from Daniel's new-found relationship with an Amerindian girl, which began after the outset of their mission. In the book, we learn that Daniel's true, though concealed, desire to accompany Laforgue is not religious devotion, as he pretends, but to be with the Algonquin girl Anuka (pp. 20–21, 24), whom he already knew (probably as a result of his spending a year at an Algonquin eel fishery [p. 16]). Therefore, Daniel did not strictly desert Laforgue—he was already on the Algonquins' side. Daniel's affinities with the Algonquins, exemplified by their shared incomprehension of Laforgue's vow of celibacy, were experienced by many other early *colons* such as Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Grosbois (1622–1717), and Pierre Couc dit Lafleur (1624–1665), both of whom married Amerindians. Many fur traders (the *coureurs de bois*) dressed and ate like the Algonquins, whom they accompanied on hunting and trapping expeditions, and *Black Robe* does give an example of this when two colonial officers discuss one of them. In nineteenth-century Hawaii, the children of the Anglo-American missionaries showed a preference for native customs also, to the anxiety of their parents (Limerick, p. 133).

The story illustrates the hostility of lay Europeans toward Jesuit zealotry, such as the Breton workmen's disapproval of the priests' sending the twenty-year-old Daniel on such a dangerous mission or the officer Tallevant's description of the French colony as composed only of "fur traders and priests" (p. 27).

Black Robe (whether book or film) is as much about the differences between clergy and laity as those between Christian and non-Christian. Therefore, the story is more about alienation (in this case, of a missionary priest), which is a recognized theme of Brian Moore's writings. Even so, many priests in New France were probably more flexible and less dogmatic than Laforgue. For example, priests seem to have allowed Christian Hurons to bury their dead differently from Europeans, as evidenced by recent excavations of Montreal's earliest cemetery at Pointe-à-Callière. Here, graves identified as Huron were found to have a north-south alignment rather than the usual east-west pattern of the Europeans. They also contained grave goods, which are normally forbidden in Christian burials (see Pauline Desjardins and Geneviève Duguay, *Pointe-à-Callière: From Ville-Marie to Montreal* [Sillery, 1992]). Perhaps a narrative about more positive relations between Amerindians and Europeans would make less exciting drama?

THOMAS G. FEWER
Corballymore
Dunmore East
County Waterford
Ireland

OLIVE PATRICIA DICKASON REPLIES:

In Amerindian society, religion and way of life were one; there was no way of separating the two. "The clash of religious beliefs" inevitably involved a clash of way of life—in other words, of culture. In the Amerindian way, the most respected leaders were also shamans, and there were no decisions taken that did not involve consultations with the spirits, which in turn involved rituals and ceremonials. This was true of even such routine tasks as planting crops or hunting. Thus, in attacking Amerindians' spiritual beliefs, the missionaries, Jesuit or otherwise, attacked their whole way of life. The Jesuits very quickly became aware of this and sought to make some accommodation with native cultures. (The early Christian Huron burials with grave goods and a north-south orientation, which Fewer mentions, could be an example of this.) This approach was called "syncretism" and eventually became a major factor in Rome's banning of the Jesuit order during the eighteenth century.

In the meantime, however, evangelization was successful enough that it split Indian communities; for just one example, if a Huron chief became a Christian, he could no longer participate in the rituals and ceremonials that his position involved. Such duties had to be delegated to others, which led to division and encouraged factionalism. We even have a report of Christianized Hurons refusing to fight alongside non-Christianized Hurons. As for the conquest of the Huron by the Iroquois, it should be pointed out that the Iroquois were also subject to evangelization; their defeat of the Huron had as much to do with trade policies of rival colonial powers as with the effects of evangelization. Those policies resulted in the Iroquois being much better supplied with guns than the Hurons.

The argument that Daniel did not desert Laforgue is strained, to say the least. Quite apart from Daniel's sympathy with the Algonquins, officials (and the priests) would have considered that his duty as a Frenchman was clear, and he was expected to behave accordingly. The fact that hundreds of Frenchmen "indianized" (toward the end of the seventeenth century, colonial officials were condemning the "evil" of an estimated 800 Frenchmen living in Indian villages and encampments) does not mean there was no cultural gap between French officialdom and the various Indian tribes with whom they dealt. Quite the contrary, "indianization" was greatly deplored and regarded as desertion, particularly as the colony became more solidly established. For example, early encouragement of intermarriage between French and Indians was launched (with the support of the Jesuits) in the confident expectation that this would be a means of establishing a "new France" that would be thoroughly French; when that turned out not to be the case, as Indian cultures displayed unexpected strength, intermarriages ceased to be officially encouraged and became increasingly subject to restric-

tive regulations. The irony, of course, is that the *coureurs de bois*, as cultural go-betweens, could, and did, perform important services for the colony.

The film *Black Robe* must be judged on its own merits, not on Brian Moore's intentions as expressed in his book. The film is a good enough production that it operates at several different levels, with alienation as a central theme. That alienation operated not only between individuals, both personally and with society, but also between cultures. To restrict the film's message to just one of these levels is to misjudge its scope and thus to impoverish it. As it stands, it is a testament not only to the cultural gap that existed in the seventeenth century but also, in its presentation, to the continued existence of that gap today.

OLIVE PATRICIA DICKASON
University of Alberta

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

Recently, I was orally invited to review a book for the *American Historical Review*. The invitation was subsequently withdrawn when it was discovered that I had been thanked (among many others) by the author in his preface. On inquiring about this policy, I received the following statement from your office: "We must maintain, as best we can, the highest standard of objectivity in selecting reviewers. Therefore, anyone mentioned in a book's acknowledgements, on its dust jacket, or even in the promotional literature that

accompanies it is automatically disqualified from reviewing that particular work. We do this to avoid any potential conflict of interest between the author and the person acknowledged. We understand that authors often thank other scholars even though they may never have met or conversed. In fact, this sometimes causes problems because the best potential reviewers can be eliminated from consideration. Nevertheless, this is one policy that we abide by to the letter."

I write not to question this purist policy, except to observe that the true safeguard of objectivity is the necessity of signing one's name. I write to ensure that you make public a policy hitherto unknown to most of those in the profession. By publishing this letter, you will give fair warning to authors that they should not promiscuously thank persons not intimately involved in the work. You will also allow me to excuse myself in advance to the many excellent reviewers who will not be thanked by name in my next book.

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ
*University of Minnesota,
Twin Cities Campus*

ERRATUM

In the review of Robert J. Young's book *Power and Pleasure: Louis Barthou and the Third French Republic* (*AHR*, 97 [December 1992]: 1542), the French politician Raymond Poincaré was misidentified as Jules-Henri Poincaré. The editors regret the error.

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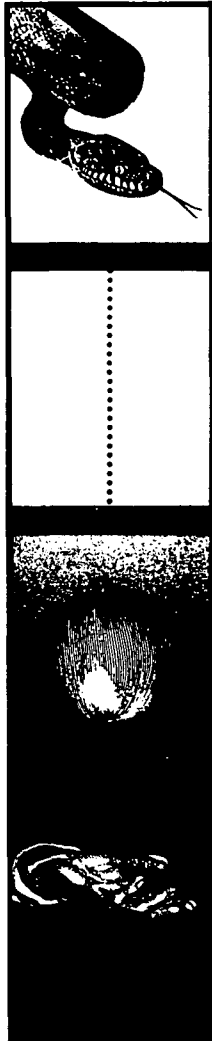
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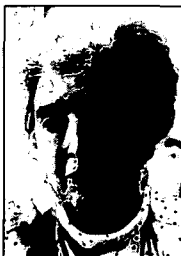
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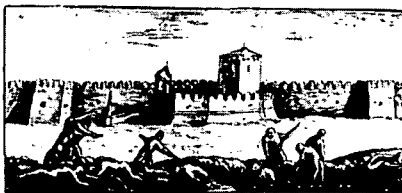
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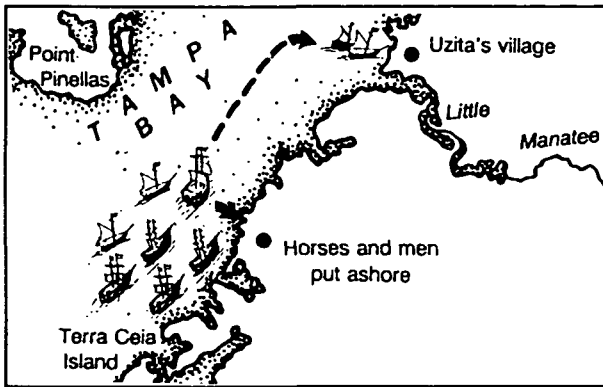
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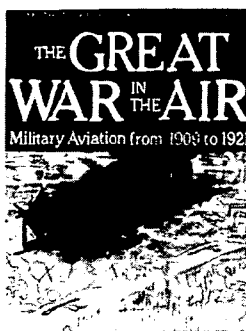
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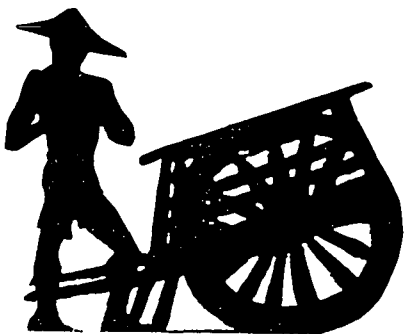
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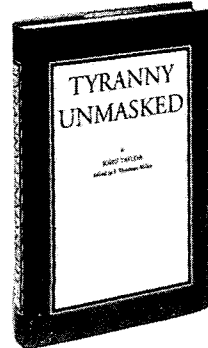
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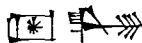
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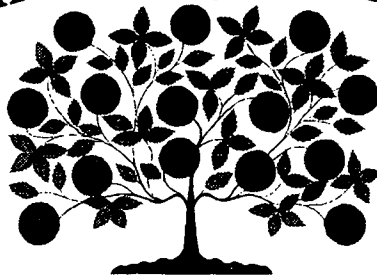
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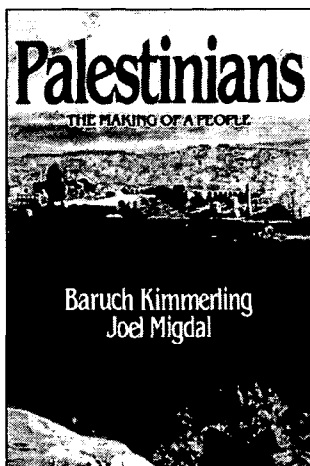
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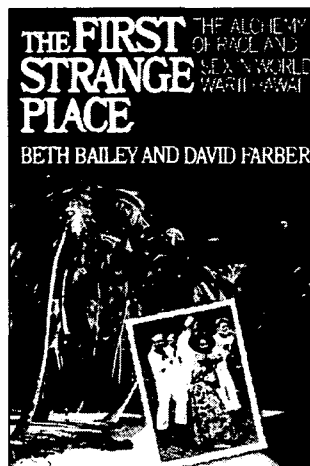
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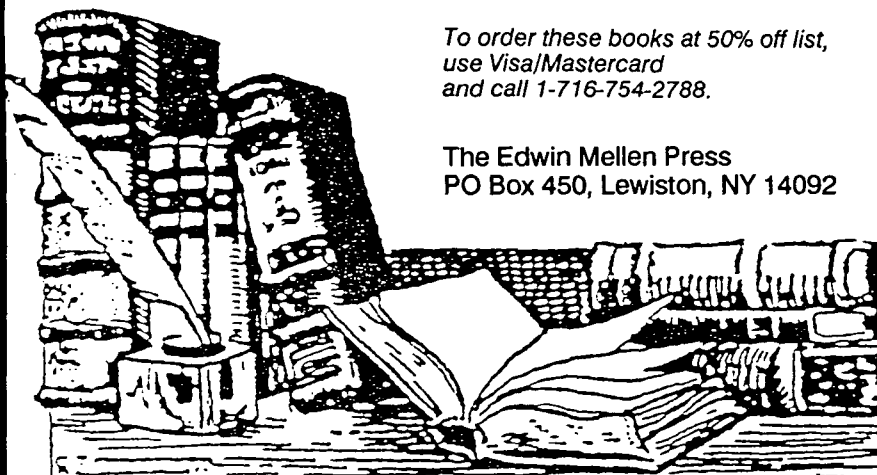
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